



Dani Karavan by Rotam Cohen Soaye; Photo Credit: Gili Getz

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

How to Peacefully NOT Divide the Land of Israel/Palestine

By Paul Scham

My *Israel Horizons* colleague and friend Ron Skolnik, in his neighboring column in this issue (page 4), has shown how “blind love” of the whole Land of Israel can sway even dovishly inclined Israelis to overlook what is, by any serious metric, a long-lasting and brutal occupation. However, there is a policy choice, which I support strongly, that can obviate the need for Jews giving up access to and even residence in the West Bank in pursuit of peace. But first, before I explain it, I suggest you read Ron’s column, if you haven’t already, to see what the issue is. I’ll wait. ...continued on page 4

When Loving the Land of Israel is an Obstacle to Peace

By Ron Skolnik

In 1905, the Zionist Congress, the supreme decision-making body of the Zionist movement established by Theodor Herzl, officially determined that the Land of Israel was its hill to die on. Though that resolution is oft-forgotten, its reverberations can be felt to this day, its spirit infusing even a large number of Israelis identified with the center-left of the political spectrum. And that deep-seated passion for the Land, while historically comprehensible in the context of a zealous, upstart Zionist movement, today serves as a thorny obstacle to ending the military occupation ...continued on page 2

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To set the stage, here's a cursory, Cliff Notes version of that bygone chapter: In April 1903, Joseph Chamberlain, head of the British government's Colonial Office offered Herzl and the Zionist Organization a territory in British-controlled East Africa for Jewish autonomy and mass settlement. (The proposal erroneously became known as the "Uganda Plan," though the area, about [two-thirds the size](#) of Green Line Israel, was actually located in present-day Kenya.) Though initially unsympathetic to a destination outside Palestine, Herzl warmed to it as a stopgap measure following that same month's devastating Kishinev Pogrom, and at the August 1903 Sixth Zionist Congress, Herzl's ally, Max Nordau, compared East Africa to a temporary emergency "night-shelter" (*nachtsyl*).

The plan, however, provoked visceral opposition. It prompted a mass walkout led by the Russian delegation, and pushed the young movement to the brink of schism. Herzl understood the connection to the Land of Israel, of course, but he hadn't fathomed the depths to which this attachment plunged: "These people have a rope around their necks, but they still refuse," he [said](#) of the Uganda Plan's opponents, who rejected the argument that Zionism's prime aim should be to alleviate Jewish suffering in the here and now.

While the Sixth Congress eventually okayed Herzl's [compromise](#) to create an investigative committee to examine the British proposal in greater depth, it did so with only plurality support (the noes and abstentions combined held the majority). Two years later, the 1905 Seventh Zionist Congress, the first held following Herzl's death in 1904, [unanimously](#) voted down "Uganda" and made any similar options a dead letter.

So, what does all this "ancient history" have to do with today's events, one might reasonably ask. The answer is that the fervent devotion to the Biblical homeland that succeeded in defeating the "Uganda Plan" and Jewish Territorialism generally over one hundred years ago became incorporated into the zeitgeist of the Yishuv and of the Jewish-Israeli community, and now functions as a warm and fuzzy filter through which the Occupation is viewed—when it's not being ignored altogether. And, as two very recent examples demonstrate, this is

true not only for rightwing annexationists, but also for supposed members of the Israeli peace camp.

Take new President of Israel, Yitzhak Herzog, for example. Herzog, who took office in July, decided to usher in Israel's new school year on September 1 by paying an official visit to schools in two West Bank settlements, Har Bracha and Sal'it. The visit from Israel's "Number One Citizen" amounted to a clear "boost of support" to the settlement enterprise, the [Jerusalem Post](#) correctly put it.

So why did this former Labor Party chair, this ostensible supporter of a two-state solution which the settlements were designed to preclude, believe it best to "put aside... the political debates regarding a final-status arrangement with our Palestinian neighbors" and celebrate these contraventions of international law? Because of that same overwhelming sentiment toward the Land of Israel displayed by the early Zionist movement. Here's Herzog in his own words:

"The Har Bracha settlement is in my DNA as an Israeli and as a Jew... I want to ... speak of a simple truth—the Jewish people's deep connection [to] this space, which cannot be denied or diminished... Every visit to Samaria is a dive into the depths of our history. Past and present are folded together here between the mountains."

