

MOKED



SOMETHING NEW IS HAPPENING IN ISRAEL

(From a letter to a friend abroad)

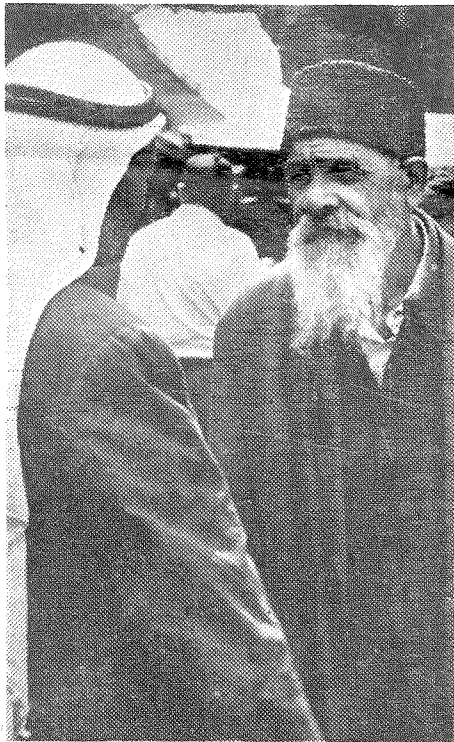
"... Friday Night. Midnight. Downtown Tel-Aviv is crowded as always. Suddenly thousands of demonstrators appear, marching silently, carrying signs": "Honor the memory of those who fell in the war for existence!" "The existence of Israel will be insured in peace! Peace initiative — Now!" Moked Demands: "A New Situation — A New Policy ... New Leadership". Many joined this unique demonstration. A short while earlier, a Moked rally ended at a nearby theater hall. The hall had been filled to capacity so that hundreds could not get in.

The sight of the crowd was exciting — workers and students, academics and housewives. Youth predominated — many of them soldiers in uniforms, arriving straight from their units on the front lines... It is not a routine convention — nor is it a typical election rally. An aura of ceremonial sadness spreads in the hall when the words of the "Yizcor" — the memorial to the dead are read. The crowd is on its feet, heads bowed as the words cut through the oppressive silence: "... Now you are resting in the field. If you could hear us, we would have told you that we are left with less strength to do so that we do not follow you. But you are no more... We gather the mercy within us into ourselves and we cry..." We listened, intensely moved, to discussion about what was that should not have been, and about what will be, what should be...

For the last twenty years political activity, especially amongst those of progressive and liberal tendency had all but atrophied. Now something had changed. Suddenly we saw, after many years, that there is a renewal in political energy in those circles. It started before the war. We were daring and rented large halls and called on people to come and listen, ask, discuss. And they came! Moked became a movement! Even many who instinctively distance themselves from the activi-

ties of the "left," have showed interest.

Now, after the war, night after night, Moked fills up halls all over the country. Many discussion groups meet in private homes. Lunch-breaks in factories turn into Moked conferences. The feeling amongst many is that something new is happening — a new vibrant political force is emerging. It was born in July of this year and by the



CO-EXISTENCE IS NOT A DREAM

September Histadrut elections Moked received the support of almost 14,000 voters. Before the war, we thought that that support augured well for the forthcoming Knesset elections.

We had repeatedly warned that the government's policy could lead only to an enforced settlement or another war. When the war broke

(continued in the next page)

AN INTRODUCTION

"Moked — Focus for Peace and Socialist Change" is the official name of a new movement established in Israel on 20 July 1973. Organizationally, Moked is a coalition of two political groupings, Tchelet-Adom (Blue-Red) and Maki.

Tchelet-Adom was founded by three circles of socially concerned students at various universities in the country. A fourth group of writers and university lecturers primarily interested in the issues of peace and security was organized independently. These groups were joined by many Kibbutzniks alarmed by the erosion of social values and the loss of political vision manifest in the established Zionist parties.

Maki, the Israeli Communist Party is a unique phenomenon in international communism. In August 1965, the Israeli Communists split. Maki being the faction that criticised openly and strongly the infringement of human rights in the Soviet Union, including the denial of the Jews' right to emigrate to Israel. Maki opposed the imbalanced Soviet support of the Arab governments and was the first Communist party in the world to denounce the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. In brief, maki emphatically affirms the vision of humanist socialism. Leading this tendency in Israeli Communism is Shmuel Mikunis, the general secretary of Maki (second candidate on the Moked list of candidates for the parliamentary elections) and a co-worker of the late Moshe Sneh, one of the most revered political figures in Israel.

Particularly since the war, these two groups have been joined by thousands, disaffected with the government for its failure to achieve peace. The diversity of Moked's following is reflected in its list of candidates, which includes 26 workers, 21 kibutz members, 16 professors, 12 students, 9 journalists, 6 writers, 4 lawyers, 5 doctors, 4 community-workers, 4 housewives, and 7 artists. Out of the 120 names on the list 29 are women.

