



# The Other Israel

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## 'LAW AND ORDER'

I replace Adam Keller as editor of this issue of *The Other Israel* for reasons symptomatic of the situation in our country: on April 15, while on reserve duty, Adam was arrested and is still detained in a military prison. He was accused of painting slogans against military service in the occupied territories on 117 parked tanks, armoured personnel carriers and trucks. He was also charged with putting up "Stop the Occupation" stickers in various parts of the base and distributing leaflets.

When interrogated, Adam stated that his acts were symbolic, intended to express his conviction that the power of the Israeli Defence Forces must be channeled towards self-defense rather than towards acts of oppression as at present.

On May 11 a military court found him "guilty of insubordination and of publication and distribution of written propaganda liable to undermine army discipline". Adam Keller was sentenced to nine months imprisonment, of which six months suspended; he was also fined and demoted from corporal to private.

From the perspective of Israeli military justice, it transpires, Keller's deeds are far more serious than crimes recently ruled on by army judges. On February 5, for example, a group of soldiers attempted to bury alive 4 Palestinians suspected of causing disturbances in Kfar Salim, a village in the occupied territories. At the time, this aroused much consternation and guilt in Israel. Yet, after the commotion and the breast beating subsided, the junior officer in charge was sentenced by a military court to 5 months imprisonment and the two soldiers involved were sentenced to 4 and 5 months respective-

ly. A military court of appeal reduced the latter to 2 and 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> months respectively while the officer case is still pending. According to the judges, the circumstances under which the soldiers were acting must be taken into account as well as their very positive personalities.

Another case - that of corporal Sagui Harpaz and his IDF comrades - reached the living rooms of millions of people all over the world. A CBS cameraman using a telescopic lens made a 40 minutes film of two young Palestinians being brutally beaten by Harpaz and three other soldiers. Harpaz was given a 5 months suspended sentence. The prosecution appealed and the Military Appeals Court gave him a "much" harsher punishment: 45 days in prison and a 5 months suspended sentence.

Thus, Israeli military courts perceive Keller's "crime" as far more serious than beating, burying alive and torturing Palestinians. Opposition to war and cruelty and the expression of outrage against the occupation are regarded as crimes more heinous than the brutal and malicious use of force against protesters in the occupied territories.

A common argument is that cases such as those noted above are the exceptions. Unfortunately, misbehaviour on the part of IDF soldiers is now becoming the rule.

After a complaint by MK Matti Peled (Progressive List for Peace) the army is now investigating a very serious case. According to Peled's and press sources a shepherd was killed from a helicopter after a real manhunt from the air was held, in open contradiction with ordinances.

MK David Zucker (Citizens Rights Party) reported for example the testimony of a reserve soldier who witnessed prisoners being transported to the military prison in Daharia being beaten, insulted and mistreated by IDF soldiers. As in many similar cases, the army's sole response was that the case will be investigated.

In some cases such investigations yield "results": an officer charged with improper use of arms by one of the soldiers in his command, in an incident in which a Palestinian was killed - in the village of Azamut - was reprimanded; the soldier received a 35 days suspended sentence. Causing death of Palestinians, is, it seems, less serious a crime than "Stop the Occupation" graffiti.

Another dimension of the problem of justice is given by the attitude towards crimes committed by civilians in the occupied territories. The IDF chief of staff, General Dan Shomron has stated that, in general, in cases involving Jews, investigations are slower than in other cases.

According to the IDF spokesman, over 200 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the uprising. In about 50 of these cases the cause of death is ambiguous. In some of these killings settlers were clearly involved. When the Gush Emmunim leader and head of a local Jewish council in the occupied territories, Pinhas Wallerstein, killed a Palestinian in highly obscure circumstances, he was released after only a few hours in custody, thanks to the intervention of Prime Minister Shamir and several cabinet ministers. This case, as many others, is still under investigation.

Unfortunately, this policy - and



## A short tour

At the end of May, MK Yair Zaban (Mapam) brought to the attention of the public a case that clearly illuminates the tragedy of Israeli society. A group of Israeli high-school students on preliminary training ("Gadna") visited a military base where Palestinian prisoners were held. Two of the youngsters were taken by a soldier for a short tour in order to see the arrested Palestinians. One of the boys so enjoyed beating and mistreating the prisoners that he boasted about it to the *Hadashot* daily. Before publication Zaban didn't get an answer from the army - when he complained about the case - for three months.

On June 1, after the army denied, confirmed and again denied, the IDF spokesman confirmed that investigation showed that a Palestinian prisoner was indeed beaten by one of the boys.