Herzog's "deep connection" apparently blinded him to the additional fact that the Har Bracha settlement and its [outposts](#) have been [tied](#) to the extremists involved in the anti-Palestinian settler violence operation known as "Price Tag." And his "Jewish DNA" must have caused him to overlook the fact that, in posing with Har Bracha's rabbi, Eliezer Melamed, he legitimized a figure who has called on soldiers to [disobey](#) orders to dismantle illegal West Bank outposts.

Israel's Shalom Achshav (Peace Now) rightly [disparaged](#) Herzog's decision to embrace and normalize the extremists, as did columnist [Gideon Levy](#) in *Haaretz*. But Levy also astutely observed that Herzog's behavior could be traced to his sense that he was not actually "traveling abroad," even though he was outside the

country's sovereign borders, but, instead, was visiting "in the heart of Israel." Skewed by that mindset, the President heaped praise on the area's Jewish settlers while remaining strikingly oblivious to the Palestinian majority there, a majority that lives under Israeli control, but is denied security and civil and human rights.

Herzog, unfortunately, is not an aberration within Israel's center-left. Earlier this summer, MK Yair Golan of Meretz fell victim to a similar sentimentalization of Eretz Yisrael. Interviewed on Israeli television, Golan took issue with the peace camp's use of the word "occupation" to describe the Israeli regime in the territories—a term that appears repeatedly in his own party's [platform](#).

"This word," occupation, he argued, "has a connotation of a harsh, callous act, as if we took an area of land that we have nothing to do with." Golan, then, would have us regard Israel's military control as something less than harsh because, "ultimately, our place of origin is the areas of Judea and Samaria and Jerusalem... the land of the Bible, where, after all, most of the stories don't take place in the coastal plain, the Galilee or the Negev."

Golan also seems to be concerned that his support for a two-state solution is perceived by the general public as disloyalty to the ancient homeland. So, he continues apologetically: "I say to my friends on the right—my tie to every clump of earth in the Land of Israel is not less than yours. Clearly, I have a profound emotional and spiritual connection to Shilo, Bet El, and Hebron [in the West Bank], and it's no coincidence that I hold the Book of Books close to me everywhere."

Golan remains something of a fish out of water in Meretz, a party he [defaulted into](#) after initially entering Knesset via Ehud Barak's now-disbanded political grouping. And, based on the reaction to Golan's remarks served up by the chair of Meretz's executive, Uri Zaki, it would be surprising to find Golan on the party slate come the next elections.

"What [Yair] Golan doesn't get," Zaki reacted via

[Twitter](#), "is that 'occupation' doesn't relate to how we apprehend the Land, but to a situation in which three million Palestinians have been living for 54 years. Living under military control, without basic rights and without citizenship, and alongside them more and more citizens of Israel in the same area with full democratic rights. It's very sad that such statements are coming from a Knesset member who was included in the Meretz slate."

"Love looks not with the eyes," Shakespeare wrote in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, "and therefore is winged Cupid painted blind." When it comes to Israel and Palestine, love of the patria apparently can have a similar dazzling effect, causing even well-meaning figures to misperceive or euphemize or downplay the reality before them.

There is absolutely nothing wrong with holding a warm, thoughtful attachment to the history of one's people and to the land it has inhabited. The trouble begins when attachment to the past clouds our judgement of the present. So, no matter where Abraham sojourned, or Jacob wrestled with God's angel, or the Jewish tabernacle was temporarily housed, Knesset Member Golan must recognize that "occupation" is indeed the appropriate term for rule via military force. And President Herzog, who now represents all of Israel, must acknowledge that, like Jews, Palestinians have their own DNA and their own "connection to this place." If they are to be part of an eventual solution, they must temper their *ahavat haaretz*, their love of the Land of Israel, and be driven first and foremost by *r'difat tzedek v'shalom*, a pursuit of justice and peace. ■

Ron Skolnik is an American-Israeli political columnist and public speaker, whose articles have appeared in a variety of publications, including Haaretz, Al-Monitor, Tikkun, the Forward, Jewish Currents, & the Palestine-Israel Journal.



