

The Other Israel

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Introduction

The call to divert funds from the Lebanon War and the settlements in the occupied territories to social goals, originally raised by the peace movement, is gathering force. It has been adopted completely by the Labor Party (though some Labor speakers except the settlements established by past Labor governments). It has even been gaining ground among members of the ruling Likud and its coalition partners, particularly those who are concerned with social issues and those who depend on grass-roots support within the Likud. Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad, himself a West Bank settler, has been forced to announce a cut of 17 per cent in settlement budgets, compared to only 9 per cent in other government expenditures. (Undoubtedly, though, means will be found to channel the money back to the settlements, under cover of other, innocent-sounding, budgets.) The settlers have also been hit more directly by the economic crisis, when the "Nofim" ("Landscapes") company ran into financial troubles and went bankrupt. "Nofim" was the first building company to conduct a large-scale sales campaign, offering "a new quality of life" in a West Bank settlement. Its widely-publicized failure deals a heavy blow to "Gush Emunim"'s hope of being reinforced by many new settlers acting not out of nationalism but out of a desire to own a cheap villa. Coupled with the effects of the Karp report — a stronger anti-settlement public opinion has been pressuring the police into firmer action against settler violence — it is no wonder, then, that the settlers are beginning to feel cornered. Recently, their central council resolved to concentrate efforts on propaganda, aimed at winning back the support of the slum dwellers.

Judging from past experience, the settlers' most likely method of counter-attack would be to use some incident or provocation to whip up a wave of anti-Arab hysteria, allowing them to implement further steps in their settlement plans. The most likely place for this to happen is one of the permanent trouble-spots: Hebron, where they are but one step from linking up their scattered footholds into one great fortress; Nablus, already ringed by settlements, but with only one insecure settler foothold inside; and Jerusalem, where the dream of The Third Temple, built on the site of El-Aqtza Mosque, fires the most extreme of them. The peace movement must be prepared to head off this attack.

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As these words are being written, the May 17th., 1983, agreement between Israel and Amin Gumayel's government, an agreement never ratified and long devoid of any real content, has been formally abrogated. No one in the Israeli peace movement will lament the passing of this misbegotten instrument: signed on Lebanese territory occupied by Israel, with a government imposed on Lebanon by Israeli bayonets, it was as unlike a genuine peace treaty as rape is unlike love.

Unfortunately, not all citizens of Israel are capable of clearly distinguishing a true peace from a false one. That part of the Israeli public which took seriously the government declarations about "A second peace treaty with an Arab country", might now show mistrust towards the whole idea of any peace treaty. Thus, in its futile desire to get by force what can only be reached by goodwill, the Israeli government has placed an additional psychological obstacle on the road to peace — an obstacle which the Israeli peace movement will have to labor long and hard to remove.

The Editor

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.

In previous issues, we tried to chronicle fully statements by people outside the peace movement when such statements indicate gradual acceptance

of the peace movement's ideas. We are glad to note that in the period covered here, opposition to the waste of money on settlements and on the Lebanon War, and demands for its use for social purposes instead, were voiced from too many quarters for us to be able to chronicle each instance separately. Such opposition was voiced by workers, trade union organisers, social workers, the mayors of towns hit by the economic crisis, Knesset members (including some government supporters) and others.



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The present chronicle covers the period from the end of December 1983 to the end of February, 1984,

The words "publication date" indicate that the event's exact date is unknown and the date of its publication in the media is used instead.

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.
- "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 organizations, 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.

○ The Committee Against Racism and For Coexistence (CARCE) – a Jewish-Arab organization founded recently, in reply to the increasing incidents of racism in Israel.

○ Meoravut ("Involvement") – an organization of slum dwellers, which opposes settlement in the occupied territories and is close to the "Peace Now" positions.

○ "Netivot-Shalom" ("Peace Roads") and "Oz Leshalom" ("Courage for Peace") – two organizations of religious doves.

● 30/12 - During a cabinet meeting on the economic crisis, "Peace Now" members picket outside, calling for a stop to settlements and the Lebanon War, thus freeing many funds for social purposes.

● 31/12 – Members of the Shelly party demonstrate at Upper Nazareth against the racist group active there. The racists assault the demonstrators and an Arab Journalist, who came to cover the demonstration.

● 3/1 – An opinion poll conducted by the right-wing paper Ma'ariv shows a majority in favor of placing the heaviest burden in budget cutting on the settlements budget.

● 7/1 - 17/1 – A group of artists present a joint exhibition in Tel Aviv, and call it "A Black Exhibition" for the mood of the works presented. In the exhibition's manifesto, they write! "This is not a political exhibition, in the sense of taking a common political stand. It definitely is an exhibition seeking, as a personal protest, to portray a sorry situation. The ideological basis of this exhibition is rooted in the artist's strong involvement in his/her environment, in his/her desire for survival, and in the organic development of a responsive and concerned sort of art, an art which is not divorced from life.

The exhibition expresses doubts and seeks to exorcise the shadows of such devils as wars, the

Because of the army's calling the editor to repeated reserve service (within the borders of Israel) there had been no January issue.

As the editor had now served the maximum period allowed by Israeli law, it is hoped no further disruptions will occur.

holocaust, nuclear fear, terrorism, economic depression, violence and other fear traumas which are best expressed by the color black".

● 8/1 – A controversy is raised over a satirical review, presented in Tel Aviv, in which the racist slogan "Arabs out!", used by Rabbi Kahane's Fascist movement, is compared to the Nazi slogan "Juden raus!" ("Jews out!"). Right-wing Labor columnist Haim Guri protests that while he is also opposed to racism, the comparison of any Jews with Nazis is wrong. The review's author, Yehosua Sobol, replies that racism in Israel, if not stopped in time, can lead to horrors. The Israeli censorship board demands to see the review, but decides to allow its continued presentation. This censorship board was originally created by the British colonial authorities. Successive Israeli governments retained it, like other anti-democratic institutions and legislation created by the British. In recent years it had cut parts of Hebrew plays, meeting strong public resistance, and completely banned several Arab plays, to which public resistance was unfortunately much weaker.

– Several Negev kibbutzim demonstrate at the Prime Minister's office in Jerusalem. The members of kibbutz Negba bring with them a cardboard replica of their old water tower, which still bears the scars of the 1948 fighting, when kibbutz members stopped the advance of the Egyptian army. Many right-wingers express shock at this anti-war use of the Negba water tower, well known in Israel since 1948 as a symbol of heroic fighting.

● 9/1 – The deposed mayor of Gaza, Rashad A-Shawa, meets with the leadership of the Mapam party in Tel Aviv. Shawa declares his support for the PLO and says that with the evacuation of PLO fighters from Tripoli, the military stage of the PLO's struggle ended and the political one began.

– Labor M.K. Uri Sabag calls upon the French president, Francois Mitterrand, to nominate the



Israeli "Peace Now" movement for the Nobel Peace Prize.

● 11/1 – Ariel Sharon suffers a humiliating defeat when the Zionist Movement Executive Committee rejects his candidature for the directorship of the Aliyah (Jewish Immigration to Israel) department. This is a clear rejection of the policies connected with Sharon's name.

● 12/1 – The ex-Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan gives a lecture at Haifa University. He is greeted by a demonstration of Jewish and Arab students, some of whom wear cockroach masks in reference to Eitan's notorious racist comparison of Arabs to "drugged cockroaches".

● 14/1 – A large meeting, calling for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, is held at the Eshkol regional council, in the Negev, Labor M.K.'s address the participants, when Ra'iaa Hernick, whose son was killed in the war's second day, attacks Labor M.K.'s Abba Eban and Avraham Katz-Oz, who had supported the war at that time and took anti-war positions only when the war became very unpopular. Col.(res) Eli Geva, although sharply critical of the Lebanon War, calls upon soldiers not to refuse to serve there. Geva, who was pushed almost against his will into the role of *cause celebre* by his unwillingness to participate in the attack on West Beirut, retains a senior officer's way of thinking. Despite being sacked for what amounts to insubordination, he still fears for army discipline.

15/1 – Avraham Burg, the interior minister's son, participates in a "Peace Now" picket at the Prime Minister's office, while his father takes part in the cabinet meeting inside. Avraham Burg became a supporter of "Peace Now" after returning from Lebanon.

● 17/1 – In a television program on the "Border Guards" in Lebanon, some of them express discontent. Members of the border guard company decimated in the bomb attack on the Tyre military headquarters * say: "We will go mad if they send us back there". The commander of the Border Guards himself says: "We (the Border Guard) have given enough, 10 Per cent of the Israeli casualties in Lebanon are our men. It is time we were pulled out of there".

* The Tyre military headquarters was destroyed twice. In 1983, it was undoubtedly destroyed by bomb. In 1982, the official Israeli version claimed it was an accident, but this has been questioned. In both cases, most of the casualties were "Border Guards".

It should be noted that the "Border Guard", officially a police and not an army unit, was created in the 1950's for the purpose of carrying out such "dirty jobs" as breaking up demonstrations, imposing curfews, etc.

They have done it against Arabs within Israel, in the occupied territories, and in Lebanon, occasionally being used against Jews as well. The notorious Kafir-Kasm massacre of 1956 was also carried out by Border Guards. However, the strain of fighting against the Lebanon guerrillas is beginning to crack even this crack unit.

● 18/1 – A large meeting against racism takes place in Tel Aviv. The meeting, organised by the ICPME, is supported by a large number of Knesset members, (including even M.K. Ehud Olmert of the ruling Likud) and many public figures.