If an Israeli boy finds it appropriate to relate his joy in beating Palestinian prisoners, Zaban noted, even if the boy was exaggerating, we are witness to a dangerous new moral standard.

the values it implies - isn't confined solely to the army and military courts. A Civilian District Court justice, Judge Ori Strassman sentenced a civilian truck driver, a settler, who shot and killed a young Palestinian in the occupied territories to 6 months suspended imprisonment. The evidence presented to court showed that the driver was far from the boy and in no danger - a soldier who was close to the driver did not find it necessary to shoot. More upsetting than the sentence was Judge Strassman's explanation of its rationale. The parents of the boy killed were the guilty ones, he said, since they had not educated their son and prevented him from going into the streets and throwing stones.

The decision of Strassman aroused strong criticism. The attitude of the prosecutor towards his critics is another example of the deteriorating justice system: journalist Amos Keynan will be prosecuted because he condemned the verdict in sharp terms.

Since the Intifada began, more than 200 Palestinians have been killed by Israelis - soldiers and settlers - and over 5,000 have been

wounded. Beating and humiliating are the preferred means of dealing with the rebellion in the occupied territories. The practices of repression are quite the same as in repugnant regimes all over the world. The Intifada and its repression put a definite end to the myth of the liberal occupation. Repression cannot be civilized or made more "humane". We can see it degenerating daily, taking down with it the moral and legal integrity of the Israeli society.

After the verdict was given, Keller told friends that he did not want to be a small and obedient log in a machine galloping towards destruction; that it is impossible for him to stay quiet while the Israeli Defence Forces are being turned into an army of thugs, and the State of Israel - into an Apartheid state. He regards his term of imprisonment as a term of service to a free and democratic Israel.

In Israel of 1988 Keller and people like him are treated as serious subversives undermining our society. In this issue we will try to reflect the spirit of his action and we hope to welcome him in time for our next issue.

Zvi Schuldiner

## The prisoners

Since december 1987 over 10,000 Palestinians have been arrested. Over 5,000 are imprisoned, 1900 of them under administrative arrest without any judicial review, not even by military courts. Most of the prisoners are aged between 15 to 35 years. According to Israeli military orders minors between the ages of 12 to 14 may be detained for up to six months.

Some of the Palestinians under detention are those who were active in promoting dialogue with Israelis or bringing to their knowledge the situation in the territories. Most military camps are improvised premises and reports show that conditions in most of them are particularly hard and inhuman. Some of them can be described - without hesitation - as concentration camps.

On March 1988 Israeli military authorities issued new regulations

concerning Administrative Detention. Now any military commander has the authority to issue a 6 month Administrative Detention order (previously only the area commander had this power).

The new regulations cancelled the very limited quasi-judicial review process introduced in 1979.

## Disobedience

The number of Israeli reserve soldiers refusing military service in the occupied territories is on the rise. At the end of April 1988, ten such soldiers, including two officers, were in the military prison, the largest number to be simultaneously imprisoned since the Lebanon War. At the same time, civilian forms of disobedience made their appearance. At the Israeli International Telephone Exchange, thw eorkers were ordered to deny Palestinians the possibility of making international telephone calls. Some of the workers, however, continue to serve Palestinian customers; a special computer program was instituted by the postal authorities in order to locate and punish the disobedient workers.

At the cabinet meeting on April 24, Defence Minister Rabin disclosed another case of disobedience: when Palestinians appealed to the Supreme Court against their deportations, the lawyers at the State Prosecutors Office refused to represent the state in this case, declaring their belief that the deportations are illegal. Some ministers are now considering the unprecedented step of bypassing the State Prosecutor's staff and engaging private lawyers to represent the state.

...more disobedience...

On May 27, the Haifa police interrogated the widely-respected Lieutenant-Colonel res. Dov Irmiya. In a speech in February he had urged soldiers to refuse to serve in the occupied territories. Dov Irmiya, who himself did - despite his criticism - not refuse to serve in Lebanon during the Lebanon War, changed his ideas about the legitimacy of refusal after the "illegal orders given by Minister Rabin at the start of the uprising" (*Jerusalem Post* May 29, 1988).



## Tightening censorship

The Israeli government is increasingly determined to stop media coverage of its activities in the occupied territories. Access to the territories, or large parts of them, is now being denied. Soldiers at road-blocks are sometimes instructed to let both Arabs and Israeli settlers through, but to refuse passage to journalists and especially to television crews. The army started criminal proceedings against an employee of the A.B.C. Television Network, after he succeeded in smuggling a television camera into the West Bank town of Jenin and in taking pictures of a Palestinian demonstration.

After the assassination of PLO leader Abu-Jihad, the government took steps against foreign journalists who had published information on Israeli responsibility for Abu-Jihad's death. The permits of two journalists, representing the *Washington Post* and the N.B.C. News were withdrawn.