How to Peacefully NOT Divide the Land of Israel/Palestine

PRESIDENT'S
MESSAGE

By Paul Scham



Photo Credit: Elad Shallev

Continued from page 1

Welcome back! I should emphasize that I totally agree with Ron that the occupation must not be sugar-coated by claiming, since there is a historic Jewish claim on the West Bank, it isn't "really" an occupation. However, there is a solution, a variant of the Two State Solution which I call Two States 2.0, and which provides a realistic end run around the fact that two nations both love and claim the whole Land of Palestine/Israel. That solution is Confederation, and it is real, realistic, and, in my view, provides the best available alternative to the politically unreachable 2SS, as well as the disaster that a 1SS would lead to.

Confederation has generally been condescendingly overlooked as a practical solution to the conflict both because it has not really been understood, and has often been confused with "One State." However, it is supported by increasing numbers of Israelis and Palestinians through [A Land for All](#). Check it out.

What is a Confederation? I'm glad you asked. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, it is a "union of sovereign groups or states united for purposes of common action." Scholars differ on which real world governance systems actually fit that (Benelux, Belgium, and Switzerland are often mentioned), but the European Union, better known to most of us, is also often cited as possessing many of its attributes. Clearly a 27-member Confederation that has been around in one form or another for almost 70 years can't be an exact model, but the EU shows how it could work, however imperfectly.

We Americans usually came across the word for the first time first when we studied the Civil War in junior high (or middle school) and discovered the armies were either Federal and Confederate. The Confederate States of America was proclaiming it believed in states' rights, i.e., to keep slaves or secede from the federal union (which implies a stronger bond).

Moving our attention back to the Middle East, Confederation would mean that the sovereign state of Palestine and the sovereign state of Israel would be separated at the venerable Green Line, but would agree by treaty to give up some of their sovereignty to a joint government carrying out various tasks, such as the military, fiscal and monetary policy, and foreign affairs generally. Some form of veto power would be held by each state under certain circumstances. Palestine would be sovereign east of the Green Line; Israel to the west. Jerusalem would be shared.

A shared Jerusalem is common to many peace plans, but the beauty of Confederation is where it differs from the classical 2SS and really shows it's 2.0. Yair Golan and Yitzhak Herzog could visit the West Bank ("Judea and Samaria") all they want; in fact they could even live there if they agreed to accept being governed by the State of Palestine. More importantly, settlements (the political and practical weakness with the 2SS, which Ariel Sharon planned for in the 1980s) could remain under the same condition. Likewise, Palestinians could live in Israel, subject to local and national Israeli law. Obviously the conditions for living in the "other's" land would have to be spelled out in the founding treaty. This is how the European Union works; any citizen of the EU can live anywhere in it but becomes a citizen only by satisfying local law, which they usually don't, because it's usually both difficult and unnecessary.

One other aspect might surprise people; a Right of Return would be extended to both Jews and Palestinians. Of course this might have to be conditioned on the willingness and ability of both states to absorb these immigrants. Back in 2000 a poll conducted by a highly regarded Palestinian pollster found only 10% of the Palestinian diaspora would really want to "return" to Palestine. The comparable figure today is unknown.

What makes Confederation fundamentally different from the One State "Solution" is that Israelis (including Israeli Palestinians and their descendants) would vote in Israel, no matter where they live. Likewise, Palestinians would vote in Palestine, regardless of where they reside, except for those who are born with Israeli citizenship, or whom Israel agrees to accept, such as through marriage.

The reason goes back to Yair and Yitzhak. The Jewish people does not claim just half of the Land of Israel (or even the 78% west of the Green Line); both the holiness and history of the Land are indivisible. Nor do Palestinians claim only 22% of Palestine, nor half, but the whole thing. Many Muslims believe all of Palestine constitutes a Muslim wakf, or charitable endowment, for the benefit of all Muslims. And, ironically, Palestinians lived largely on the plains, while ancient Israelites were predominantly in the hills.