– The government suffers a Parliamentary defeat, on a motion presented by M. K.'s Dror Zeigerman and Itzhak Berman, to completely freeze settlement in the occupied territories. Berman and Zeigerman, members of the ruling Likud block, are relative "doves" compared to their fellows. The motion, however, not being a law is not binding on the government, which declared beforehand it will ignore it and continue settlement.

– "Campus" members demonstrate at Tel Aviv University, to protest racist propaganda by right-wing students.

● 19/1 – "Peace Now" announces its intention to hold a demonstration on February 4th, the anniversary of the demonstration in which Emil Grunzweig was murdered, *and on the same route.

– A confrontation evolves between Haifa University and the Haifa Journalists, over a lecture by Ariel Sharon at the University. The University authorities forbid television crews from covering the event, claiming their presence will "ignite violence". In reply, the Haifa Journalists threaten to boycott all events connected to the University, which gives in and permits television coverage.

At the lecture, a large police force prevents many anti-Sharon students, from entering, using tear-gas against them. Some who do enter subject Sharon to constant heckling: refraining, however, from violence.

● 20/1 – Artists and writers supporting the Labor party hold an anti-government demonstration in Tel Aviv, criticizing the government both for its economic failures and for the Lebanon War. Writer Ammon Shamush tells of young soldiers, who kissed the earth after returning from Lebanon.

– The interior minister announces the capture of Yona Avrushmi, suspected of killing Emil Grunzweig (see separate article).

– "Kol Ha'ir", a Jerusalem weekly, publishes interviews with many reserve soldiers, who got out of service in Lebanon by medical and other methods, though they were not resolute enough to refuse outrightly and go to prison.

● 21/1 – "Yesh Gvul" holds a day of study in Tel Aviv, to discuss the Army's new regulations against refusers, the steps to be taken in case of a new war with Syria, and other problems.

● 22/1 – Members of kibbutz Ein Hashofet demonstrate at the Prime Minister's office. (Since December, kibbutz members have been regularly demonstrating there against the Lebanon War, every Sunday – the day of cabinet meeting).

– The political forum of the United Kibbutz Movement (UKM) decides to call upon UKM

* The murder occurred on February 10th, 1984. The 4th. is the anniversary according to the Jewish calendar, which rules burial and mourning customs in Israel.



members to participate in the "Peace Now" demonstration, marking the anniversary of the Gruzweig murder, and to send Itzhak Ben Aharon, a former secretary general of the Histadrut (trade union federation) and an important and respected UKM leader, to address the demonstration. This is the first time the UKM has officially participated in a "Peace Now" demonstration, though some of its members have participated individually since 1978.

– The members of three kibbutzim demonstrate at the Prime Minister's office.

– Four druze soldiers in the "Border Guard" are discharged from service, because they refused to serve in Lebanon. The "Border Guard" spokesman claims the four refused out of cowardice and not for political reasons (publication date).

– Ya'akov Shein, a reserve soldier, is released from his third prison term for refusing to serve in Lebanon and asks the army to delay calling him up for a fourth time, considering the fact that his repeated imprisonments had caused a rise in his blood pressure. This is granted. It seems, from this and the Yuri Pines case **, that the army has decided it does not pay to create martyrs.

● 22/1 - 16/2 – A Jerusalem citizens' group, belonging to no existing movement, starts collecting signatures on a petition against the Lebanon War and the settlements. On the first day, they are removed by police, but when they come again the police permit them to stay regularly, two hours a day, in the center of Jerusalem.

● 24/1 – The CARCE holds a press conference in Tel Aviv, to announce its intention to hold a protest meeting in Nazareth.

● 25/1 – A soldier is jailed for 35 days for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

– In Kiriat Shmona, a "development town" in the Galilee, a right-wing demonstration takes place, in favor of continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon, "until security arrangements are found". The words of the town's Likud mayor, Prosper Azran, are a testimony to the success of the anti-war movement: "Nowadays it is fashionable to call for withdrawal from Lebanon. If we wanted popularity, that's what we would also be saying".

Unfortunately, government supporters in Kiriat Shmona and other Galilee towns have succeeded in channelling many justified social grudges into support for the war. In another part of his speech, Mayor Azran says: "The fashionable, rich people in the cafes of Dizengoff Street (Tel Aviv's main street) do not care about us in the north. They do not care if the PLO comes back to bombard us from South Lebanon". Convincing the people of Kiriat Shmona and others like them that peace is the only guarantee for their long term security is still a long and hard job.

● 25/1 – Members of the youth movements connected to Labor demonstrate in front of the Knesset against government policies, both in the economy and in Lebanon.

The monthly *Monitin* reveals that Israel had, in 1952, rejected a syrian offer for direct negotiations on the border disputes then existing between them. The Syrian offer was rejected by Prime Minister Ben Gurion., while Foreign Minister Moshe Sharet was in favor of considering it.

– In the "Tzavta" theater in Tel Aviv, the play "Border Case" is presented. The play shows an imaginary meeting between Raymonda Tawil, a well-known Palestinian activist from Ramallah, and Golda Meir, the former Israeli Prime Minister who claimed the Palestinian People does not exist. On this day, the real Raymonda Tawil is present in the audience, and takes part in a debate with several Israelis of various political views, leading to a confrontation with a "Gush Emunim" settler.

– In the right-wing daily "Ma'ariv", an article describes the life of Israeli soldiers in an outpost in Lebanon. A form of fraternisation is developing between them and Syrian soldiers. The Israeli and Syrian soldiers know each other by name, and the 200-meter distance between their outposts is small enough for shouted conversations in Arabic and English, on subjects ranging from the weather to politics.

● 27/1 – Four members of the Swedish parliament submit the candidature of the Israeli "Peace Now" movement for the Nobel Peace Prize.

– The newly formed "Committee Against Town Arrests" holds a demonstration in Tel Aviv, to protest the imposition of town arrest on Arabs, both within Israel and in the occupied territories. A person against whom a town arrest order had been issued is forbidden to leave his or her village or town, and has to stay at home during the night. It is issued without a trial and without bringing any charges. About 70 persons are at present under town arrest, all of them Arabs. (It can legally be used against Jews, but that is not done in practice.)

– A new Israeli film tells about the dilemmas of a member of a Jewish-Arab left-wing group, who obtains in Germany funds to finance the creation of an Arab university in Israel. Some extremist members of the group intend to use the money for terrorist activity instead, and the hero is caught between them and agents of the Israeli Security Service, who persecute the group. In real life, too, the film's producer, Yehuda ("Judd") Ne'eman finds himself in a cross-fire: while Israeli right-wingers accuse him of making "a PLO propaganda film", in the Berlin film festival, a month later, extremist Arabs call it "an anti-Arab movie". On the other hand, many Jews and Arabs support the film's political message.

● 27/1 - 8/3 – Two of Israel's main newspapers, *Ha'aretz* and *Yediot Aharonot* compete with each other in exposing the Lebanon War. Both papers start publishing, as serials, parts of new books on the war. Both books, written by skilled political correspondents with excellent sources in the government, expose in detail the moves behind the scenes leading up to the war and to its crucial events such as the Sabra and Shatila massacres, fully confirming the charges made, at the time, by peace demonstrators.

The new exposures cause a political upheaval, with the Labor opposition demanding to open

** After Yuri Pines, a regular soldier, was imprisoned three times and his case much publicised, the army agreed to transfer him within Israel.



government protocols and appoint a new commission of inquiry. However, Labor leaders soon realise that such a commission would also expose their close collaboration with the government, at the start of the war.

On February 19 th, Labor M.K. Abba Eban calls for an end to "the war of protocols". When the matter comes up to a Knesset vote, on March 8 th, almost half the Labor parliamentary group is absent, enabling the government to defeat the motion without trouble.

● 28/1 - The CARCE holds a large meeting in Nazareth against racism. Speakers from more than 20 organizations, including the mayor of Nazareth and Labor M.K.'s, denounce the various manifestations of racism in Israeli Society, and call upon the Knesset to enact an anti-racism law.

Factional considerations, however, mar the success of the event. The Communist Party, which controls the Nazareth municipality, refuses to allow a representative of the municipal opposition, The "Arab Progressive Movement", to speak. In protest against this, members of the "Alternative" party also withdraw. It is to be hoped that such narrow-mindedness will be overcome, as the anti-racism struggle continues.

● 29/1 - Two opposing demonstrations take place at the Lebanese border, one against the war, by thousands of kibbutzniks from the border area, joined by some town residents; the much smaller pro-war demonstration is addressed by Likud mayors from the north.

● 30/1 - Several hundred Israeli Druze demonstrate in front of the American Embassy in Tel Aviv, to protest American bombardment of their co-religionists in Lebanon.

- Rafael Kashtan, a reserve soldier, is jailed for 35 days for refusing to serve in Lebanon. He had already served one prison term on the same charge, in October 1983.

● 31/1 - A delegation of the Israeli Communist Party meets, in Moscow, with Naif Hawatmeh, leader of the "Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine".

- Starting "Emil Grunzweig Week", "Peace Now" members hold vigils in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and other places. In the evening, a memorial concert is held in Tel Aviv.

The members of "Oz Leshalom" and "Netivot Shalom" hold a public prayer on the spot where Grunzweig was killed.

● 1/2 - The general assembly of kibbutz Gat adopts a resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

● 2/2 - The government suffers a Parliamentary defeat, * * * on a motion condemning its plan to destroy the Hebron market and give the land to "Gush Emunim" settlers. However, this resolution is not binding upon the government, as it was presented as a "motion for discussion" and not as a bill.

● 3/2 - The Israel Museum in Jerusalem presents simultaneously two exhibitions with opposite political messages. One is by a West Bank settler, Yosef Cohen, who presents photographs of his settlement and his fellow settlers. The other is by painter Tzivi Geva, who has painted various Arab villages in Israel.

