Resistance and Refusal in Israel Since 1967

Faces of Hope: A Campaign Supporting Nonviolent Resistance and Refusal in Israel and Palestine

Faces of Hope: A Campaign Supporting Nonviolent Resistance and Refusal in Israel and Palestine is an AFSC campaign to support the growing movement of nonviolent resistance present in both Israel and Palestine. These courageous Israelis and Palestinians need wider support and visibility in order to strengthen their efforts to end the Israeli military occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Through this educational and advocacy campaign, AFSC seeks to build a well-informed network of people living in the United States who will support the vision and efforts of these nonviolent activists and work to end US support for Israeli occupation.

There is a long and rich history of Jewish work for coexistence in Israel and Palestine. This history began long before the creation of the state of Israel during the pre-state period when luminary figures throughout the European Jewish diaspora, such as Martin Buber and Albert Einstein, advocated for a binationalist solution to accommodate both Jewish and indigenous Arab populations within historic Palestine. This debate over the politics, and meaning, of a Jewish state continues to this day and is expressed, among other places, in the current Israeli protest against Israeli policies in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT).

The 1967 War

During the 1967 War Israel occupied the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as well as the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. While these territorial gains led some Israelis to promote an expansionist agenda to control all of historic Palestine – others in Israel were alarmed by this change of events and advocated for an end to the occupation of these areas. An early organization founded toward these ends was the Movement for Peace and Security which existed from 1968 until 1973. Mainly made up of academics, the Movement primarily provided analysis and education through publications and conferences on Israeli government policy in an effort to change public opinion about the occupation. Siah (Israeli New Left) was another early organization that worked to challenge the occupation during its early years. Siah took a more direct action approach than the Movement and gained notoriety through holding demonstrations outside Prime Minister Golda Meir’s residence. Siah provided an early voice challenging Israeli policies of collective punishment and the building of settlements in the newly occupied territory.

Land Day

On March 30, 1976 thousands of Palestinian Israe-

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lis protested an Israeli government plan to expropriate 60,000 dunams of Arab-owned land in the Galilee (a predominantly Arab area in northern Israel) through a national general strike. In the confrontations with Israeli police that followed, six Palestinians were killed and 96 more people were injured. These protests were the first widespread protests by Palestinian Israeli citizens against state policy in the state’s history. From 1948 until 1966 the Palestinian community within Israel lived under a military administration which severely restricted their civil rights, although Palestinians living within Israel’s internationally recognized borders had been declared Israeli citizens following the 1948 War. These events are remembered each year during Land Day, a commemoration of the events in 1976 and protest against state-sanctioned discrimination against the Palestinian Israeli community.

**Peace Now**

After the Likud Party’s victory in the 1977 elections, the Israeli government was controlled by a right leaning party for the first time in the country’s history. This move to the right combined with the continuing occupation of Palestinian territory and Israel’s souring relations with its neighbors following wars in 1967 and 1973 led to the creation of Israel’s first widespread peace movement. **Peace Now** (Shalom Achshav in Hebrew) was born out of a letter signed by 348 Israeli Defense Force reserve officers in March, 1978 that questioned the Israeli government’s policy of expanding Israeli settlements in the OPT and its commitment to peace. The letter clearly struck a nerve among the Israeli populace and within a month the letter had 10,000 signatories (within three months it would have 100,000 signatures) and a demonstration held under the name the Peace Now drew 40,000 people in Tel Aviv.

Peace Now evolved into a broad-based organization which coalesced around a call for peace with Egypt, an end to building Israeli settlements in the OPT, the reciprocal relationship between peace and security, and the understanding that “occupation corrupts the occupier.” At first the organization engaged in lobbying, legal action, demonstrations and creative media events, and later turned to protest and public education campaigns against the construction of Israeli settlements. Although Peace Now activities hit a lull in the early 1980s, a month after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 Peace Now organized a demonstration that drew 100,000 in Tel Aviv, and later in the year a larger Peace Now protest drew 400,000 following a massacre of Palestinian refugees at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps near Beirut which helped cement Israeli opposition to the war. In more recent years Peace Now has focused its work on challenging Israeli settlements in the OPT. Their Settlement Watch project monitors and protests the building of settlements, including housing tenders, expropriation of lands, budget allocations, and studies settlers’ attitudes regarding possible evacuation, with compensation, from the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Another important Israeli organization during this period was the Committee in Solidarity with Birzeit University, which helped organize several demonstrations in the occupied territories against...
the Israeli closure of the university in 1981 and 1982. The Committee also worked with Palestinian allies to challenge the Israeli Civil Administration which was established by Israel to administer the Palestinian municipalities under occupation.