Meanwhile, the authorities continue their ruthless persecution of the staff of *Derech Hanitzotz* magazine. In February the paper was closed and journalist Ribhi Al-Arury placed under "Administrative Detention" without trial (see *prev. issue*). On April 15 Ya'akov Ben-Efrat, editor of *Derech Hanitzotz*, was arrested; the police obtained a court order forbidding publication of the charges against him, except that they have to do with "state security".

On April 23, Ben-Efrat's wife Roni – herself a member of the banned paper's editorial board – set out at the head of a delegation to an anti-fascist conference in Italy. However, at Ben-Gurion Airport, all members of the delegation were detained. The airport police asked them to strip naked, and all of them – including a 15-year old girl – were subjected to a thorough and humiliating search. Afterwards, the other delegation members were allowed to board their plane, but Roni Ben-Efrat was taken off to prison. Like the case of her husband, publication of the charges against her was forbidden.

On April 28, another member of the *Derech Hanitzotz* staff, Michal Schwartz, was detained by the police. The police also raided the paper's offices, confiscating its mailing list. On May 6, a fifth member, Hadas Lahav, was detained – on the same vague charges as the others, and a

few days later Asaf Adiv, the editor was arrested on the same grounds.

By end of May, journalist Ribhi Al-Arury is still under administrative arrest. Roni Ben Efrat, Michal Schwartz, Yaakov Ben Efrat and Asaf Adiv were brought to the Jerusalem District Court and are charged with the following: "Contacts with a foreign agent", "membership in a terrorist organization", "membership in an illegal organization and offering services to an illegal organization". According to the Secret Services the members of the group were contacted and recruited by a representative of the Popular Front (Hawatmeh) in late 1983 or 1984.

### Human Rights

U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering complains that Israel is not responsive to his remarks about excesses in the occupied territories. For while Israel is concerned about human rights of Jews in the Soviet Union, and exploits its relationship with the U.S. to bring their cases before the Soviets, when Ambassador Pickering speaks on behalf of Mubarak Awad or about human rights problems in the occupied territories it is considered "interfering in our domestic problems". Again a double standard becoming dominant in every field of our society.

It is necessary to remember that *Derech Hanitzotz* (published in Hebrew and Arabic) was closed one month before the detentions started. The paper, a small weekly, served as an important source of information on the events in the occupied territories. Foreign journalists were pleased to contact Schwartz and other members of the staff who offered serious and reliable help concerning current developments in the occupied territories.

On May 25 Hadas Lahav was released. Shin Bet and Police sources spread the version that Lahav will be a witness for the prosecution. Lahav vehemently denied the version and told the Israeli press the story of a very hard detention period in which she was put under severe psychological pressures. She also quoted her friends Michal Schwartz and Roni Ben Efrat who asked her to tell the public: "We are determined to continue and act legally, as we did till now, in order to uncover the occupa-

tion and to work for peace. The way they deal with us makes it clear how necessary it is to find a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since those methods spread more and more into Israel. We have no doubt that this is a political trial."

On June 2 there started in the Neve Tzedek theatre the International Symposium on the Freedom of the Press in Israel, and for the re-opening of *Derech Hanitzotz*. While its main initiators were in jail, the symposium took place with contributions of political figures, jurists, journalists and artists from Israel, as well as of organizations and Parliament Members from abroad. For the Prague-based International Organization of Journalists, represented by its secretary Bernd Rayer – who was one of the speakers at the opening-session of the symposium – it was the first step in the direction of supporting Israeli colleagues.

By the beginning of June 1988, some 30 journalists – Palestinians and Israelis – are being held in various Israeli prisons and detention centers.

In East Jerusalem the closure of the Palestine News Agency got a follow-up: at the beginning of May *Al-Awdah* weekly was closed down as well.

The continuing harassment of journalists and the increasing attacks on the freedom of press are becoming a topic of more general concern. On May 9, the Jerusalem Journalists' Association called an emergency meeting.

*\*Letters of protest to be sent to: Police Minister Bar-Lev, Police Ministry, Jerusalem, Israel – with copies to: "Committee to Defend the Freedom of the Press, P.O.B. 1575, Jerusalem, Israel.*

### 'Dai la-Kibush'

The 'Down with the Occupation' movement

This group was established before the beginning of the "Intifada" but activities greatly increased since December 1987. The members of the group are very active in organizing demonstrations, distributing leaflets, arranging protest pickets. One of the remarkable activities are visits of the group in refugee camps and villages in the occupied territories. These visits take place every Saturday and between 20 to 50 people from



different parts of the peace camp are taking part. Our hosts receive advance information that we are coming in order to avoid incidents that might be related, for instance, to the provocations of the Palestinian population by uncalled "visits" of the settlers. Usually the encounters follow a certain pattern: after the presentations of both sides there is a general talk among the participants in the meeting and both sides try to get to know each other. It's important to note that the answers in different parts of the territories are similar and reveal a very high level of political consciousness on the national and the local level. Israelis are often surprised by the well structured conception that challenges the common stereotypes about the Palestinians as reflected in the Israeli media.