- 39 Labor Knesset members and hundreds of public figures sign a petition calling upon the public to participate in the "Peace Now" demonstration.

The signatories include Efraim Katzir, ex-president of Israel, and Shlomo Argov, the ex-ambassador to Britain, the attempt on whose life was the pretext for the war. This is the biggest amount of support "Peace Now" had ever got from the political center. In selecting the signatories, however, "Peace Now" almost completely ignores the more radical peace forces, such as the CAWL and the ICIPP, who had opposed the war from the start. Nevertheless, these groups decide to support the demonstration and contribute to its success.

● 4/2 - About 40,000 demonstrators participate in the "Peace Now" demonstration - the largest demonstration ever to take place in Jerusalem, as the first speaker, Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, points out. (It should be noted that it is much harder to gather a great number of peace demonstrators in Jerusalem than in Tel Aviv, because a large part of Jerusalem's population is right-wing.)

● 5/2 - 1,500 people demonstrate at the Prime Minister's office against "A war in a foreign land for a foreign cause". The Kibbutzniks are joined by some residents of "development towns". Addressing the demonstrators is the head of the trade union council in Yeruham - a Negev town hit hard by the economic crisis.

- Following the death of an Israeli civilian worker in a guerrilla ambush in Lebanon, it is discovered that his family will receive only half the compensation due to the family of a soldier killed in the same circumstances. In protest, about 200 civilian workers who are employed in Lebanon by the army, the communications ministry and the public works authority refuse to continue working in Lebanon, until they are guaranteed compensation equal to that of soldiers. Although these workers are not directly motivated by political views, such a strike would have been unthinkable in any of Israel's previous wars, fought in an atmosphere of "National Unity".

- Students in "Herzlia" highschool in Tel Aviv expose brutal anti-Arab practices in the "Civil Guard", a volunteer auxiliary force formed to help the police.

● 6/2 - Raymonda Tawil speaks to a packed hall in Jerusalem, in a "Peace Forum", together with Israeli speakers from the peace movement.

● 7/2 - "Ha'aretz" reports that in 1982, Yassir Arafat was ready to consider an American proposal for removing PLO artillery from South Lebanon, in return for the removal of Israeli artillery from the strip of Lebanese territory occupied by Israel since 1978. It was the Israeli government who refused this offer, which was incompatible with its war plans.

- The "Young Generation" of the Labor Party meets with Anwar Nusaibeh, an important East Jerusalem leader.

* * * *During the period mentioned here the government also suffered defeat on several issues not connected with the Arab-Israeli conflict, and thus outside the scope of this chronicle.*



● 8/2 In Tel Aviv, an immigrant from Argentine serving as a reserve home guard is fined for refusing to guard a meeting at which Ariel Sharon is the chief speaker. The man says that two of his friends were murdered by the Argentine generals, and he refuses to have anything to do with extremist generals of any nationality.

– The case of an Arab student from Acre, on whom town arrest was imposed, is appealed to the Supreme Court. The state openly admits that the town arrest was imposed to prevent the student, Ma'esara Sa'ed, from political activity at the Haifa Technion. This, despite the fact that the movement in which he is active, "Ibna El Balad" ("Sons of the Village"), operates legally and no charge of illegal activity was brought against him.

– At a conference of mayors of "development towns", a sharp controversy arises between doves, who demand a resolution against settlements, and Likud hawks, who oppose such a resolution.

● 9/2 – Members of the CSBU participate in a press conference at Bir Zeit University, to protest the closure of the university's old campus, in retaliation for a demonstration.

– Following the successful production in "Habima" Theater of Euripides' "Women of Troy", playwright Hanoeh Levin decides to write his own version to the world's oldest anti-war play. Levin, considered by critics to be one of Israel's foremost playwrights, began his career in 1968, writing a satirical review called "You, Me, and The Next War" whose mood was in sharp contrast to the nationalist euphoria prevailing in Israel after its victory in the Six-Day-War. His next play, "The Queen of The Bathroom" presented in 1970, during the War of Attrition, and harshly critical of the Golda Meir government, caused a sharp controversy. Hooligans entered the theater and violently broke up the play with the police doing nothing to prevent them.

Nowadays, Hanoeh Levin is less of a controversial figure, both because the artistic merits of his work have found general acceptance among critics (though not by government ministers) and because the daring heresy of 1970 – criticism of a war while it is still going on – has, in 1984, become commonplace.

● 10/2 – In an article on Lebanon published in Ha'aretz, author Amos Eilon notes that every time a truckload of soldiers on leave crosses the border back into Israel, the soldiers burst into hysterical cheers. A veteran officer says he had never seen such a phenomenon in any previous war.

● 10/2 - 24/2 – A young artist, Ilan Golan, presents an exhibition called "What is the price?" The shocking pictures describe a young reserve soldier's feeling of despair and outrage at being abandoned and sent to die in an unnecessary war.

11/2 – Members of the "Alternative" party meet, in Haifa, with representatives of various groups active among the Arab citizens of Israel, to discuss various possibilities of wider cooperation.

● 10 - 11/2 – M. K.'s Yossi Sarid, Aharon Har'el, Ya'akov Gil, of the Labor Party, Elazar Granot of Mapam, and Mordechai Wirszuwski of "Shinuy" (a small liberal party) meet at Harvard University with a group of Palestinian intellectuals headed by Prof. Walid Halidy. Though the Palestinian participants

are officially present in a private capacity, it was clear to the Israelis that they all support the PLO and some of them hold positions within that organization. (This was also clear to some Labor hawks, who sharply criticized the meeting.)

● 12/2 – Five CAWL activists in Haifa are brought to trial for distributing anti-war leaflets and organising a non-violent demonstration, activities considered as "disturbance of the peace" by the Haifa police. That argument is not accepted by the judge.

Since the CAWL's formation, the Haifa police has tried every possible means to disrupt its activities, resorting even to illegal actions. In other cities the police's attitude was more tolerant.

● 14/2 – The Israeli Communist Party delegation to Yuri Andropov's funeral in Moscow meets there with Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO.

– A new research paper, published by Prof. Alex Weingord of Jerusalem shows that Jerusalem is still a divided city, and that its Jewish and Arab populations exist in two separate systems, with little integration. This research strikes a blow at the strongest taboo of Israeli politics – the so-called "unification of Jerusalem", which is in actually a military occupation and unilateral annexation of the Arab part by Israel.

● 15/2 – A reserve soldier, Rafi Givoni, writes a letter to the Defence Minister. In it he relates that he had been a supporter of the extreme right-wing "Ha-Tehia" party and had wholeheartedly supported the war. The cruel treatment of the Palestinian prisoners which he witnessed in Sidon, described in vivid and horrifying detail in his letter, had made him a pacifist, and he tells the Defence Minister that he is no longer willing to serve in the army. The letter and comments on it are published in several newspapers.

– Members of the WAO demonstrate in front of a policewomen's meeting in Tel Aviv, to protest the use of tear-gas against women prisoners in Nve Tirtza prison (see issue 4/5, chronicles for October 31th, November 4th.)

– Instructors from Beer-Sheba University sign a petition to the Defence Minister, against the town arrest imposed on two Arab students. The affair started on November 30th, 1983, when policemen and detectives raided the Beer-Sheba student dormitories, detaining four students and confiscating Marxist literature and books on the Arab National Movement. A magistrate ruled the police's action illegal and ordered the four released immediately. However, the army commander of the northern command issued town arrest orders against two of the students, confining them to their Galilee villages and thus preventing them from completing their studies.

● 16/2 – In a letter printed in the Labor newspaper Davar, a father whose son died in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, calls upon widows, bereaved parents and orphans to cry out against "those who initiated this damned war, who are responsible for it, who have shed and are continuing to shed every day the blood of our sons"

Members of "Meoravut" demonstrate in Jerusalem, to protest worsening economic conditions and the allocation of funds to settlements and the Lebanon War expenses.



● 17/2 - In a newspaper interview, two "Peace Now" members, who were severely wounded in the grenade attack in which Emil Grunzweig was killed, complain that for various bureaucratic reasons, state authorities refuse to pay for medical care for them.

● 17 - 18/2 - About 70 Jewish and Arab youth participate in two days of study organised by a Jewish-Arab youth circle called "Re'ut" ("Amity"). The youth concentrate on the situation of the Jaffa Arabs, who live in shocking conditions, neglected by the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality. They hear lectures, visit the Arab neighborhoods of Jaffa, and decide to prepare a report and publish it.

● 19/2 - The members of seven kibbutzim demonstrate in front of the Prime Minister's office. A bereaved mother, Efrat Spiegel, carries a sign with the question: "In the defence of which country did my son fall?"

A counter demonstration by the extreme right-wing movement "Tzomet" ("Crossroads") fails to draw more than a few dozens, compared to more than a 1000 anti-war demonstrators.

● 22/2 - Some in the peace movement elect to continue army service in Lebanon and the occupied territories, in the hope of ameliorating abuses from inside. They constantly face cruel dilemmas. This is demonstrated again when Col. Ran Cohen is ordered to judge two soldiers who refuse to serve in Lebanon, whom he sentences to 28 days restriction to camp, instead of the usual imprisonment. Cohen had been, for six years, member of the Shelli party, together with ICIPP leading members such as Uri Avnery and Matti Peled. Cohen's decision to participate as a soldier in the Lebanon War, despite his political opposition to it, was one of the main issues causing the party's split in March 1983. After the split, Ran Cohen and his supporters retained the name "Shelli", while Avnery and Peled joined the group which later founded the "Alternative" Party. Ran Cohen later volunteered to join the regular army, after being promoted to the rank of full colonel and is now on active duty.