There are many other aspects of Confederation but there's one that is central—and it is currently in very short supply; everywhere, it seems. That is Trust, of course. And Trust is just as necessary for a One or Two State Solution, which is why Oslo never got off the ground, and the occupation continues. No one expects a sudden pandemic of Trust to break out. So how can Confederation possibly work?

There are no guarantees. However, Palestinians and Israelis both get more through Confederation than through any other peace plan I've ever heard of:

	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Jewish Israelis</u>
Palestinian state	✓	
Jewish State		✓
Sovereignty	✓	✓
Security guarantees	✓	✓
Right of Return	✓	✓
Share Jerusalem	✓	✓
Equal rights	✓	✓
Live in Israel	✓	✓
Retain settlements		✓

Is it unrealistic? Perhaps. But it's no more unrealistic than any other plan, including the current situation. Can Israelis really believe that Palestinians will consent to the occupation indefinitely? There would unquestionably be periodic wars, which Israelis (used to) refer to mockingly as "cutting the grass." [Israel has become much less used to casualties](#) in recent years; "spoiled" by the comparatively safe period they've been living in (except for covid, of course). What happens when Hamas gets truly unlucky, and one of its unaimed (or aimed) rockets hits a school or apartment building? Of course Israel will retaliate disproportionately, but

How to Peacefully NOT Divide the Land of Israel/Palestine

has that ever kept a people down permanently? Of course not.

Either trust or force will have to govern Israeli-Palestinian relations. Trust can be built, admittedly slowly; perhaps only when the two sides realize the alternative is worse. And while trust is being built, I believe it will become apparent that the best—perhaps the only—way of providing the most of what each side wants is through some form of Confederation.

The biggest problem is the time it will take. Israeli life is not bad now. Asking Palestinians to endure occupation for decades is very far from ideal. I frankly don't have an answer for that. But neither does any advocate for any other plan.

Partners for Progressive Israel remains a strong supporter of the two-state solution. But we are also supportive of the work of A Land for All, which many of us consider an improved version of the 2SS.

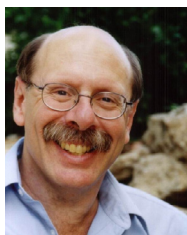
So Ron, perhaps Yair and Yitzhak are ahead of their time, not behind. All they have to do is utter a single word: Confederation! ■

Sincerely,



Paul Scham
President, Partners for Progressive Israel

Paul Scham is President of Partners for Progressive Israel and the Director of the Gildenhorn Institute for Israel Studies at the University of Maryland.



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By Ayala Emmett



Photo Credit: Gili Getz

The rich and wide-ranging Partners for Progressive Israel [Israel Palestine Symposium 2021](#) made it clear that cooperation between progressive Jewish Israelis and Palestinians, citizens of the state and noncitizens, was genuine in its desire to find paths to peace; yet it was always imbalanced/hierarchical in both the micro daily life and at the macro socio-political level. Both Jewish privilege and Palestinians' suffering were always present in the panel discussions. Yet, progressive Israeli Jewish obviously act against state policies of occupation and settlements. They are the reminder of Israel's Declaration of Independence that promised equality within the state but has been ignored by successive Israeli governments and mostly disappeared from public discourse.

While power difference is always present in any joint action, it is clear that progressive Israeli Jews are aware of the suffering of Palestinians, aware of settlements, of land theft and draconian legal rules operating in the West Bank, and of lack of freedom of movement for Palestinians. Israeli Jews on the Left are struggling to

find ways to increase human rights for Palestinians and to grant them the same aspirations and rights of self-determination that Jews have fought for and were the foundation of the state.

On the Israeli Jewish side, the Symposium speakers agreed that the two-state solution has not happened, and some suggested accepting the reality and offered new ways to remap a political negotiated agreement. Meron Rapoport, representing [A Land for All](#), framed homeland as a shared Jewish/Palestinian emotional landscape. Meron argued convincingly that most Israelis and Palestinians view homeland as a single indivisible emotional space/scape, i.e., a homeland that includes Tel Aviv and Gaza, Nablus and Jaffa, etc. Meron claimed that since both sides see the homeland as indivisible, the political thing to do is recognize homeland as one emotional scape capable of containing two political independent states.