The political emphasis of our Palestinian hosts is very clear: "The Israelis must negotiate with the PLO in the framework of an international convention. Our aim is an independent Palestinian state side by side with Israel, and this will be the basis for peace."

Those visits are very positive and many participants return with a stronger commitment to the Israeli-Palestinian peace cause.

Udi Arnon

## Chronicle of Protests

■ 8/4-9/2 - For two consecutive days, the streets around Prime Minister Shamir's residence are the scene of violent confrontations between rival demonstrations. After the events at Beita village settlers, supported by extreme-right Knesset members, demand stronger punitive acts against the villagers. A counter-demonstration by "Down with the Occupation" is assaulted by settlers; police, openly siding with the right-wingers, arrest six of the peace demonstrators. On the following day, however, the anti-occupation demonstrators come back in far greater numbers.

■ 14/4 - 62 Israeli women journalists send a telegram to Defence Minister Rabin, demanding the release of Palestinian journalist Nahida Nazal. The editor of the women's column of

*Al-Awdah* weekly, Nazal was placed under six months Administrative Detention without trial, the latest of 1,200 such detentions.

□ 14/4 - More than 2,000 students in Tel-Aviv University sign a petition supporting the principle of "peace in return for territory".

□ 14/4 - At the town of Ma'alot in the Galilee, anti-racist demonstrators clashed with supporters of Rabbi Meir Kahane. Kahane chose this day, the memorial day for the victims of the holocaust, to make a provocative appearance in Ma'alot - a Jewish town which has a joint municipality with the nearby Arab village of Tarshiha. The opponents of Kahane, led by Mayor Shlomo Buchbut, punctuated the arch-racist's speech by shouts and whistles; they were dispersed by the police, which arrested four of them.

■ 16/4 - Members of "Down with the Occupation" set out for the Dahariyah detention center on the West Bank, to protest the massive detentions of Palestinian inhabitants. They hold a demonstration at an army roadblock, where they were blocked by soldiers. One of the participants is the internationally-known Prof. Noam Chomsky, on a visit to Israel.

■ 18/4 - In the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a mass fist-fight breaks out as Jewish and Arab students protest the killing of PLO leader Abu-Jihad and confront counter-demonstrators. Policemen, wearing masks, arrive and arrest 8 Arab students.

□ 18/4 - The administration of the religious Bar-Ilan University forbids a newly-founded faction of dovish students from holding a conference. The foundation of this faction, supported by about 600 students, is a novelty in the traditionally right-wing Bar-Ilan.

■ 19/4 - A "Week of Poetry", scheduled to take place as part of Israel's fortieth anniversary celebrations is cancelled, after two of the central figures in the organising committee (Natan Zach and Nissim Calderon) declare themselves unable to go on with the preparations while acts of repression go on in the occupied territories.

■ 21/4 - On Independence Day, the official celebrations of Israel's fortieth anniversary are used by the government to mobilise support for its policies in the occupied territories. Peace groups, declaring their un-

willingness to participate in these celebrations, hold several protest actions. Members of the "Yesh G'vul" movement gather at the pre-'67 border, marking it with green to signify their belief that it is Israel's legitimate border and that Israel cannot be truly free and independent while it oppresses another people. "Yesh G'vul" members also picket the Defence Ministry in Tel-Aviv during an Independence Day reception, in solidarity with their comrades, imprisoned for refusal to serve in the occupied territories. Meanwhile, members of "The Twenty-First Year" group picket two official Independence Day ceremonies: a reception for soldiers and army officers at President Herzog's residence, and the granting of the governmental "Israel Award".

■ 24/4 - At Tel-Aviv University, the lecturers' group "Thus Far" holds a "Day of Study" on the possibility of peace negotiations between Israel and the PLO. Among the speakers are the Orientalists Prof. Yehoshafat Harkabi and Dr. Matti Steinberg, Dr. Majid El-Haj, a Palestinian teaching at Haifa University, and Hana Sinyora, editor of the East Jerusalem *Al-Fajr*.

■ 24/4 - Dozens of women journalists demonstrate at the headquarters of the Jerusalem police, demanding the release of the journalists Nahida Nazal and Roni Ben-Efrat.