Recently, some members of the religious kibbutz movement together with religious intellectuals and students, have joined in forming a religious circle supporting Moked.

The Knesset (Parliamentary) elec-

(continued in the next page)

The following is a summary of our programme. For obvious reasons we shall concentrate on our peace plan.

OUR PROG

SOME SUPPOSITIONS

1. Eretz-Israel and the State of Israel.

A. Eretz-Israel is the joint homeland of two peoples:

The Jewish people and the Palestinian-Arab people.

B. The State of Israel embodies the national rights and aspirations of the Jewish people, guaranteeing its continued existence and political independence.

C. Therefore, we assume as fundamental and basic, the independence, sovereignty and security of the State of Israel.

D. The national rights of the Palestinian

Arab people have never been fulfilled. The Palestinian people has the basic right to self-determination, which includes the right to establish an independent state by the side of, and co-existing peacefully with, the State of Israel, and the right to see itself as part of, or connected with, the Kingdom of Jordan or involved with it in any other way.

E. The involvement of the Jews in Israel with the rest of the Jewish people has many and varied aspects. The central expression of this connection is in the free immigration of those Jews who wish to bind their fate with that of the State of Israel.

2. Peace

Undoubtedly, peace in the Middle East depends on many factors beyond Israel's control. But this circumstance does not free Israel from the responsibility to initiate significant steps towards the realization of peace.

Indeed, the recent war has created a new constellation of facts uniquely favorable for such an Israeli initiative. We may delineate these facts in outline:

A. The war shattered the illusion of the Arab world that the conflict can be resolved by force, or that Israel can be coerced to surrender.

B. The war also shattered the illusion that the status quo can be continued indefinitely and that it supposedly ensures Israel's peace and security.

C. The prevailing relationship between the Big Powers is such that they might successfully influence the adversaries

in the Middle East conflict to achieve a settlement.

D. The present cease fire lines are such that neither side can maintain them for an extended period of time.

A PEACE PLAN

Specifically, we propose the following plan. What is outlined is meant as a working proposal, not as a dogmatic program. The emphasis is on attitudes, rather than details.

I. On the Peace Settlement with Egypt

In order to avert the danger of renewed war, or the danger of imposed settlement, Israel must try to initiate an Israeli-Egyptian agreement. Such an agreement will pave the way for detente with other Arab countries. The agreement should be based on the following principles:

An Egyptian commitment to recognize Israel's right to exist and to sign a peace treaty with her — in which the peace borders will be delineated.

An Israeli commitment to withdraw from Sinai according to a schedule and in a manner that will be agreed upon.

The Israeli withdrawal will be executed only under the following conditions:

The Suez canal will be opened to international navigation — including Israeli ships.

Sinai will be fully demilitarized under an effective joint supervision.

Special security arrangements will be made at points vital to Israel's security (such as Sharm a-Sheikh).

We believe it is both imperative and possible to bring the sides which met on the battlefield to meet around the negotiation table. Will Geneva Conference be the place for it? It is now incumbent upon Israel to anticipate the pressures which may be exerted upon us by presenting an imaginative and bold. Such an initiative is our moral obligation and should not be a mere capitulation to political pressures. We shall thus demonstrate our sincerity and re-establish our credibility. Daring and courage are needed not only to launch a war but also to make peace.

II. On the Palestinians and the Occupied Territories

Even now, when the focal point of attention is the contacts with Egypt, we must not forget that the crux of the con-

flict is with the Palestinians. The political freeze of the last six years has been accompanied by a process of creeping annexation of the Arab territories, "creating facts" in current Israeli parlance. In addition to raising obstacles to a peace settlement, annexation is endangering the humanitarian nature and Jewish character of the State, and the historic aims of the Jewish national revival, as they were originally conceived by, amongst others, the fathers of the Zionist-Socialist movement.

The following seems to us to be fundamental errors:

The Israeli government has not and is not showing any readiness to recognize the existence of the Palestinian Arab people and their right to self determination — this being a condition to the settlement of the dispute in our area. In addi-



Meir Pa'il, the first of MOKED's candidates, at an

tion, the government has not granted to the Arabs of the occupied territories the freedom of political organization. As a result, the Arabs of the territories are presented with the alternatives of either surrendering to the situation, or supporting either actively or passively the terrorist organizations.

We appeal to our government to reconsider its policy on this issue. Accordingly we propose:

1. That the government allow as soon as possible free democratic elections in the occupied territories, in which an authorized representative body of the population will be elected.