The problem for the A Land for All position is that most Jewish Israelis see the land as "the whole is mine." The question is how to convince those who say, "this land is all mine, I am not sharing," of the rights of non-Jews. The question for progressives who support one land for two states is how to convince those for whom the emotional scape and political scape are isomorphic.

Menachem Daum, director of the film "The Ruins of Lifta," suggested that we must confront pervasive Jewish racism in Israel and in the US and recognize that ignoring it is an obstacle in creating any new path to a negotiated peace agreement. An important question that the Symposium raised for me was, can progressives, here and in Israel, do it? ■

Ayala Emmett is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Rochester. Born in Tel Aviv, she grew up in a religious socialist Zionist community in Israel, and served in the Israeli army.



Daniel Seidemann Warns About the Fallout of a Potential Eviction in Sheikh Jarrah

SYMPOSIUM



Sheikh Jarrah is a Palestinian neighborhood in East Jerusalem whose population includes refugees displaced from their original homes during the 1947-48 war and given homes by the Jordanian government. In 1970, Israel passed a discriminatory law that allows Jewish owners to reclaim property in East Jerusalem held before the war, but that does not afford Palestinians the same rights for the West Jerusalem properties they once owned.

In recent decades, settler groups have further exploited a bad law: They purchased the claims to the East Jerusalem property from the earlier Jewish owners and took the Palestinian residents to court in order to evict them—to make way, it must be noted, not for descendants of the Jewish residents, but for settlers who never lived there, and who ultimately seek to drive out Palestinian presence from the city.

The Palestinian families have appealed to the Israeli courts as their last resort to prevent eviction. While



the Jerusalem District Court has ruled against them, the case is still pending before Israel's High Court of Justice. In this clip from our just concluded Israel-Palestine Symposium 2021, Jerusalem expert Daniel Seidemann of Terrestrial Jerusalem warns about the potential fallout should the High Court not reverse the lower court decision. ■

By Ina Friedman



Mother and three sons waiting in narrow passageway (popularly called a “cage”) leading into the security check area of the old Qalandia checkpoint in 2017.

MachsomWatch (“Checkpoint Watch”): Women Against the Occupation and for Human Rights, is a grassroots organization of volunteers founded in 2001, soon after the start of the Second Intifada, by three Israeli women observing a military checkpoint on the outskirts of Jerusalem. They did so in response to reports of human rights violations at checkpoints throughout the occupied West Bank. By the following year, additional teams of women were monitoring checkpoints, and the organization grew steadily thereafter.

MachsomWatch focuses primarily on the human right to freedom of movement, as violation of this principle directly impacts upon other basic human rights, such as access to education, health care, and places of worship; the ability to earn a living; and the maintenance of family life. The checkpoints are a major source of

distress and daily humiliation for the Palestinians. They are unequivocal evidence of the dominance of a foreign power over the life and movement of Palestinians in their own space. Our very presence there as monitors expresses our sense of empathy with the Palestinian plight and shows that not all Israelis are indifferent to it.

Our checkpoint shifts take place primarily during the early morning hours, when tens of thousands of Palestinian workers and others on their way to schools, medical facilities, diplomatic missions, and other destinations, wish to enter Israel. We both observe the functioning of the checkpoint and aid Palestinians in distress by facilitating communication with the army and police personnel on site. MachsomWatch teams also maintain shifts at the checkpoints known as “agricultural gates” built into the Separation Barrier. Palestinian farmers have agricultural lands on the

far side of the barrier (85 percent of which has been constructed within the occupied West Bank itself), but only when the agricultural gates are opened—and this is at the sole discretion of Israel's military government—are the Palestinian farmers afforded access to them. At the end of each shift, our volunteers report on the issues encountered at the checkpoint. These reports (over 30,000, to date) are then published on our [website](#), in both Hebrew and English.



The newly automated entry-permit check at the Qalandia and Bethlehem checkpoints.