■ 25/4 - Roni Ben-Efrat is brought to the court at Petach Tikvah (a Tel-Aviv suburb) where her detention is extended for another ten days. Her friends and family members hold an improvised demonstration inside the court by wearing T-shirts with the slogan: "Down With Censorship".

■ 28/4 - In Jerusalem, youths supporting the "Peace Now" movement hold a march to the Knesset and the Prime Minister's office. The call to the demonstration quoted Israel's Declaration of Independence: "The State of Israel will be based on the principles of Liberty, Justice and Peace (...). We extend our hand in peace and good neighborliness to the neighboring states and their peoples."

■ 1/5 - Reserve Captain Gideon Eshet is imprisoned for refusing to perform military service in the occupied territories, bringing to twenty the number of soldiers imprisoned since the start of the Palestinian uprising.

□ 1/5 - At the giant May Day



demonstration, held in Tel-Aviv by the Histadrut Trade Union Federation, the Labour Party organisers make an effort to prevent the presentation of slogans concerning events in the occupied territories. Nevertheless, some contingents – notably the Communist one – present slogans such as “Israel and Palestine – Two states for two peoples”. In Nazareth, the May Day demonstration, in which about 10,000 Arabs and Jews participate, is centered on opposition to the occupation.

■ 2/5 – Members of Ratz (“Civil Rights Movement”) demonstrate in East Jerusalem, in front of striking Arab shops whose owners were ordered by the army to close them. The demonstrators demand the stoppage of judicial proceedings, which were started against the merchants for their non-compliance with the military orders.

□ 2/5 – 117 journalists sign a petition calling for publication of all charges and evidence against Michal Schwartz, editor of *Derech Hanitzotz* and lifting of the veil of secrecy surrounding her arrest.

■ 5/5 – 2,000 inhabitants of Israeli towns near the Gaza Strip sign a petition calling for withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Strip. The signatories state that, for the sake of peace, they are willing to accept the risks inherent in living again near an international border, as they were living before 1967. The petition was organised by doves in the local branches of the Labor Party.

□ 5/5 – A group of Israeli and Palestinian doctors sent a letter to Defence Minister Rabin, protesting the Administrative Detention of Dr. Zakariya Al-Aga, head of the Gaza Medical Association. They called upon the Israeli Medical Association to intervene, and declared their intention to demonstrate if Al-Aga is not released by 9 May (see *sep. article*).

□ 5/5 – As settlers hold a provocative march near the Beita village, 100 members of “Down with the Occupation” hold a counter-demonstration inside the village, and are warmly received by the inhabitants.

■ 8/5 – The Haifa police announces that it starts an investigation aimed at finding the publishers of a leaflet, calling upon soldiers to mutiny against service in the occupied territories. According to the police, such leaflets signed by a previously unknown organization, were distributed in a Haifa neighborhood.

■ 11/5 – 50 members of “Down with the Occupation” picketed the Prime Minister’s residence in Jerusalem, calling for the re-opening of *Derech Hanitzotz* and the freeing of its editors.

*In the meantime the weekly vigils of local groups in Haifa, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem like “Down with the Occupation”, “Women in Black” etc. continue. In general they are countered with support from the public – more and more bystanders signing petitions – but also with organized aggression by right-wing groups.*

## Stop press

On Saturday evening June 4, over twenty old and new peace groups (see *prev. issue*) organized together a march through Tel Aviv ending in a rally – to commemorate and protest the 21st anniversary of the occupation and the starting of the Lebanon War in 1982. The police arrested in the very beginning of the march one of the participants – an older woman in traditional (Arab) cloths – because of the provocative colours of her scarf (the colours of the PLO flag). The reaction of those around her – who felt that the police was the one who made a provocation – did not please the police either; five more were arrested; some of them were severely beaten; two foreign journalists were also among the victims of police violence.

The demonstration was a successful evidence of unity and radicalization in the peace camp. A lot of very young and militant activists in the different groups generated a strong and optimistic feeling among the more than 10,000 demonstrators.

## ‘Peace Now’ protest

Over a thousand Israelis participate in a “Peace Now” rally near Nablus on May 28. The permit for the demonstration was given under severe restrictions. Even after an appeal to the Supreme Court the “Peace Now” supporters were refused admittance to the towns and villages, unlike the settlers organized in “Gush Emmunim” a few weeks earlier. Therefore the initial plan of a demonstrative caravan to Nablus, on the way spreading leaflets with a message of peace to the inhabitants

of Beita and Turmouss Iyya (both recently afflicted with army and settler violence) had to be cancelled; also forbidden was to carry banners with two empty chairs, saying: “Now sit down and talk!” or any other slogan. The peace-rally had to take place outside Nablus on the rifle-range (!) of military camp “Horon” and not in the town, as the organizers wanted. The message of peace was read at the rally in Hebrew and Arabic. Several speakers used the example of Beita village to expose the policy of the government and especially Defence Minister Rabin, as well as to point to the role of the settlers. Tzali Reshef, spokesman of “Peace Now”, called for negotiations between the Israeli government and the Palestinians, who should themselves decide who represents them. Despite the precautions of the authorities, the message was understood by some Palestinians, who saw the over-crowded busses and many private cars pass with an army escort. Palestinians and demonstrators were shown on the television news broadcast of that same day waving and exchanging the V-sign. One of the demonstrators told she received an olive branch.