2. That Israel declare its recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self determination — the realization

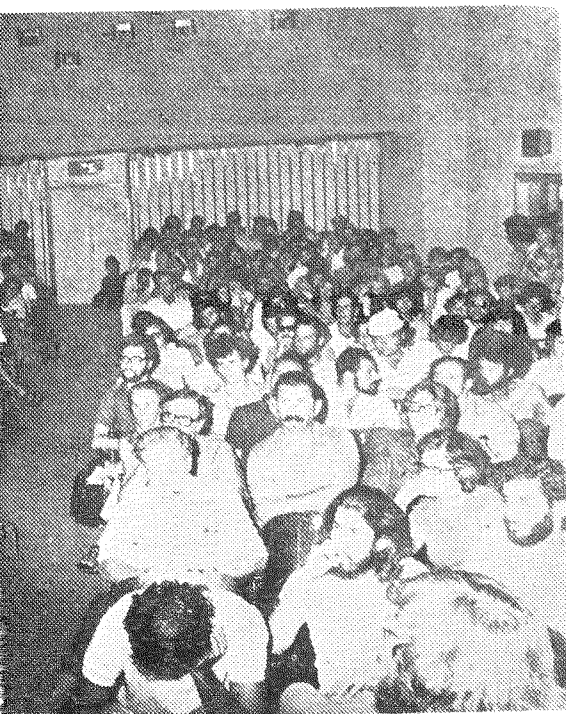
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of this right will, of course, be contingent on a policy of peaceful co-existence with Israel.

3. That Israel will encourage the participation of a representative delegation of the West bank Arabs in any negotiations in which the fate of the territories or the refugee problem will be determined.

Peace should be based and established not only upon contracts, demilitarization and security arrangements but mainly by trying to create a radical change in the relations between the nations in our area.

For instance, the solution of the Arab refugees' problem should come together with common economic developing projects (as big petrochemical projects



Activists' meeting of the Tchelet-Adom, Tel Aviv, July 1973.

around the Dead Sea, an Israeli-Lebanese-Syrian project for using the sources of the Jordan river, both for irrigation and for electric energy, etc.) We believe that this economic cooperation will insure a better ground for a peaceful future.

The future of Jerusalem is negotiable. One proposal being that Jerusalem would remain a united municipality, to serve as both the capital of Israel and of the Palestinian State, should its Arab residents so desire.

This policy will further understanding between us and the neighbouring nations, will facilitate the negotiations with Egypt (which sees itself bound by a commitment to the Palestinian people), will prod Jordan into expediting its own settlement with Israel, will counteract the adamant opposition of the some Palestinian organ-

izations to the cease fire and to all negotiations, and will strengthen our standing in the international community.

We envision emerging from a peace settlement, an era of regional cooperation and the removal of the Middle East as an arena for super-power confrontation. We acknowledge that a peace settlement is only the first step in the creation of a "peace situation". We look forward to a normalization of relations which will enhance respect between Arab and Jew, restore dignity to both, and gradually lessen mutual fears and suspicions. We trust that Peace will be the challenge of our generation.

ON OTHER ISSUES

ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

In order to overcome the social and ethnical gaps in Israel society, resources must be diverted to provide solutions to the problems of poverty and hardship. Control over the banks should be introduced, touching on all aspects of credit direction and profits policy; we propose co-ordinated policy of price and profits control; abolition of excessive benefits and exemptions on capital investments; imposition of severe restrictions on speculative investments and on withdrawal of profits from the country.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE STATE

The Jewish religion has always been, and still is today a central factor in preserving the Jewish national identity. However, this centrality must not in any way undermine the progressive and enlightened character of the state. The state should therefore separate its laws from religious 'halacha' and place matters of personal status (marriage, divorce etc.) within the competence of the lay courts of law. Social and cultural entertainment and public transport should be allowed on the Sabbath, and all denominations of the Jewish religion should be given equal recognition and status in Israel. Every religiously observant individual should be allowed to choose his weekly day of rest in accordance with his own faith, at every place of work.

ON ISSUES OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

a) society must put a brake on the deterioration of educational standards. The technocrat bent on accumulating wealth and success should no longer be presented to youth as the educational ideal; b) in a truly democratic society, pluralism is not merely something to be tolerated but rather to be appreciated, since it enriches the nation's culture; c) different ideological trends should be allowed in education, with state intervention on education to values being confined to incalculable values of good citizenship and behaviour etc. The labour trend in education should be revived; d) on this basis of equality, maximum autonomy should be accorded to among the Arab population; and e) the children of underprivileged families should be helped to attain the basic level of education common to all the children of the country.

AN INTRODUCTION

(continued from page 1)

tions, which are scheduled to take place in Israel at the end of December 1973, are possibly the most crucial in the political history of Israel. The recent war shattered a series of illusions which have increasingly dominated Israeli government policy — that the status quo could be maintained indefinitely, that time was on Israel's side, etc. At once arrogant and complacent, the Israeli leadership failed to prepare the people adequately both for peace and for war.