We believe that this stream of reports has been key to raising awareness and criticism of the occupation, both in Israel and abroad. This criticism, in turn, has led to various changes in the checkpoint system. For example, since 2009, some checkpoints deep within the West Bank, which had prevented movement between Palestinian villages and their main towns, have been disbanded. More recently, some of the larger checkpoints blocking entry to Israel have been automated, eliminating the long lines and waiting time to get through the cages and turnstiles typical of the old checkpoints. In addition, by eliminating the need for direct contact between Palestinians and Israeli security personnel, this upgrade has greatly reduced the tension and frustration experienced at the checkpoints.

Over the years, MachsomWatch volunteers have become well versed in the intricate bureaucracy of the occupation, which itself is an apparatus employed to deprive and control the occupied population. And as our interaction with Palestinians at the checkpoints

heightened our understanding of the broader system impairing freedom of movement and producing other human rights violations, we expanded our activities accordingly.



A MachsomWatch volunteer taking video footage at the Nokdim checkpoint, south of Bethlehem

The Permit Regime and Blacklisting: No Palestinian living under occupation can enter Israel without a permit issued by Israel's Civil Administration, which is an arm of the military government. Obtaining an entry permit is contingent upon passing a security check by the General Security Services (Shabak). When a Palestinian is denied a permit and becomes “blacklisted,” no reason is given; an existing permit can likewise be revoked without explanation. Working with a lawyer, a team of MachsomWatch volunteers aids blacklisted West Bank Palestinians by appealing the reason for each entry ban and, should it prove arbitrary, having it lifted. We have succeeded in reversing the ban on more than a third of the Palestinians who have approached us for help. An in-depth report on the operations of this team can be found at our [website](#).

On an individual level, we have dedicated women who confront the permit regime on a daily basis and do their utmost for Palestinians who are blocked on their way to medical care, their farm lands, and other important appointments.

Military Courts: Israel distinguishes between the laws and judicial system applied to its citizens living or travelling in the West Bank and those pertaining to Palestinians under occupation. The latter, effected through military courts, allows such disturbing practices

as incarceration without trial (administrative detention) and withholding evidence against the accused from the knowledge of the defense. MachsomWatch has teams monitoring the trials of West Bank Palestinians and spotlighting the travesties of justice ingrained in the system. An in-depth report on the observations of this team can be found on our [website](#).



Helping Palestinians cross a low wall by a checkpoint in the town of Abu Dis, east of Jerusalem.

Daily Life Under Occupation: More recently, we have also been helping Palestinians to cope with the adversities of life under occupation in West Bank towns and villages. One of our teams has studied the encroachment of Israeli settlements and settlers on Palestinian holy places. Others are in regular contact with and provide material aid to villagers, farmers, and herders in the South Hebron Hills and the Jordan Valley. These Palestinians are particularly disadvantaged and systematically deprived of such basic needs as running water and electricity, educational facilities, and decent dwellings. They also suffer frequent harassment by Israeli settlers and the military. See our teams' reports on our [website](#).

Reality Tours: For over a decade, we have been

conducting tours in the West Bank, in Hebrew and in English. Our target audience is first and foremost our Israeli compatriots, who too often remain blissfully unaware of what life is like on the other side of the Separation Barrier, though the tours also draw foreign diplomats, journalists, and tourists. When COVID-19 forced us to suspend these tours, we initiated Zoom webinars to continue conveying a picture of daily life under occupation.

Beach Days for Palestinian Children: Until the advent of COVID-19, MachsomWatch volunteers also ran a popular project that brought groups of Palestinian children and their mothers to experience the Mediterranean Sea for the first time. We would acquire the permits for them to enter Israel, arrange the transportation, provide lunch and afternoon activities, and generally take great pleasure in their enjoyment. We hope to reactivate this project once conditions allow.

Outreach: In addition to holding lectures and tours for pre-army youngsters, we take visitors (including journalists and diplomats) along on our checkpoint shifts. We have made three full-length and three short documentary films on the occupation; publish a quarterly newsletter; and maintain a presence on Facebook (www.facebook.com/machsomwatch, in Hebrew) and Twitter (@machsomwatch, in English). Our [website](#) enables visitors to learn about and contact our organization, sign up for tours, read any of our tens of thousands of reports, and access other resources.