**Lebanon and Refusing to Serve**

With the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 the Israeli peace movement was also bolstered by a new powerful base – soldiers who refused to serve. This movement has special influence in Israel where military service is considered an important, if not the most important, responsibility of citizenship.

This phenomena wasn’t necessarily new in Israeli society. Soldiers and reservists had been using their respected role in Israeli society to make political statements since 1970 when 58 high school students who were about to begin their military service wrote an open letter to Prime Minister Golda Meir questioning the Israeli government’s commitment to peace. In the letter they wrote, “We and many others are therefore wondering how we can fight in a permanent, futureless war, while our government’s policy is to ignore any chance at peace.” Peace Now originated out of protest by reserve officers who doubted Israel’s commitment to peace. But the creation of Yesh Gvul (Hebrew for “There is a limit”) marked a change in that soldiers were refusing to serve. This created tension within the peace movement as Peace Now did not support the decision to refuse military service.

Despite this diversity of opinion within the Israeli peace movement Yesh Gvul’s moral call to refusal permanently altered the Israeli landscape. During the invasion of Lebanon, 2,500 Israeli reservists signed Yesh Gvul’s petition asking that the government not send them to Lebanon, and 168 Israeli servicemen were jailed for their refusal. In addition, Yesh Gvul emerged as an important support mechanism for those refusers and their families.

**The First Intifada**

In December, 1987, Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem began a widespread, predominantly nonviolent, uprising against the Israeli occupation that was referred to as the intifada (Arabic for “shaking off”). The intifada would last until 1993 and have lasting effects on both Palestinian and Israeli societies.

The intifada reshaped and refocused the Israeli peace movement. While the movement had been dominated to this point by Peace Now, the peace movement during the intifada featured new organizations that brought new perspectives. The years of the intifada marked the first sustained cooperation and collaboration between Israelis and Palestinians in the OPT. The organizations Dai Lakibush (Hebrew for “end the occupation”) and the Twenty-First Year both built working relationships with Palestinian communities within Israel and OPT. Both of the organizations organized educational visits to Palestinian villages and refugee camps, and served as witnesses of the occupation in an effort to prevent Israeli military abuses as well as passing information on to the Israeli media. In addition, the organization Rabbis for Human Rights was founded in 1988 in response to human rights abuses being carried out by the Israeli military as part of their suppression of the intifada. Since its founding, Rabbis for Human Rights has engaged Israel’s religious community in work to support Palestinian harvesting and housing rights through educational programs and participating in the Israeli peace movement.

During the intifada, feminists and women’s organization also took the lead in the Israeli peace movement. Although women had long been in the leadership of the peace movement, during the intifada Israeli women began organizing from a feminist perspective against the...
within. The organization has strived to serve as a model of cooperation between Palestinians and Israelis based on the values of social justice, solidarity and community involvement, and has Palestinian and Israeli staff members in offices in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. B’Tselem was founded in 1989 to monitor Israeli human rights abuses committed while suppressing the intifada. Since its creation B’Tselem has provided in-depth reports on human rights issues in the OPT such as house demolitions, violence against Israeli and Palestinian civilians and more recently the effects of the Separation Wall.

By 1986 Yesh Gvul broadened their refusal to the OPT and were poised to play a supportive role when the Palestinian intifada began in 1987. At the beginning of the uprising, Yesh Gvul issued a “declaration of refusal” which included refusing to “take part in the suppression of the uprising” that garnered close to 500 signatures. The organization also began circulating booklets to soldiers with information regarding war crimes and international law. In all, close to 200 reservists were jailed for refusing to serve in the OPT during the first intifada.