- Rafael Eitan, the racist former chief-of-staff, appears at Beer-Sheba University, calling for permanent Israeli occupation of South Lebanon. In response to protests from the audience, he calls to an Arab student: "What are you doing here? Go to Saudi Arabia!" This racist innuendo causes strong protests from many students present, while right-wing students cheer Eitan.

● 24/2 - "Meoravut" Members demonstrate in Tel Aviv, erecting tents similar to the transient camps in which Oriental immigrants were housed during the 1950's, many of which developed into still existing slums.

- WAO members demonstrate in front of the Nve Tirtza women's prison, where the prisoners are continuing a strike against having to cook for the guards.

● 26/2 - Two soldiers, a sergeant and a lieutenant, are jailed for refusing to serve in Lebanon. Another soldier is jailed for 21 days for refusing service in the West Bank, declaring at his trial that he is unwilling to participate in oppressing the Palestinian People.

- M. K. Mordechai Wirszuwki, of the small opposition liberal party "Shinuy" ("Change")

declares he will henceforth open every Knesset speech by saying: "We should get out of Lebanon immediately".

- 50 soldiers of a paratrooper reserve battalion, just released from Lebanon, demonstrate in front of the Prime Minister's office, headed by the battalion commander, Major Ran Wingart, who says they have decided to demonstrate because they felt their service was useless and purposeless, consisting of defending themselves and unsuccessfully chasing undefined persons, and that Israeli presence in Lebanon is creating new enemies for Israel. Several hundred kibbutzniks also demonstrate with the same slogans.

Inside the cabinet meeting, ministers wrangle over several proposals for partial withdrawal in Lebanon, but reach no conclusion.

- 30 lawyers, Israelis and Palestinians from the occupied territories, sign a joint petition, protesting harsh and unfair penalties imposed by the military courts in the occupied territories.

● 27/2 - In a television program, some of Israel's most extreme chauvinist and religious fanatics are exposed. In the same program Dr. Avi Ravitski, a leading member of "Netivot Shalom", sharply denounces the fanatics on religious grounds, saying: "I regard our present situation as a sort of test. For 1900 years we Jews have been persecuted and tormented, and we called upon the world for justice. If, now that we have power over others, we use it to persecute them, we are making the suffering and sacrifice of our ancestors meaningless".

- A proposed law against racism and discrimination, proposed by M. K. Muhamad Watad of Mapam, passes first reading in the Knesset. The justice minister tries to neutralise the proposed law by turning it into a "motion for debate" which is not binding upon the government. He is defeated, and the law is passed to committee. However, it has a very long legislative process still to pass, and its chances of surviving in the present Knesset seem remote.

- The army stops distribution of an issue of "Bemahaneh Nahal" ("At The Nahal Camp"), organ of the Nahal corps, because of an editorial critical of the Lebanon War. In March the editor is sacked. The Nahal ("Fighting-Pioneering Youth") is a special kind of army service, in which the soldiers spend half their time in old or new settlements and the other half as regular combat soldiers. Among Nahal soldiers, who are mostly kibbutzniks or intend to become ones, there has been discontent over being ordered to help "Gush Emunim", as well as because of their high casualties in Lebanon (see issue 4/5, *Chronicles* for October 27th.)

● 28/2 - Residents of a Jerusalem slum, ironically called "Ir Ganim" ("Garden City") paint a green line around their neighborhood, to symbolise their demand that the government treat them as it does the West Bank settlements that lie beyond "The Green Line" (the pre '67 border.)

● 29/2 - Hundreds of students and instructors at Haifa University sign a petition calling upon the university authorities to stop disciplinary proceedings against the chairman of the Arab Student's Committee for his part in a January 19th demonstration against Ariel Sharon.



ICIPP Activities

On January 17, the ICIPP held a press conference in Jerusalem at which it announced two projects connected with the name of Issam Sartawi: the Issam Sartawi fund (see box), and a monument in his memory, which will be erected near the city of Acre, his birthplace.

Yigal Tumarkin, the Israeli sculptor who designed the monument, describes it as follows: "Coexistence, homage to Issam Sartawi, to be erected near Acre, facing the sea.

The sculptor is influenced by traditional forms of Muslim tombs, tents and water canals. The symmetric masses, colliding with two quarry stones (60x60x200cm) in the center, which are made of 20 mm steel plates (320x200cm), and a chord of 8 mm stainless steel, 20 m long, create the shape of a tent above a dry water canal which looks disconnected from its water source. The cloth waving in the wind with colors of the Israeli and Palestinian flags follows an old Canaanite tradition adopted by both Jews and Muslims.

The masses and stones are in strict symmetry symbolizing coexistence. The water canal will carry water only when coexistence and peace prevail".

Next to the structure, and in harmony with it, a plaque will be installed with the following verses by the Arab poet Adunis:

That which persistently haunts my heart
Uproots palm-trees, domes and bells,
Strikes the face of the earth,
That dissenting blood, that dissent
Is but another flame
In the name of the rising tomorrow,
In the name of the earth.

(Trans. M.B.)

The costs of the project are estimated at 10,000 dollars. Contributions will be appreciated. If the money needed could be raised in time, the monument will be unveiled in April 1985, on the day of Sartawi's assassination. Please mail your contribution to: P.O.B. 2343, Jerusalem. A special brochure in Hebrew, Arabic, and English, with pictures of a model of the monument, is also available.

As explained at the press conference, the ICIPP feels that the activities of Sartawi during the last nine years of his life, his contribution to the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, his ideas on peace expressed on numerous occasions, and the sacrifice he made for the cause of peace – all these deserve to be remembered in a very special manner. A sad aspect of the Palestinian people's tragic situation is that Palestinians who fall in the service of their people abroad are condemned to be buried on foreign land. This was also the fate of Dr. Sartawi. A monument for him in Israel would be an appropriate symbol of the cravings of the Palestinian people for recognition and liberty.

It is noteworthy that right-wing opposition to these projects has been much smaller now than would have been the case when the ICIPP started its activities in 1976. Denouncement, so far, has come only from "Gush Emunim" settlers (as could have been expected) and from the mayor of Acre, who

** Several years ago, there was a public uproar over the building, in East Jerusalem, of a monument to Jordanian soldiers killed in 1967. In official Israeli demonology, a PLO "terrorist" ranks much higher on the scale of evil beings than a Jordanian soldier . . .*

THE ISSAM SARTAWI FUND CHARTER

1. The fund, in memory of the late Issam Sartawi is hereby established for the purpose of encouraging research and creativity related to the basic problems of the Palestinian people and to the subject of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

2. The Fund is established by the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (hereafter "The Council") and will be administered by it. Additional organizations may eventually join the Fund with the Council's consent; in such a case the necessary changes in organization and administration will be announced.

3. Every year, on April 10 (the day of Sartawi's assassination) or on a date close to it, the fund will grant a prize for a scholarly, literary or artistic work in any one of the above mentioned fields. Works will be considered by a specially appointed jury if presented directly by

the authors or if recommended by a qualified person with the author's consent. The prize for 1984 will consist of the sum of 100,000 shekel. In subsequent years the sum may be altered. * The jury will be empowered to split the prize between up to three contestants.

4. As from 1984 the date for submitting the works will be announced in the month of January together with the names of the Jurors who will be appointed by the Council.

5. The prize awarding ceremony will be combined with a scholarly or artistic event initiated by the Council.

** The prize for 1984 was donated by the Henri Curjel group in Paris. We take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to them. (Henri Curjel, a left-wing Egyptian Jew living in French exile, played an important part in starting the dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. After he was assassinated, the group continued and still continues this activity).*

TEL-AVIV, 12/6/84

Dear Friends,

After discussions lasting several months between the "Alternative" Party and several Arab Groups and Organizations, the formation of "The Progressive List for Peace", which will run in the forthcoming General Elections, was announced. This Jewish-Arab list is composed of an equal number of Jews and of Arabs, and is headed by the Arab lawyer Muhamad Miari and by Matti Peled. Its program calls for peace negotiations between Israel and the PLO, leading to the establishment of a Palestinian State, alongside with Israel in its pre-'67 borders; and for complete equality between all citizens of Israel, safeguarded by a democratic constitution.

This list, both in its program and in its very composition, is a bold challenge to racism and chauvinism in all their forms. This was realised by the government as well, and its reaction was swift: On June 1st, Uri Avnery and Muhamad Miari received official notice from the defence minister that he intends to outlaw the list, using his powers under the so-called "Emergency Regulations", enacted by the British colonial regime. After a mobilisation of Israeli and world public opinion in protest, the defence minister had to back off, after being told by his legal adviser that his anti-democratic act has no chance of surviving an appeal to the supreme court. However, the struggle has only started, and right-wing forces are continuing their agitation for banning the list. For conducting the struggle against them, as well as the elections campaign proper, we need large sums of money, far beyond our present means. We hope that all friends of peace will extend to us their support.

Contributions can be sent by cheque or money order directly to the "Alternative" Party, at P.O.B. 31109, Tel-Aviv, or to our Bank Account No. 135781, Bank Ha'Poalim, Branch No. 510, Beit Eliyahu, 2 Ibn-Gvirol St. Tel-Aviv. They can also be sent to the following addresses:

1. West Germany:

A. Glezerman
Deutsche Bank 6 Frankfurt/M
70 Schweizer Platz 49
P.O.B. 700172 BLZ 50070010
Conto No. 7620545

2. France:

Mme Grobety
BP 345-16 75767 Paris
Cedex 16 (Please mark the
contribution "For Alternative
Elections Fund")

Mobilisation to prevent a Palestinian Leader's Deportation

The following is an article published in the "Jerusalem Post" on March 15th, 1984.