A MachsomWatch Reality Tour being briefed alongside one the "agricultural gates" built into the Separation Barrier inside the West Bank.

What We Have Learned: Our two decades of activity has enabled us to observe military rule in depth, express our opposition in pragmatic terms, and vividly illustrate for our compatriots what “the occupation” means in quotidian terms. Unfortunately, what we have learned is that the longer the occupation endures, the more entrenched, capricious, and vicious a system it becomes. Feeling protected by the IDF, for example, belligerent settlers residing illegally in the West Bank ride roughshod over their Palestinian neighbors, attacking them physically and destroying their orchards and crops. Inevitably, perhaps, the occupation’s ethos of humiliation, intimidation, and suffocating control has also penetrated Israeli society to the point of menacing the structure and fabric of our democracy.

We are now living alongside the third generation of Palestinians under occupation, who have known no other kind of life. While older Palestinians were once able to develop ties with Israelis and relate to them on a number of levels, Palestinian youngsters see Israelis solely as hostile soldiers and settlers and thus the objects of searing hatred. On the Israeli side, the young people tasked with maintaining the occupation have now

come to regard it much as they do the Mediterranean climate: a fact of the life into which they were born and with which they must live. In concert with our sister human rights and peace organizations, the women of MachsomWatch are determined to keep working to bring this self-defeating reality of occupation to an end. *All photos in article courtesy of MachsomWatch.* ■

To learn more about MachsomWatch, please visit their English [website](#) and [YouTube channel](#), and find them on [Twitter](#), [Facebook](#), and [Instagram](#).

נשים נגד הכיבוש ולמען זכויות אדם

نساء ضد الاحتلال ومن اجل حقوق الانسان

Women against the Occupation and for Human Rights

Ina Friedman is a MachsomWatch monitor at the Qalandia Checkpoint at the northern tip of East Jerusalem and a member of the Reality Tours and Outreach teams.

Click [here](#) to watch extended versions of the clips shown in the video below:





Photo Credit: דוד ש

The Ben and Jerry's company has decided to stop doing business in the settlements, while continuing to do business within Israel's sovereign borders. While Partners for Progressive Israel does not support any form of BDS, Ben and Jerry's public recognition of the Green Line between Israel and the occupied territories is a cogent reminder that the decades-long Occupation will not be wished away, neither by plaintive appeals to Biblical title, nor glitzy PR (hasbara) campaigns.

The occupation, a system that includes land theft, draconian limits on freedom of movement, home demolitions, arrests without trial and more, constitutes a system of oppression that violates human rights. It is undermining Israel's morality and, ultimately, its own security, and, as the Ben and Jerry's decision shows, the international community is growing visibly weary of its perpetuation and expansion without any sight of a political horizon. July 20, 2021 ■

Joshua Shanes in his *Haaretz* op-ed, [Ben & Jerry's Aren't Nazis and their Settlement Boycott Isn't Antisemitic](#) poignantly adds:

"Rather than getting on the performative 'slam Ben & Jerry's' wagon, pro-Israel opponents of the settlements should be celebrating any effort that emphasizes the distinction between the two regions, any effort that pressures Israel to end the settlement project while simultaneously legitimizing Israel within its internationally recognized borders. Some groups, such as Americans for Peace Now and Partners for Progressive Israel, are saying precisely this."

**BEN & JERRY'S WILL
END SALES OF OUR
ICE CREAM IN OCCUPIED
PALESTINIAN TERRITORY**

MK Said al-Harumi



(1972 - 2021)

Partners for Progressive Israel is saddened to hear of the untimely death of Ra'am MK Said al-Harumi (49). Hailing from the Bedouin heartland in the Negev Desert, Al-Harumi was at the forefront of the Bedouin society's struggle against home demolitions, as well as its struggle for the recognition of unrecognized villages in the Negev. Speaking at the inaugural session of Israel-Palestine Symposium 2021, entitled Voices from the Governing Coalition, he was convinced that his people would benefit by engaging with the wider Israeli society and joined the government. Our condolences to his family and the people of the Negev.

Israel *Horizons*

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