**The Oslo Accords**

In the years following the intifada and the signing of the Oslo Accords, the Israeli peace movement underwent more changes. In the 1992 Israeli elections, several members of Peace Now joined the new coalition government as members of the Meretz Party. This decision led some in the peace movement to question Peace Now’s ability to challenge the government. In response, several Israeli

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Israeli coalition government collapses over proposed negotiations with Palestinians; influx of Jews from former Soviet Union to Israel begins; Yitzhak Shamir forms a narrow, right-wing government headed by Likud.</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>International Arab-Israeli peace conference in Madrid includes Palestinians in joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>Ongoing bilateral and multilateral peace talks; Labor party wins Israeli elections, Yitzhak Rabin becomes prime minister.</td>
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<td>1993</td>
<td>Israel drastically restricts Palestinian movement between Occupied Palestinian Territories (except East Jerusalem) and Israel; Israel and the PLO sign Declaration of Principles (the “Oslo Accords”) on interim self-government arrangements.</td>
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activists formed Gush Shalom (Hebrew for “Peace Bloc”) which focused its activities on keeping Israel accountable to the timelines and agreements laid out in the Oslo Accords Declaration of Principles. Since its creation, Gush Shalom has organized to stop construction of Israeli settlements, led a boycott of products produced in the Israeli settlements, helped replant Palestinian olive groves destroyed by the Israeli military, and worked to build relationships between Palestinian and Israeli peace activists.

In general, the traditional Israeli peace movement was inactive during most of the 1990s, believing that the negotiations that began in Oslo would lead to peace. During this period new organizations bolstered the peace movement and brought new analysis and tactics to the movement. The organization New Profile was founded in 1998 by feminist women and men to work towards demilitarizing Israeli society. In addition to protesting the Israeli government, New Profile challenges the militarization of Israeli society and culture through working with teachers in the Israeli education system, disseminating analysis on the role of the military in Israeli society through the mainstream and alternative media, and supporting the growing national network of Israeli young people resisting military service. Unlike other Israeli peace organizations, New Profile not only resists current Israeli policies, but also works to challenge the militarism that they see as the foundation of contemporary Israeli society.

While the Israeli peace movement had commonly staged demonstrations and educational events to convey their message, the movement started to incorporate more direct forms of civil disobedience as it became apparent that Israel was not abiding by the agreements in the Oslo peace process. In 1998 the organization Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) began challenging Israeli demolitions of Palestinian homes in the OPT. In addition to protesting the Israeli government, ICAHD has served as an important act of solidarity with Palestinian communities, as well as a very effective way to draw international attention to Israeli demolition policies.

Following the work of Reshet in the 1980s, the Jerusalem Link was established in 1994 to continue building solidarity between Israeli and Palestinian feminist organizations. The Jerusalem Link is the coordinating body of two independent women’s centers: Bat Shalom — The Jerusalem Women’s Action Center, located in West Jerusalem, and Markaz al-Quds li l-Nissah — The Jerusalem Center for Women, located in East Jerusalem. Although each organization is autonomous, together they promote joint Palestinian-Israeli programs and a common vision for a just peace, democracy, human rights, and women’s leadership. Since its founding, Bat Shalom has engaged in activism and educational activities that have focused on Palestinian and women’s human rights within the OPT and Israel, in addition to organizing annual Land Day and International Women’s Day events. Since 1994, the Jerusalem Center for Women has offered trainings on human rights, political advocacy and female youth leadership development while working to support Palestinian women’s rights and challenging Israeli policies in East Jerusalem.

The Second Intifada

In the fall of 2000 the combination of the stalled peace process and increased Israeli closure policies led to a new Palestinian intifada following Ariel Sharon’s visit to Jerusalem’s Haram al-Sharif compound surrounded by a thousand Israeli police officers. The Haram al-Sharif has long been contested between Palestinians and Israeli Jews as it is believed to have been the location of the first and second Jewish temples in Jerusalem, and since the 7th century held two important Muslim religious sites — the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque. For this reason Sharon’s actions were widely viewed as a provocative act meant to assert Israeli sovereignty over this disputed area. Similar to the uprising in the 1980s, the Israeli peace movement
reorganized to confront Israeli efforts to regain control over the OPT, and to oppose the oppressive measures used by the Israeli army against the Palestinian population.