By **MICHAEL EILAN**
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel is planning to banish a Palestinian leader who has been kept incommunicado under military guard for the last 11 months.

The man, Abu Ali Shahin, is reportedly a friend of Yasser Arafat's and a moderate Palestinian nationalist who has encouraged contacts towards peace with Israelis. He is regarded as having considerable moral authority among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Shahin served a 15-year term in Israeli jails after he was arrested in Hebron for being the Fatah commander in the area. He refused to ask for the customary one-third remission of his sentence under parole, and since his release has been subject to official constraints of varying severity in the Gaza Strip.

Military sources said last night that Shahin is being banished because he never had the right to live in the Gaza Strip. The sources said he infiltrated from Jordan shortly after the Six Day War, and was allowed, for a while, to stay in Gaza.

But Shahin's attorney, Leah Tzemel, said at a press conference yesterday that Shahin was in Rafah when the war broke out, and was registered in Gaza in the post-war census that determined eligibility to live in the area. At one time after his release from jail, the authorities wished to banish him, but Tzemel appealed to the High Court of Justice with an affidavit from a Rafah official who said he had seen the form with which Shahin registered in the census. The army then cancelled that banishment order.

The military source could not explain last night why Shahin had been allowed to stay in the Gaza Strip if indeed — as the authorities

claim — he infiltrated from Jordan. The source said Shahin was allowed to stay "out of consideration," but could not say what had changed now.

Shahin is now confined to the village of Dahaniya, in the south of the Gaza Strip. Dahaniya is surrounded by barbed wire, with a military guard. Under the terms of his confinement he is not allowed to leave the village, must be at home from 5 p.m. to 8 a.m. and is "not allowed to have contacts with other people," without permission from the military governor of Gaza.

Shahin was not even allowed to see his wife until Tzemel appealed to a military appeals court who gave her permission to visit him for one-and-a-half days a week.

Palestinians and Israelis who have formed a Committee for the Defence of Abu Ali Shahin said yesterday that he had been recently offered a deal under which he would not be banished.

The terms of this deal, which Tzemel said had been offered by "very senior officials," were that Shahin was to publicly condemn the bomb that killed six people in a Jerusalem bus in mid-December. Shahin replied that he would be perfectly willing to condemn this attack if the Israeli authorities would in turn condemn Israeli attacks against Palestinian civilians in Lebanon.

In many ways Shahin is officially a non-person. He is being banished because his permit to stay, given together with the confinement order, has lapsed. But he is stateless, as are all Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip who were never given Egyptian citizenship (unlike refugees in the West Bank who got Jordanian citizenship after 1948).

The Israeli authorities have consistently refused to give Shahin an identity card

(Continued on back page)

Should he be banished, it is not clear which Arab country would accept him since he has issued very strong statements against the governments of Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia.

After his release from jail in the summer of 1982, he was allowed 10 weeks of freedom and was then confined to Rafah where he had to report to a police station twice a day. He was later confined to Dahaniya.

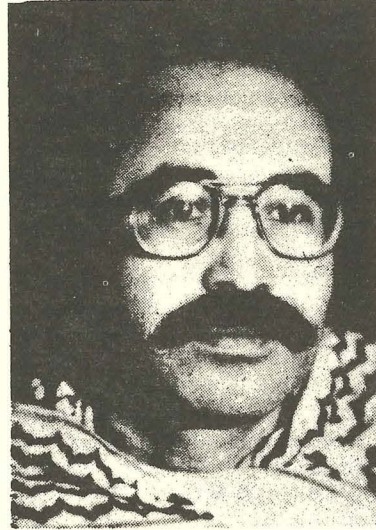
Under the terms of a letter Tzemel received from the army's legal adviser in Gaza, Shahin must "leave the area" by April 5. It appears that the army wants to banish Shahin through not renewing the order. It is in this letter that Shahin is called a "threat to security and public order."

Michael Argaman, of Kibbutz Kerem Shalom near Dahaniya, saw Shahin for several minutes a few months ago. Argaman said yesterday that he got to Dahaniya through the fields of his kibbutz. But a few minutes after he entered the house with an American journalist, soldiers from the guard at Dahaniya turned up and took him to Gaza. Charges were proffered against Argaman and the other people who

saw Shahin but they were later dropped.

Kibbutz Kerem Shalom has now joined the effort to stop Shahin's banishment. Other members of the committee are Ziad abu Ziad, Uri Avnery, Argaman, Feisal Hussein, and Leah Tzemel.

Members of the committee said they were especially worried about Shahin's health: he limps because of injuries to his back and has several severe ulcers.



Abu Ali Shahin

The Abu Ali Shahin Defence Committee is the first organisation, since 1967, which was founded jointly by Israelis and by Palestinians from the occupied territories. This was evident both at the March 14th press conference, and at a protest meeting held on March 24th, outside the Dahaniya fence. The speakers included Matti Peled and Uri Avnery, among a broad spectrum of Israeli and Palestinian speakers. The hundreds of participants also included Israelis and Palestinians, particularly a large contingent of Bir-Zeit students. This marks a new stage in Israeli-Palestinian cooperation for peace. The Committee has also published a protest poster in Hebrew and Arabic, and its members picketed the Defence Ministry in Tel-Aviv. On March 26th, a Supreme Court judge issued an interim injunction forbidding Shahin's banishment, pending a final decision by a three-member bench.

The next issue of "The Other Israel" will give details on further developments in this affair.



claimed that, "The monument will anger the Jewish population of Acre". Hopefully, he is wrong. The Jews of Acre are on good terms with their Arab neighbors. Nevertheless, until the monument is actually built, many political and legal obstacles will have to be overcome. But there is a good chance that they will be overcome, because Issam Sartawi has gained deep respect among many Israelis.

Recently ICIPP members have made several tours abroad. During German chancellor Kohl's visit to Israel, German television held a week of programs on Israel. It culminated in a 90 - minute public debate titled "Israelis, Palestinians, and We Germans". Uri Avnery participated on the Israeli side, along with col. (res) Mordechai Bar-On of "Peace Now". Among the Palestinians participating were Hana Seniora, editor of the East Jerusalem El-Fajr, and the journalist Hakem Abd-Al Hadi. The most important participant was one who was absent: The Israeli authorities denied Raymonda Tawil, of Ramallah, permission to go to Germany. Uri Avnery sharply denounced this oppressive act, which backfired because the seat, symbolically left empty for Tawil at the television debate, dramatized the Palestinian people's plight.

Several weeks later, Uri Avnery was invited, along with members of other Israeli Organizations, to address a party convention of "Democrazia Proletaria", an Italian independent left-wing party. On this occasion, he held talks with Palestinian guests to the convention, as well as with representatives of many peace organizations, and liberation movements from both the third world and Eastern Europe. ("Democrazia Proletaria" holds a neutral line concerning the great power struggle, and supports both the Polish "Solidarity" and the Nicaraguan Sandinists).

Matti Peled took part in two events in Paris. The first was a meeting of the French "Comite Palestine et Israel vivront" ("Israel and Palestine will live"), which took place at the French Senate building. It was sponsored by Senator Cecile Golder. Issam Sartawi's widow was the guest of honor. The meeting took place despite an attempt to sabotage it, by an Israeli hawkish Labor M.K., Aharon Nahmias, who had sent a telegram to the French Senate's secretariat, requesting it to cancel the "Anti-Israeli meeting". Mati Peled also took part in a Israeli-Palestinian colloquium, along with Gideon Spiro of the CAWL, journalist Ammon Kapeliuk, and others. The Palestinians participating did not officially represent the PLO, but their positions left no doubt as to their sympathies. (The deputy PLO representative in Paris, Amin Abu-Hatzira, was also present, though he was not an official speaker).

The ICIPP emblem, the crossed flags of Israel and Palestine (which appears at the top of this page), has continued to be a source of controversy in Israel. This symbol is worn by many peace activists, not only ICIPP members but also many others who believe in Israeli-Palestinian peace. The sight of it is greatly hated by right-wingers and by many police officers. Two incidents occurred recently. In one, right-wing students at Tel-Aviv University boycotted a meeting of the student union council,

because the council's vice-president, a member of "Campus", was wearing the ICIPP emblem; in another incident, Shabtay Levi, a peace activist, demanded that the police return an ICIPP emblem confiscated from him on March 30th. 1983. The police responded that the emblem, as well as two emblems of Bir-Zeit University, were destroyed on November 28th. by a court order. This court order was issued before the Attorney General's letter to the ICIPP, affirming that wearing the ICIPP emblem does not constitute a legal offence. Nonetheless, the ICIPP legal experts are now examining the Levi case, and considering possible actions.

The ICIPP in the New York Times

A recent series of articles in the "New York Times" disclosed details of the unofficial negotiations which had taken place between the U.S. administration and the PLO leadership in the first half of 1982. We reproduce here one of the "New York Times" articles which directly concerns the ICIPP.

This version is from the "International Herald Tribune", which reproduced the article on February 22th. 1984.

JERUSALEM - An Israeli editor and leftist politician, Uri Avnery, said Tuesday that before Israel invaded Lebanon, the Palestine Liberation Organization had negotiated with the United States a statement recognizing Israel and had scheduled it for release in Paris on June 14, 1982. The Israeli invasion took place June 6, provoking the PLO to cancel the announcement, Mr. Avnery said in a telephone interview. He said that the information had come to him from the late Dr. Issam Sartawi, the PLO's roving ambassador. Dr. Sartawi, an outspoken moderate, was assassinated in April 1983 at a meeting of the Socialist International in Portugal.