## Doctors’ protest

At the end of 1987, Dr. Ruhama Marton, a psychiatrist from Tel-Aviv, visited hospitals in Gaza and East-Jerusalem and was shocked by what she came across. A week later, 12 other doctors participated with her in a further visit to the Palestinian hospitals. The initiative led, in March 1988, to a meeting of Israeli and Palestinian doctors in Tel-Aviv (see *prev. issue*). Ninety eight of the participants decided to form a permanent association, which set itself the following aims:

- 1) To protect doctors in the occupied territories who are subjected to harassment, interrogations and arrests.
- 2) To exchange information with the Palestinian doctors.
- 3) To follow the cases of wounded Palestinians who are taken from the hospitals to interrogation. Some of them are later returned with new wounds; others remain in detention, and receive no further medical attention at all.
- 4) To hold public meetings on medical conditions in the occupied



territories.

5) To maintain contact with similar organizations abroad.

On March 9, by-passers near the Defence Ministry in Tel-Aviv witnessed an unusual spectacle: 16 doctors, wearing their white smocks, holding a picket line. The doctors demanded the immediate release of Dr. Zakarya Al-Aga, chair of the Gaza Strip Medical Association, who was placed under Administrative Detention. The doctors presented a protest to Defence Minister Rabin, and called upon the Israeli Medical Association to intervene.

*The doctors' protest is part of a series of protests by professional groups, such as the protest of journalists.*

## The deportation of Mubarak Awad

On May 5, 1988, Prime Minister Shamir – in his capacity as Israel's Interior Minister – signed an order for the deportation of Mubarak Awad, head of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence. More than twenty policemen promptly descended upon Awad's house in East Jerusalem, taking him off to Police Headquarters in preparation for carrying out the deportation. Officially, Shamir's step was explained on the grounds that Awad is "an American tourist whose visa had expired", thus ignoring the fact that Awad was born in Jerusalem and lived there for most of his life, though he did spend some years in the U.S., during which he acquired American citizenship. In fact, the deportation order very clearly resulted from the combined pressure of the extreme right and of the security services, both of which became alarmed by the successful use of non-violent methods – of types long advocated by Awad – in the course of the Palestinian uprising\*.

Upon his arrest, Awad started a hunger strike at the police compound. The Awad affair gave rise to a wave of protests, not only in Palestinian East Jerusalem but also in the Israeli western part of the city. On May 7, members of "Peace Now" picketed Prime Minister Shamir's residence. Later that evening, another demonstration took place outside the police compound.

## Punishment...

At January 3, 1988, the killing of Hanieh Ghasawne, a 25-year old Palestinian woman at al-Ram, north of Jerusalem, caused wide-spread riots and brought the Palestinian uprising to previously untouched regions of the West Bank. A paratrooper, running after a stone-throwing kid, shot her while she was in her home, washing. As in the great majority of such cases, the soldier was not punished. He was on the contrary transferred to the officers' training course, where he excelled. On May 14, while on weekend leave, the soldier played with explosives which he took from the training camp. An explosion occurred, in which he lost his hand. At the hospital he told his family: "This is my punishment for what I did to the woman, who did me no harm and for whose death I am to blame." Family members told the press\* that he had been conscience-stricken, throughout the last four months, and expressed fear that he would further harm himself.

\* *Ma'ariv*, 20/5/88

Some of the demonstrators remained the whole night. One of them, Dr. Eddy Kaufmann (head of the Israeli branch of "Amnesty International"), started a hunger strike in solidarity with Awad's, and ended it only when Awad himself accepted to end his hunger strike.

Members of the "The 21st Year" demonstrated during several days in front of Shamir's residence and the case came under the scrutiny of Israel's Supreme Court of Justice.

At the beginning of June the Supreme Court ruled that the Israeli government is entitled to expell Mubarak Awad from the country. Despite the protests in Israel and the diplomatic pressure from the U.S. government, it seems that Awad will be expelled in the coming days.