Following the beginning of the second intifada, Palestinian Israeli leaders called for a general strike and demonstrations in solidarity with Palestinians in the OPT. Over the first week of October, 2000 thirteen Palestinian Israelis were shot and killed, and over 1,000 Palestinian Israelis were injured by Israeli police during protests throughout Israel’s Galilee region. Similar to the Land Day events in 1976, the October, 2000 protests highlighted the systemic discrimination Palestinians experience living within Israel. Following the protests, the Israeli government established a commission to investigate police conduct during the protests after being pressured by Arab members of the Israeli Knesset, non-governmental organizations and the Palestinian community. Palestinian Israeli organizations played an important role in pushing the commission, specifically Adalah (Arabic for “Justice”), an independent human rights organization who represented families of the Palestinian victims. Adalah, founded in 1996, works to achieve equal individual and collective land rights, civil and political rights, cultural, social, and economic rights, religious rights, women’s rights, and prisoners’ rights for the Palestinian minority in Israel.

Within the Jewish Israeli peace movement eight women’s peace organizations responded to the intifada by forming the Coalition of Women for a Just Peace. This coalition held the largest Israeli protest against the occupation at the beginning of the intifada in December 2000. The coalition soon refocused their efforts on civil disobedience against the occupation by disrupting Israeli closure policies in the OPT and disrupting the army at checkpoints. This work has been led by Machsom Watch (“Machsom” is Hebrew for checkpoint), which was founded in January 2001 in response to repeated reports in the press about human rights abuses of Palestinians crossing army and border police checkpoints. Machsom Watch monitors soldiers and police at Israeli checkpoints and works to protect the human and civil rights of Palestinians attempting to enter Israel. Gush Shalom, ICAHD and Rabbis for Human Rights have also participated in civil disobedience directed at the Israeli checkpoint system in the OPT.

The refuser movement again played an important role in the Israeli peace movement during the second intifada. Between September, 2000 and the end of 2004 over 1,391 Israelis had refused to serve in the Israeli Defense Force. Of particular significance was a letter published in the Israeli newspaper Ha’aretz that was signed by 53 reserve combat officers and soldiers and stated, “We shall not continue to fight beyond the 1967 borders in order to dominate, expel, starve and humiliate an entire people.” This group went on to start a new organization called Courage to Refuse which as of February, 2005 had over 630 members. In addition, a movement among high school students emerged stating their refusal to join the military upon turning 18. These students are referred to as “Shministim” (Hebrew for “high-school”) and at the beginning of 2005 they numbered over 300. These organizations are diverse — some call for refusal to serve in the occupied Palestinian territories, some in the Israeli military as a whole — but as a group they continue to have an important influence in the debates over Israeli policy towards the Palestinians.

Several other new Israeli peace organizations began following the beginning of the second intifada as well. Ta’ayush (Arabic for “life in common”) was founded as an organization of Arab and Jewish Israeli citizens willing to provide direct relief to communities under attack in the OPT. Ta’ayush organizes aid convoys of food and medicine to Palestinian villages. These convoys defy Israeli policies that forbid Israelis from entering areas under closure. Ad-
ditionally, similar to older multi-ethnic organizations such as the Alternative Information Center, Ta’ayush challenges the ethnically exclusionary politics and discourse that commonly dominates discussion of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and provides a model for working in solidarity for peace.

The Israeli peace movement has continued to grow with the addition of organizations representing the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered communities. Founded during Gay Pride in 2001, Kvisa Schora (Hebrew for “black laundry”) challenges the Israeli occupation through highlighting the connections between different forms of oppression. Through creative direct action and slogans such as “No Pride in Occupation” the organization draws connections between the oppression the lesbian, gay and transgendered community experiences in Israel with Israeli polices in the OPT. Additionally, since 2003 the organization Aswat (Arabic for “voices”) has been organizing lesbian, bisexual, transgendered and questioning Palestinian women within Israel and the OPT to challenge homophobia in Israeli and Palestinian communities as well as Israeli occupation policies.

The Wall

The Israeli government’s construction of the Separation Wall has prompted renewed efforts by the Israeli peace movement. The Separation Wall — a massive structure that slices though the occupied West Bank, confiscating Palestinian land and isolating Palestinian towns and villages — has given many Israelis a visceral example of the effects of the occupation in Palestinian communities. Israelis have been especially inspired to work against the construction of the Wall by the case of the West Bank community of Qalqiliya, which has been completely surrounded by barriers and residents are forced to enter and exit the city through one Israeli-controlled checkpoint. Although the Israeli government claims to be building the Wall as a self-defense measure, members of the Israeli peace movement point out that the Wall’s construction is being used to appropriate Palestinian land, and they believe it will only lead to more violence.