According to Dr. Sartawi's account as reported by Mr. Avnery the negotiations between the PLO and the United States were conducted through Tunisia, apparently paralleling contacts at the same time through John Edwin Mroz, a specialist in Middle East affairs.

Mr. Avnery is a former member of the Knesset, Israel's parliament, and editor of *Haolam Hazeh*, a leftist magazine. He has frequently met with PLO officials. One of those meetings, in England, was the genesis of the Mroz and Sartawi initiatives, he said.

Since 1975, U.S. policy has been based on a pledge to Israel that Washington would not recognize or negotiate with the Palestinian organization until it acknowledged Israel's right to exist and accepted relevant United Nations resolutions. Dr. Sartawi's effort, Mr. Avnery said, was to get the PLO to satisfy the American conditions.

"By the end of 1981", Mr. Avnery said, Dr. Sartawi "got the green light from Yassir Arafat to try to get American-PLO negotiations started. He had conversations with Bruno Kreisky in Vienna, with officials of the British Foreign Office in



London, the Elysée Palace in Paris and the European Economic Community in Brussels, and he decided that the best intermediary would be Tunisia". (Mr. Arafat is chairman of the PLO and Mr. Kreisky was then chancellor of Austria).

According to Mr. Avnery, Dr. Sartawi met with President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, who sent Prime Minister Mohammed Mzali to Washington.

"I'm not sure whom he met in Washington," Mr. Avnery said. "I believe it was Haig," he said, referring to Alexander M. Haig Jr., then secretary of state, "but I'm not certain. He talked with people there and came back to Tunis and said he had a positive response". Then, he added, over the next months "there was an exchange of messages to

prepare the statement that the PLO was supposed to give. The PLO wanted to be sure that the text of the declaration would be acceptable to the Americans, wanted the Americans to commit themselves in advance that the text would satisfy their demands".

Eight days before Mr. Sartawi was to read the PLO statement, Mr. Avnery said, the Israeli Army invaded Lebanon and "Issam Sartawi said he was sure he was double-crossed by Alexander Haig".

It can only be hoped that the next time the U.S. administration opens a round of discussions with the PLO (there are some indications that it may have already done so) it will have learned something from the Beirut fiasco.

THE AVRUSHMI AFFAIR: JUDICIAL PROCESS AND POLITICAL MANOEUVERING

As February 10th, 1984, drew near, a political time bomb began ticking under the feet of Israel's Interior Minister, Dr. Yosef Burg.

A year before, on February 10th, 1983, a grenade was thrown on a "Peace Now" demonstration, killing Emil Grunzweig and wounding ten other demonstrators. Throughout the year, speakers from the peace movement and dovish Knesset members pressured Burg about the Grunzweig investigation. They placed it with the list of other unsolved crimes, such as the 1980 bomb attacks on three Arab mayors in the West Bank, the murder of three students in the Hebron Islamic University, the acts of violence by West Bank settlers mentioned in the Karp report *, and the activity of the anti-Arab underground calling itself T.N.T. (Terror Against Terror).

Mr. Burg, a long-time veteran of political infighting, decided to head off the large "Peace Now" demonstration, called for the anniversary of the murder. In a surprise press conference, carefully staged to produce maximum dramatization, Burg announced that the murderer had been found and apprehended. He criticized "Peace Now" for its pressure, which "hindered the police in their work".

The man presented publicly as the murder suspect was Yona Avrushmi, a 28-year old petty criminal from Jerusalem. It was declared that he had acted alone, had no accomplices ** and belonged to no organization. His motive was presented as grief over the death of his brother, killed in the Yom-Kippur war, and over his brother-in-law, killed

in Lebanon. In this way, Burg hoped to put "Peace Now" on the defensive. He aimed to remove all political connotations from the Grunzweig affair, by turning it into an isolated act of a deranged individual, which even the most extreme hawk could piously condemn while going about his usual business of settling and annexing the occupied territories.

However, Burg did not succeed in carrying out such a political coup. "Peace Now" responded by placing the Grunzweig murder in the context of many violent attacks by government supporters on "Peace Now" demonstrations. It pointed out that such attacks were inspired by wild demagoguery and incitement by ministers; Burg himself had accused "Peace Now" of treason, during a pro-war rally, in July 1982.

Two days later, investigation into Avrushmi's background revealed that he had been employed as a mechanic in Ofra — a West Bank settlement whose members are known for their extremism. The settlers claimed they offered him the job after his last release from prison in order to help with his rehabilitation. They professed horror and disbelief at his being accused of "killing another Jew". (In the settlers' code, killing a Jew is very horrible; killing an Arab is something different, not so horrible.)

As the affair unfolded, public opinion showed less and less inclination to rest content with the convenient scapegoat offered up to it by Burg. It turned out that the police used undue pressure in questioning Avrushmi, such as denial of sleep. It also turned out that the police only have evidence that Avrushmi bought the fatal grenade — not that he himself threw it. Finally, Burg was charged by many public figures and legal experts with prejudging Avrushmi at the press conference, thus denying him the chance of a fair trial.

On the legal level, the question of Avrushmi's guilt or innocence, as well as the issue of possible accomplices, will be decided by the courts. On the political level, however, it is already clear that Burg failed to close the Grunzweig affair.

The "Peace Now" demonstration, held to commemorate Grunzweig, succeeded in drawing, both a large number of demonstrators and the support of many figures from the political center. To these demonstrators, it was clear that Israeli-Arab peace and the defense of democratic

*On this report, see the article in this issue.

** A soldier, arrested for stealing the fatal grenade from army stores and selling it to Avrushmi, was condemned to six years in a military jail. But the soldier did not, apparently, know for which purpose the grenade was needed.



rights within Israel have become inextricably linked. The enemies of democracy and peace are the same: those who wish to maintain occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Democracy and military occupation are incompatible – in the end, one of them will destroy the other.

Postscript: as this article goes into print, the police announced the apprehension of two Jewish terrorist groups, each numbering four members. One is accused of shooting at an Arab bus, wounding six passengers; the other, of attempting to blow up the Al-Aqza mosque and other Muslim and Christian places of worship. In possession of the second group, described by Mr. Burg as messianic crackpots, were found large quantities of army-issue arms, ammunition, explosives and even hovitzer shells. One of the messianic crackpots, for whom the police is still searching, apparently has a professional knowledge of explosives and sabotage techniques.

There can be little doubt that the police's sudden vigorous action, after years of "fruitless investigations" into similar cases, flows something to the pressure of public opinion. This pressure must be kept up, for only the tip of the terrorist iceberg had been exposed. (In the last 100 days alone, about 30 such terrorist acts were committed!) Moreover, as the right-wing parties and "Gush Emunim"

settlers try to disassociate themselves from these acts, the essential links between the occupation regime and the terrorism it breeds must be demonstrated.

** On March 9th, Ma'ariv reported that the police have already been aware, in 1982, of the "messianic crackpot" group's activity, but investigation was stopped "by an order from above". Upon this publication, the police command concentrated their efforts, not upon finding the originator of the "order from above", but on searching for the one who leaked the affair to Ma'ariv. The telephones of senior police officers were tapped, and police colonel Asaf Hefetz was suspended from duty, on suspicion he was the source of the Ma'ariv publication. This caused a near-mutiny in the Tel Aviv police, where Hefetz is very popular, and touched off a power-struggle among various factions in the police and several contenders for the office of Inspector-General. As this issue goes into print, the repercussions of this affair are still growing wider and wider, with col. Hefetz appealing to the Supreme Court against his suspension, and opposition M.K.'s demanding to appoint a commission of inquiry.*

Comment

THE KARP REPORT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

In July 1980, 14 senior Israeli jurists, who had compiled evidence on uninvestigated and unpunished violent acts by West Bank settlers, sent a memorandum to the Attorney-General. After a year, the Attorney-General got Begin's approval for appointing a team, headed by the Attorney-General's deputy, Yehudith Karp, and consisting of the Jerusalem District Attorney, a police representative, and a representative of the West Bank military administration. The team met once a month and reviewed material supplied by the police. Quite soon, the team felt frustrated and hampered in its work. In May 1982, it composed a report, which was shelved and not acted upon, while the West Bank situation continued to deteriorate. In 1983 Yehudith Karp, in protest, resigned from heading the team, which ceased to exist. The whole affair then leaked to the press, which demanded publication of the report. The government resisted publishing it for a whole year but had to give in and finally published it on February 7th, 1982.

The following are excerpts from a summary of the Karp report, published in *Yediot Aharonot* on February 8th, 1984.

The report examines more than 70 cases of lawbreaking, 15 of them in great detail, and from its findings and conclusions an alarming picture emerges of lawbreaking, of defects in police investigation, of refusal by the Jewish inhabitants (settlers) to cooperate with the police and of

involvement by the military administration in attempting to disrupt investigation against Jews.

The team observed that the police investigation is not carried out thoroughly, not only because the police is unable to apprehend the suspects and bring them to trial, but also because of "outside interference by military administration people, who give orders on whether or not to open an investigation, and on matters relating to the investigation, such as release from police custody". . . .

The report observes that "the interference of the military government in investigation is naturally interpreted as taking the side of the suspects".

Police major Ezra Kalij, head of the investigations department of Yehuda Police District (The southern part of the West Bank) testified that: "At a senior defence level, unknown to me, the Jewish inhabitants in the territories were made to understand that they are soldiers for all intents and purposes, including being under army orders. Because of this, they refuse to cooperate with the police or give information". . . .