\* *For example, the boycott on Israeli cigarettes, launched in January, seems to be effective: according to the management of the "Dubeck" cigarette factory – which holds a monopoly in Israel – sales in the occupied territories have dwindled almost to nothing, resulting in a loss of 20% of the factory's total market.*

## From prison

*The following is a fragment of a letter from Adam Keller:*

...you felt very worried about the witch-hunt against the *Derech Hanitzotz* people and what it could mean for the future of the whole left. But there are reassuring aspects to the whole thing: the many big sympathetic articles in the press, *Hadashot*, *Yediot Aharonot*, and even in *Ma'ariv*; the fact that the parents felt like speaking out: Tova Adiv, the mother of Udi and Assaf Adiv, and Prof. Yehoshua Arieli, the father of Michal Schwartz. Tova Adiv is an accepted member of Gan Shmuel, which is one of the biggest kibbutzim of Mapam. And Arieli is a very well-known professor, a pillar of the liberal academic establishment, very much a member of the moderate dovish Peace Now-style milieu. This sympathetic tone is continuing – in some of the main newspapers of Israel – after the Nitzotz people were already accused of being "members of a terrorist organization". Do you realise what a revolution that is?

And there is also the decision of Mapam – under the well-known conditions – to talk with the PLO. New is the emphasis Mapam gives it in its propaganda. Apparently they see it as their interest to make now, more than in the past, leftward gestures. The victory of the Doves in the Labor Party elections is the outcome of similar calculations.

I really feel that a polarization is taking place – in two directions – not just a shift to the right. I hope all this will be mentioned in *The Other Israel*. But I specially want you to feel a little bit more optimistic about the political future which is so much connected with our personal fate...

## More oppression

In the Gaza Strip the army has adopted a new tactic. Refugee camps are surrounded, and the army goes from house to house, collecting the identity cards of the whole population. The people are given slips of paper and are ordered to report to the military headquarters in order to collect their I.D. cards.

When they arrive at military headquarters they are told that they will not be given new identity cards till they have paid all their taxes. Non-payment of taxes is one of the non-



violent forms of protest which has been adopted during the uprising.

In both the West Bank and Gaza, obtaining a wide variety of permits from the authorities requires now the special approval from the Civilian Administration. For every kind of activity different kinds of permits are now required and this implies going through long and humiliating bureaucratic processes.

When people report to the tax department, they are ordered to pay unprecedentedly high taxes. Given the harsh economic conditions during the Intifada many are unable to pay.

## Complex picture of public opinion

In his book *National Security and Public Opinion* (1988) Dr. Asher Arian provides an interesting insight into public opinion in Israel. Among other subjects the book presents the results of two polls, one carried out in 1986 and the second one in 1988. We present here a few of the topics, which we believe are indications of some political trends.

In 1986, 96% expressed their belief in Israel's ability to survive in the long run; in 1988 the percentage decreased to 89%.

Regarding the issue whether peace with Arab countries is achievable the answers were:

	1986	1988
Very sure		12%
Sure	} 57%	47%

Is Israel able to influence Arab aspirations towards peace?

In 1986 62% answered affirmatively, while in 1988, 61% were in the same position.

As to the question of which is the best way to prevent war, more than 60% supported the option of peace talks both in 1986 and 1988.

Regarding government policy in the occupied territories Israelis expressed their beliefs as follows:

	1986	1988
The policy is correct	50%	33%
The policy is too soft	45%	51%
The policy is too tough	5%	11%

In this question we see a clear decrease in the support for government policies, although the change in opinions is divided towards hawkishness and dovishness.

Regarding the question of the future of the occupied territories: in 1986 54% supported annexation, while in 1988 the percentage is 57%. At the same time, in the last poll 64% supported the Israeli participation in an International Peace Conference under the patronage of the super-powers.

One of the more interesting questions is related to whether to negotiate with the PLO. One third of the population supports negotiations with the PLO. If the PLO refrains from terror and recognizes Israel half of those refusing now to deal with the PLO will reverse their opinion and accept negotiations with that organization.

This means that the Israeli public is less dogmatic and more realistic than the political leadership of the country. Till now the political elite is united in its total rejection of the PLO as a partner to peace talks. The only exception to this rule is given by the Israeli left (especially radical groups in the peace camp, the Progressive List for Peace, the Communist Party and allies). After the last convention Mapam can be included in this camp. These findings about talks with the PLO are similar to those presented by Dr. Yoav Peled in the last Political Science Association annual meeting. According to Dr. Peled half of the population is in favor of negotiations with the PLO.