Since the beginning of the Wall’s construction in June 2002, Israeli peace organizations have worked to challenge its construction and aid Palestinian communities being devastated in its path. In October 2002, Bat Shalom led the creation of a new coalition under the banner “The Evil Fence: Palestinian Ghetto and Israeli Disaster,” which also included the Coalition of Women for a Just Peace, Kvisa Schora, and Gush Shalom. Along with Rabbis for Human Rights and ICAHD, this coalition has led tours of the Wall with members of B’Tselem, organized demonstrations within Israel and has engaged in solidarity marches and actions within the OPT. Ta’ayush, ICHAD, Gush Shalom, Courage to Refuse and Peace Now have also worked to bring attention to the effects the Wall is having on the Palestinian economy through the destruction of olive tree groves. These organizations have assisted Palestinian farmers during the Fall olive harvest, and have planted trees and organized demonstrations to bring attention to the environmental damage the Wall has caused.

Finally, Israeli organizations have also worked to support nonviolent Palestinian resistance to the Wall. In the West Bank village of Budrus, Ta’ayush and the new

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<th>2002</th>
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<th>2004</th>
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<td>Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli “targeted killings” continue; Israel forcefully reoccupies nearly all Palestinian areas evacuated as part of Oslo process; Israel begins construction of “security fence” (The Wall) within the West Bank, confiscating additional Palestinian lands.</td>
<td>Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli “targeted killings” continue; Israel completes first stage of the “Separation Wall.”</td>
<td>Hamas founder and spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin killed by Israel as part of “targeted killing” campaign in response to attacks against Israelis within Israel and the OPT; the International Court of Justice find the Separation Wall “contrary to international law”; Yasser Arafat dies in Paris and is buried in Ramallah.</td>
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This timeline is adapted from one that appears in When the Rain Returns.
organization Anarchists Against the Wall have been active in supporting local nonviolent organizing and the cases of several local Palestinian organizers who have faced repeated arrest and administrative detention by the Israeli army for leading nonviolent protests. These actions against the Wall serve as the most recent example of Israelis working with Palestinians to challenge Israeli policy in the OPT, and provide a vision of solidarity to guide the Israeli peace movement into the future.

As the Israeli peace movement continues to reorganize to confront and challenge Israeli policy within Israel and the OPT, a sense of solidarity and shared struggle provides inspiration. Prominent feminist Israeli peace activist Gila Svirsky offered the following hopeful vision of a peaceful future at a vigil held in Tel Aviv in late May 2003, to mark the near-completion of the 36th year of Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

As the situation in the territories gets worse; as witnesses are barred from the scenes of violence; as political rhetoric raises expectations and then retracts them; our hopes still lie with the duet of the people, the lament caressed by quiet clapping, the Palestinians and Israelis who have kept their faith, who still reach out to each other inside the pain and wait — and work together — for the lament to end.

References


Snitz, Kobi. “We are all Ahmed Awwad: Lessons in Popular Resistance.” Available at: http://www.zmag.org/content/show-article.cfm?SectionID=22&ItemID=6874.

Organizations

Websites for some of the organizations mentioned in this document.

Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel: www.adalah.org/eng

Alternative Information Center: www.alternativenews.org

Aswat: www.aswat-palestiniangaywomen.org

B’Tselem: www.btselem.org

Bat Shalom: www.batshalom.org

Coalition of Women for a Just Peace: coalitionofwomen.org/home

Courage to Refuse: www.seruv.org.il/defaulteng.asp

Gush Shalom: www.gush-shalom.org/english

Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions: www.icahd.org

The Jerusalem Center for Women: www.j-c-w.org

Machsom Watch: www.machsomwatch.org

New Profile: www.newprofile.org

Peace Now: www.peacenow.org.il

Rabbis for Human Rights: www.rhr.israel.net

The Shministim: www.shministim.org/english

Ta’ayush: www.taayush.org

Women in Black: www.womeninblack.org

Yesh Gvul: www.yeshgvul.org/english

AFSC principles and positions

The AFSC’s position on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is based on the Quaker belief that there is that of God in each person and a commitment to nonviolent action for social change. Based on these beliefs and within the framework of international law and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the AFSC strives for a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians that provides justice and security for all peoples living in the region.