The report describes various cases which the Karp team had examined, some of which are described in the following:

On March 24th, 1982, a boy was shot dead in the Bani-Na'im village, in Hebron District. The suspect was interrogated only six days later. In the interval, a delegation of Israeli inhabitants of the area came to the police, its members clearly stating they will not cooperate with police investigators, but will act "on instructions from the (military) administration and the Minister (of Defence)". It appears that the delegation also included the suspect himself.

An order for the arrest of one suspect was not carried out. A police officer claimed policemen



were supposed to carry out the arrest after midnight, but reported he was not home. Later, the suspect said he was home during that night . . .

On three similar cases involving death, the Karp team says:

"The team had great difficulty in following police investigation in cases of shooting by Israelis who are not soldiers, mainly because such cases have recently become numerous. Police reporting of such cases is extremely slow. In cases involving only wounding and in which no complaint was made, there was no report at all and no investigation is taking place. The police's position is that the police is incapable of following such events. In the village El-Arub near Hebron, a 14-year old girl was shot dead. The team heard of this only from the communications media, because the police did not report it at all . . .

Another case is the "Kdumim Affair". (Kdumim is a Jewish settlement near an Arab village named Kadum). Inhabitants of Kadum village appealed to the Supreme Court, claiming that in May and June 1981, 300 olive trees were uprooted from their lands, their property was damaged and trespassing was committed. Police investigation showed that illegal acts were committed on the appellants' land, but the case was closed because "the perpetrator is unknown".

The head of the Supreme Court Appeals Department in the Justice Ministry wrote: "I believe at least one of the chief perpetrators could have identified, because in the complaint to the police, one of the landowners described a man who had threatened him, a day before the events took place. Also, when the police investigator visited the scene of the crime, he found one of the Kdumim settlers there. Finally, a tractor was also working on the land, and its driver could have been investigated as to who employed him".

The team concludes: "The case was returned to the police for completing the investigation, and despite the fact that there was a good basis for identifying the suspects . . . the police returned it again, and after many months recommended to the Central District Attorney to close it permanently".

Another case dealt with "Beit Hadasa" in Hebron. (This is a house occupied by Jewish settlers, while on its ground floor several shops are owned by Arabs.) One evening, the ceiling of an Arab-owned shop caved in. The settlers on the floor above explained it as an accident, resulting from their dancing to celebrate the Purim Holyday. But on the morning, the merchant found all his merchandise gone, and the "Beit Hadasa" people explained that they have feared it would get dirty, and therefore removed it.

Finding all his merchandise gone, the merchant sat on the stairs and started crying. Three armed men from "Beit Hadasa" came and asked him to leave the place. When he told them that this was his shop, they stepped on his feet, pushed him, picked him up and removed him from the shop. His son, who arrived at this time, was also pushed and his left hand hurt . . .

Police major Kalij testified to the Karp team that the Hebron military governor ordered the Hebron police commander not to investigate this affair.

Due to considerations of space, we were able to bring here only small excerpts from the full 30-page report, but they are enough to show why it caused such a public uproar, and why the government was so reluctant to release it for publication. The "Gush Emunim" settlers immediately began a smear campaign against Ms. Karp, against the Attorney-General, and against Ezra Kalij, who had in the meantime resigned from the police. (Kalij had started libel proceedings against a settler, Eliakim Ha'etzny, who called him "a primitive man"). The settler propaganda regards all three as their sworn enemies. Several ministers, notably Interior Minister Yosef Burg, also attacked Ms. Karp and claimed the report was motivated by political considerations.

On the other hand, the peace movement, of course, defended the Karp report which confirmed its main arguments against the settlers. More significantly, practically the whole legal profession in Israel came to her defence, from law students who signed petitions, to the Israeli Association of Jurists and the respected ex-president of the Supreme Court, Shimon Agranat, and of course, Karp's own superior - Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir. Faced with this massive protest, Burg and other ministers had to retract their accusations, while Defence Minister Arens (ever eager to display a liberal image hiding an extremist position) came out in Karp's defence.

The Karp report has clearly had some effect in the occupied territories themselves. Three settlers from Alom-Moreh are at present undergoing trial for the murder of a girl from Nablus, in December 1983. In this case, the police persisted in its investigation despite all the pressure and even intimidation, which the settlers brought to bear - a fact which can be attributed to the counter-pressure exerted by public opinion and by the Karp report.

In considering the Karp Report, however, it must be kept in mind that it was not written by members of the peace movement, but by government officials, who acted on a brief to "investigate the enforcement of law and order in Judea and Samaria"; who throughout the report regard the settlers as "Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria", clearly recognising their right to settle and carry firearms, though seeking to define and limit the occasions on which these firearms are used. In short, the Karp Report recognises occupation and settlement as a fixed framework, but seeks to impose on this situation the norms of the rule on law, practiced (with some exceptions) within Israel. This is clearly impossible. This contradiction * is

* Another instance of this same contradiction occurred in the Supreme Court on February 15th, 1984. A settler, sentenced to 39 months imprisonment for shooting at an Arab car, appealed his sentence. His lawyer, Aharon Papo (himself a well-known right-winger) boldly claimed for his client the "right" to carry arms without permit and to shoot at Arab cars if he believes the driver intends to run him down. The judges severely reprimanded



but a reflection of a more basic one: for the last seventeen years, the Israeli government has been at one and the same time, a democratic government elected in free elections, and subject to criticism by

Papo, asking "Do you wish to create wild west conditions in Israel?" Actually, "wild west conditions" may be a fairly accurate description of conditions on the West Bank, with Palestinians playing the part of Indians.

"Security arrangements" – a catch-word for the occupation of Lebanon

In the first stages of the Lebanon War, a very important part was played by a single slogan, consisting of just two words: "Forty Kilometers". This referred to both the range of the PLO artillery, and the extent of Lebanese territory that was supposed to be occupied by Israel for the purpose of insuring "Peace For Galilee". Behind this slogan, a "national consensus" was established: in the Knesset vote held on the third day of the Lebanon War, all members of the Labor party but one voted for the "40 kilometer war".

However, within a very short time this slogan turned into a boomerang. Labor leaders and "moderate" ministers within the government regarded the "Forty Kilometers" as a convenient excuse to jump on the bandwagon, in what seemed, at the time, as a highly successful and popular enterprise. Unlike them, most ordinary citizens, among them soldiers in Lebanon, took it quite seriously. Their shock at finding themselves fighting a bloody and interminable war more than a 100 kilometers from the Israeli border, was one of the major factors contributing to the growth of the anti-war movement.

In recent months a new slogan, "Security Arrangements", designed for much the same political purpose, has become more and more common in Israeli politics.

This time, establishment politicians have done better. "Forty Kilometers" has a very precise geographical meaning, whose truth or falsity can be ascertained by one look at the map. "Security Arrangements", however, is a very elastic and ambiguous term, into which various meanings can be fitted.

Generally, it is presented to the Israeli public as a set of measures which will insure that territory vacated by Israel will not be again used for attacks on the Galilee. The actual measures proposed, both by government spokespeople and by Labor party leaders, amount to permanent Israeli rule in South Lebanon by indirect means. The "Security Arrangements" proposed by Labor leader Shimon Peres include the "right" of Israeli airplanes and warships to enter Lebanese airspace and territorial waters, for both reconnaissance and bombing missions; the "right" of Israeli ground forces to

a parliamentary opposition and a free press – as regards Israeli citizens; and a military dictatorship, enforcing an ever more brutal and repressive regime – as regards the Palestinian population of the occupied territories. The solution to this basic contradiction lies outside the scope of any official, legal report – it lies in the uprooting of the entire system of occupation and settlement, and its replacement by peace between two equal, sovereign states.

conduct search-and-destroy missions against "terrorist bases"; and the permanent presence of Israeli "early-warning stations" and "intelligence-gathering installations", in a territory policed by Lebanese "local forces" friendly to Israel. All these are, of course, also accepted by the government, thus re-creating the "national consensus".

It is hardly surprising that the Labor leadership is subscribing to the "Security Arrangements" slogan. What is much more alarming is that moderate sections of the peace movement, those close to or connected with the Labor party, have also started paying lip-service to this slogan. At demonstrations held by "Peace Now", "Parents Against Silence" and kibbutz members, slogans like "Get out of Lebanon now" and "Return the soldiers home", are interspersed with such formulas as: "Get out of Lebanon while obtaining security arrangements", "Get the best security arrangements possible" and "Hurry up with the security arrangements". Many demonstrators seem to support both sets of slogans, without realising the contradiction between them.

However, the situation in Lebanon might not permit this ambiguity to continue much longer. The Lebanese candidates vying for the role of "local forces" are faring more and more badly. The government of Amin Gumayel was supposed to play an important part in the "Security Arrangements". In the now defunct agreement of May 17th, 1983, it both provided legal sanction to the permanent violation of Lebanese airspace and territorial waters, and undertook to send its army southwards to police the northern half of South Lebanon (the southern half was to be policed by major Saed Haddad's Israeli-controlled militias, which were to be officially recognized by Gumayel as a "territorial regiment" of the Lebanese army). In practice, Gumayel's army has not even been able to hold on to West Beirut, which the Israeli army handed over to it in 1982 after disarming the Muslim population, much less extend its rule southwards.

Haddad's militias have been weakened by their leader's death, and Israel has not been able, so far, to find a replacement for him. In any case, even under the best of conditions this force, estimated to number between 1300 to 2000 fighters, has been barely able to control the narrow strip of Lebanese territory which Israel gave it in 1978. It could never cope with the much bigger territory and population which the Israeli army itself has great trouble controlling.