The Moked platform offers a realistic anti-annexationist programme, one which safeguards the genuine security interests of Israel while stressing that in the long run, only a peace which will include recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian Arab people answers the needs of Jew and Arab alike. A strong parliamentary base for this type of alternative is today more vital to Israel's future than it has ever been before.

SOMETHING NEW

(continued from page 1)

out, our predictions came true. It was a strange and painful feeling. The war caused an earthquake. Many illusions shared by the Israeli public were shattered. People who never discussed politics before started to show profound interest. As if all of a sudden they realized that it is "damned politics" that determines their fate, the fate of their families, the fate of their country. The Israeli Defense Force with its tens of thousands of reservists has turned into a gigantic "debating club." Everybody is asking. What will happen?

On the night in which the Histadrut election returns were coming in, when all were glued to their television sets, and when it became clear that Moked had made an impressive appearance, especially in the Kibbutz movement, Golda Meir said: "I see in Moked a greater danger than in the Right." We were slightly surprised but content to be out of the category of the "likeable but insignificant."

Golda, known for her political savvy, understood that the unique constituency of Moked gives it an unusual power to influence the development within the Israeli Labour movement, the Histadrut, and the Kibbutzim. She realized it will be very hard to turn Moked into a rejected marginal group. Her apprehension are our chances; her fears — our hopes...

AN APPEAL

Dear Friend,

These words are written twenty days before the elections. Prior to the war we hoped to compensate for our limited budget by mobilizing our supporters in a grass roots campaign. However, since the vast portion of them is still recruited, we are compelled to reach the voters through the media, which is very costly.

Our electoral possibilities are great, but our financial difficulties may well destroy our potential. We need your help.

Because of the late hour and the exigency of our need, please wire your donations to :

"MOKED" — ACCT, No. 4223-23
BANK LE'UMI LE'ISRAEL
RASHI BRANCH
20 KING GEORGE ST.
TEL AVIV, ISRAEL.

Other communications should be sent to :
"MOKED" P.O.B. 100 TEL AVIV

Phone — Tel-Aviv : 286904, 292001; Jerusalem: 67088

Thank you, and Shalom,

MEIR PE'IL

AMOS OZ

YAIR TSABAN

Tel-Aviv, 11.12.73



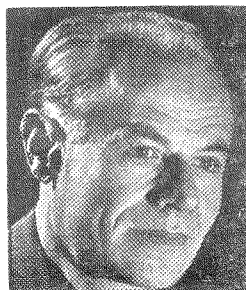
VOTE

THE TEN FIRST CANDIDATES



1. Meir Pa'il

Born in Jerusalem to a working class family. Graduate of the Zionist Socialist Youth Movement. Spent 28 years in the Hagana, the Palmach and the Israeli Defence Army. Held senior military positions including the Commander of the Central Officers training school. Studied and taught History at Tel-Aviv University. Was one of the founders of Tchelet-Adom.



2. Shmuel Mikunis

Born in Russia. Keneset member, and a veteran labour leader. General secretary of Maki. During the war of Independence acquired vital supplies for the Hagana. Co-working with Moshe Sneh, he led Maki, as an independent communist party.



3. Ran Cohen

Born in Iraq. A member of Kibbutz Gan Shmuel, and a member of the leadership of the Shomer HaTzair Kibbutz movement. Was a member of the Israeli New Left, (SIAH) and one of the founders of Tchelet-Adom. During the last war served as a major in a paratrooper unit, on the Southern front.



4. Yair Tsaban

Born in Jerusalem. One of the young leaders of Maki. Was M. Sneh's secretary and is now Secretary of the Central Committee of Maki. Fought in the Palmach. Is pursuing a Ph.D. in Jewish Philosophy, Talmudic and Modern Jewish thought.



5. Mati Meged

Born in Poland. A well known novelist. Chairman of the literature dept. at Haifa University. One of the founders of the Kibbutz Movement Teachers College.



6. Raul Teitelbaum

Born in Yugoslavia. Journalist and economist, Chairman of the Central Committee of Maki. In his youth fought with the Anti-Nazi underground in Yugoslavia.



7. Niva Lanir

Born in Kibbutz Ein HaHoresh where she is still a member. Journalist. Was the editor of the magazine of the Shomer Hazair Kibbutz Movement. Was one of the leaders of the Israeli New Left and Tchelet-Adom.



8. Yitshak Hess

Born in Poland. A worker an outstanding labour activists. Participated and led a number of major labour disputes



9. Eliah Druckman

Born in Rumania. Member of the executive committee of the Histadrut. Veteran labour activist. Led numerous struggles for the rights of employees within the labour union.



10. Dr. Menahem Brinker

Born in Jerusalem. A professor of Philosophy and Literature at Tel Aviv University. Edited various literary magazines. Also, edited a Hebrew edition of the writings of J.P. Sartre.