## Dialogue in Stockholm

During the negotiations leading to the Syrian-PLO rapprochement, the Syrians reportedly raised the demand that the PLO stop its contacts with Israeli peace activists. This circumstance gave a special significance to a meeting held in Stockholm on the day in which PLO leader Abu-Jihad, assassinated by the Israeli secret services, was buried in Damascus. The meeting was organized by the Swedish "Jews for Israeli-Palestinian Peace" and chaired by this organization's secretary, Ernst Hollander.

At the meeting Dr. Eugene Makh-

louf, PLO representative in Sweden, voiced the hope that a brave Israeli leader will propose a peace plan acceptable to both sides. He emphasized that the PLO's dialogue with Israeli peace groups is not conducted on a personal basis, but according to the decisions of the Palestinian National Council (PNC). In reference to the killing of other peace-minded Palestinians, Dr. Makhlouf stated that, while Israeli participants at the dialogue risk prison sentences, Palestinian participants risk their lives.

On the Israeli side, there participated Latif Dori, already on trial for his participation in a previous meeting with PLO members\*. He spoke about the struggle waged by Israeli peace activists against the occupation, and called upon the Swedish participants to continue supporting the State of Israel while firmly opposing the oppressive policies of its government.

The International Secretary of the Swedish Social-Democratic party said his party is both pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian, supporting both peoples' right to self-determination.

Matti Silvan, of "Peace Now" talked about his movement's activities and called for mutual recognition between the two peoples.

Among the audience were many Zionist personalities, including Steve Hollander, former chair of the Swedish Zionist Federation (*Al Hamishmar*, 24/4/88).

\* On June 3 Latif Dori and three other members of the 22 Israelis who went in November 1986, to Rumania for dialogue with PLO representatives, were found guilty of meeting members of a "terrorist organization". The sentence - maximum three years in prison - will be decided in a few weeks.

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## PLP convention

On April 29-30 the first PLP convention was held in Nazareth, at the Dorr halls, with 300 delegates: 200 from the Progressive Movement and 100 from Alternativa. The opening evening was attended by close to one hundred guests.

The first part of the evening was dedicated to welcome addresses by Canon Riyah Abu al-Asl, the Secretary General of the Progressive Movement and Hayim Hanegbi, the Spokesman of the PLP Parliamentary Group. Congratulatory messages, coming from tens of friendly organizations abroad, were read including a long message from Abu Mazen, member of the PLO Executive. Scott Kennedy and Deena Hurwitz brought oral messages from New Jewish Agenda.

Being the month of Ramadan, the proceedings were stopped at seven p.m. for dinner which was served on the premisses.

In the second part of the evening three addresses were delivered: Matti Peled spoke on 'The Challenge of the PLP to the Jewish Population in Israel'; Muhammad Miari spoke on 'The Role of the Arabic Population in Israel' and Dr. Mariam Mar'i spoke on 'The Education for Peace in Times of Conflict'. (All three addresses will be available in video cassettes).

In the morning session of the second day of the convention the political statement entitled 'Principles for Coexistence' was presented by Yossi Bard and Badr Ünis (available on request from the PLP, P.O.B 31109 Tel Aviv and P.O.B 2472 Nazareth). The statement was debated all morning. The afternoon, MKs Miari and Peled replied in the name of the Joint Executive of the PLP and then votes were taken on three proposals:

1. *The Statement of Principles was overwhelmingly adopted as an addition to the official platform of the PLP.*
2. *The Joint Executive was declared as the Executive of the PLP, thus marking a significant step toward the eventual merger of the component parts of the PLP.*

*3. A call was issued by the Convention to all peace seeking parties in Israel to join forces toward the forthcoming general election to the 12th Knesset.*

The latter two resolutions were adopted unanimously.

### Matti Peled testifies before the Black Caucus in Washington; meets Rev.Jackson

*On April 27, Matti Peled testified before the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington who begun hearings on the situation in the occupied territories. The hearings were boycotted by AIPAC (the Jewish lobby) and representatives of the Israeli press were conspicuent by their absence.*

While testifying on the Hill, a hasty meeting was arranged for Matti Peled with Rev. Jackson who happened to be in Washington on that day. The meeting took place in Rev. Jackson's airplane where members of the media accompanying the presidential hopeful had a chance to put questions to Peled. As Peled explained he had sought the meeting in order to encourage Rev. Jackson to persist in pursuing the line he has adopted on the Israeli-Palestinian question which in essence calls for a compromise between the PLO and the Government of Israel in settling their dispute.

### Solidarity with Adam Keller

*Letters and telegrams expressing support and solidarity with Adam Keller arrived to us from all over the world. The letter from the Jewish Socialists Group from London gives a picture of the contents of these messages:*

Dear Adam,  
...We are writing to express our solidarity with you and all the peace camp in Israel, and to let you know that you have the support of Jews in the diaspora who are also working for a settlement based on peace and justice...

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