The decisive factor in South Lebanon is the Muslim Shi'ites, who comprise a great majority of



the population. This population, for many generations the downtrodden of Lebanese society, is now in the midst of an upsurge, influenced by the success of their co-religionists in Iran. The Shi'ites will now settle for nothing less than their rightful place in Lebanese society. Against this rising tide, Israel is attempting to create a "civil guard" in some Shi'ite villages, comprising a few hundred people, most of them criminal elements . . .

Faced with this situation, Israeli government spokespeople have begun talking more and more openly, about the need for an extended stay in Lebanon, while careful to add "until suitable security arrangements are established". *

However, continuing the Israeli occupation in its present form is far from easy. Unlike the West Bank, where Israeli rule is fairly stable despite continued Palestinian resistance, in Lebanon the Israeli army is stuck in a Vietnam-style conflict. As in every guerilla war, the Israeli army is hampered by political considerations. Some toughliners in the army and government propose such measures as sealing the Awaly river bridges – by which arms are smuggled into South Lebanon – destroying orange groves which give cover to guerillas or closing Sidon harbor in retaliation to a guerilla ambush. However, such measures greatly damage the region's economy and push larger sections of the population into open resistance. Also, this population is the very one out of which the politicians still hope to recruit the friendly "local forces" . . .

A compromise solution, debated both in government circles and in the press, is a partial withdrawal to a more southern line, "getting rid" of Sidon and its hostile, 200,000 strong population. To be effective, this must be followed by a complete sealing-off of the reduced territory, a brutal counter-insurgency campaign of the type used in the Gaza Strip in 1968-70, and an economic integration of the region with Israel, replacing the severed links with North Lebanon. Unfortunately, some of the centers of Shi'ite resistance to Israeli rule are located within the proposed new lines, such as the area east of Tyre. This area is named by Israeli soldiers "The Iron Triangle" or "The Triangle of Hatred", for good reasons. It is to be hoped that Israeli and world public opinion will not accept the cost, in human lives and brutal repression, necessary for the implementation of this plan.

The task of the Israeli Peace movement, and particularly of its hardcore sections that are free of Labor influence, is to help destroy the "Security Arrangements" myth, as they did with the term "40 Kilometers". Also, it must raise demands for complete Israeli withdrawal, for an end to Israeli manipulations and interference in Lebanon, and for an Israeli-Palestinian peace, which alone can remove the essential problem that caused the Lebanon War.

* Unlike the situation in the West Bank, no Israeli politician will dare talk of open annexation in Lebanon. During the first months of the war, a demand by "Gush Emunim" that South Lebanon be considered part of the biblical "Promised Land" aroused much public indignation, and the settlers were forced to retract it.

PLO –

WEEKS OF DECISION

The next session of the Palestinian National Council (PNC), expected to be convened in April or May 1984, may well be crucial. It may produce a historic breakthrough. But this is still far from certain.

In the wake of events in Tripoli, the Syrian attack on the Palestinian national movement and the meeting of Chairman Arafat with President Hosni Mubarak, there is an urgent need for new decisions. These should lead towards meeting US conditions for a dialogue with the PLO, some arrangement with the Hashemite regime in Jordan and a consolidation of the new relationship with Egypt. In short, creating the conditions for a resolute and persistent political effort by the PLO towards peace.

While it may be comparatively easy to pass the necessary resolutions on these matters, the real difficulty – and the real test – will arrive if and when another matter comes up: the dialogue with the Israeli peace movement.

In the past, Chairman Arafat has succeeded in convincing the PNC to adopt the minimum resolutions needed; and since 1974 an impressive record of realistic and moderate resolutions have been passed by the council. With one exception.

In the 1981 PNC session in Damascus, Arafat did not succeed in convincing the PNC to adopt a resolution to open a dialogue with all Israelis who accept the principle of Palestinian self-determination and the status of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Instead, a resolution was passed allowing for a dialogue only with "democratic and progressive forces in the occupied homeland who oppose Zionism in principle and in practice". This resolution, if strictly adhered to, closes the door to all Jewish Israelis, except a tiny minority of Communists and extreme leftists, who together constitute less than one percent of the Jewish population. It played a major part in the defeat of the Israeli peace movement during the Israeli elections which took place a few weeks later.

At the 1983 PNC meeting, in Algiers, an effort was made to alter this unfortunate resolution. It was spearheaded by Dr. Issam Sartawi, but Chairman Arafat prevented him from submitting his proposal, believing that the moment was not suitable. After the evacuation of the Palestinian army from Beirut in August 1982, Chairman Arafat took some very courageous decisions in this direction, such as meeting with a delegation of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (Matti Peled, Uri Avnery, Yaacov Arnon) on Arab soil. He had also invited Israeli Labor Party leaders to a meeting with PLO leaders in Italy, but was rebuffed by Labor. However, in Algiers it appeared that the relationship of forces made it impossible to adopt such a resolution without causing a serious split in



the PLO, and the leadership wanted to prevent this crisis. Instead, the old obnoxious resolution was left standing.

It may be argued that there are more than tactical reasons for this. The need for a dialogue with the Israeli peace movement has never been clearly explained to the Palestinian masses. The personal example of Chairman Arafat, and the interviews given by Issam Sartawi, were not enough to create a Palestinian consensus on this crucial matter. For many Palestinians, including moderates, the need for this dialogue is still far from obvious.

It has to be stressed that such a dialogue with patriotic Israelis, most of whom consider themselves Zionists, is absolutely necessary. The reasons for this are manifold. Without a face-to-face, open and honest dialogue, Israelis and Palestinians will not be able to communicate and understand each other. Lacking such understanding, neither side can explain to its own people how peace is possible.

More importantly, the first step towards a just peace is reversing the process of dehumanization evident on both sides. One picture of Chairman Arafat receiving an Israeli journalist in besieged Beirut, or sitting on a sofa between an Israeli general and an ex-member of the Knesset, did more towards this end than 100 a speeches. Such meetings have a profound symbolic value. They help to convince public opinion on both sides that a just solution is viable and will lead to a real peace.

On the Israeli side, it is the job of the hardcore elements in the peace movement, who advocate the creation of a Palestinian state and recognition of the PLO, to gain the support of the larger peace movement, such as "Peace Now". This is a necessary step towards changing general public opinion, which would ultimately lead towards a basic change in Israel's official policy. Such a process will of course be reflected also in American public opinion, which plays such an important role.

All this is quite clear to many Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories and in the higher councils of the PLO. The question is whether the forthcoming session of the PNC will be able to change the obsolete and anachronistic resolution of 1981, and call for an open, regular dialogue with all Israeli peace forces which accept Palestinian self-determination, statehood and representation by the PLO, irrespective of their ideological orientation.

The answer will probably depend on the composition of the PNC meeting. If the session is boycotted by all those who took part in the Syrian-Libyan aggression against the Palestinian people in the Beka'a Valley and in Tripoli - such as Ahmed Jibril's General Command, Saiqa and Fatah "dissidents", there will probably be a majority in support of change. In this case, George Habash's Popular Front might play the honorable role of the loyal opposition.

On the other hand, if the diverse groupings of foreign agents inside the PLO, the Fatah renegades and the elements manipulated by Syria and Libya, will again appear in the PNC session, there may be no possibility to adopt any relevant resolution at all. A period of stagnation and inflexibility may set in. This would be a disaster.

Faced with the greatest opportunities and dangers, the PLO is called upon by history to take decisive steps now. After the valiant fight of the Palestinian army in Beirut and Tripoli, led with great personal courage by Chairman Arafat himself, it is to be hoped that the same spirit of courage will now prevail in the political field.

Uri Avnery



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INCONSEQUENTIAL MEETING IN AMMAN

The long-awaited meeting between King Hussain and Chairman Arafat in Amman turned out to be an event of rather modest significance. After the historic meeting in Cairo, in which Arafat's political goals were found to be compatible with Egypt's adherence to its policy of peace with Israel, it was expected that the Amman summit would bring new life to the stalled peace process.

But in between the two meetings something happened which made the promising beginning in Cairo look like an exercise in futility. The joint visit of President Mubarak and King Hussain with President Reagan in Washington proved to the two Arab leaders that the US is still not interested in a serious peace process. The situation was described as that of a pre-election period, when nothing unpalatable to Israel, and its allies in American public opinion, can be tried.

But looking back over a 17 year period, with four presidential campaigns and five different administrations, the only puzzle is that such an argument can be still made with any pretense of sincerity. Between one presidential campaign and another, and Israeli elections thrown in when convenient, the USA has always produced ample reasons to oppose a meaningful peace initiative in the Middle East.

It is hard to know with what expectations the two Arab leaders went to Washington, but it is very easy to guess how they returned home. After being promised all the USA could offer in terms of military hardware*, they were forced to recognize that the US is no more willing to pursue peace today than it was 17 years ago. This must have been King Hussain's main message to Arafat. With this fact looming in the background, whatever else the two leaders tried to do in Amman, they must have realized that their belated meeting could be nothing but a nonevent.

There is only one interesting aspect to this nonevent: the meeting of 38 West Bank leaders with Yassir Arafat in Amman was in direct defiance of the Israeli military authorities, who expressly ordered them not to meet him. By this act of defiance, the Israeli government was placed in a dilemma: either ignore the defiance and suffer a loss of face (always a dangerous tactic for a regime relying on brute force, as Israel does on the West Bank); or punish the delegation members, thus persecuting even the most moderate Palestinians. At last, they were summoned, each to his district military governor, and reprimanded for meeting Arafat, which, considering the military's vast arsenal of punitive measures, is little more than a token punishment.

Matti Peled

* Which promise, also, was not kept, as King Hussain learned when shopping for "Stinger" missiles.