

government policy during the war in Lebanon, according to a 1959 law which authorizes the government to decide what level of government employees are forbidden to make such criticism. It had previously been assumed that higher-ranking employees were referred to, but Spiro lost the job he had held for 40 years at the Education Ministry, and his pension rights (reported by the International Committee for Palestinian Human Rights, May 26, 1986, Paris).

There have been several recent cases of Israelis being imprisoned for contact with Palestinian organizations in the interests of peace and/or informational work. One case involves dedicated Zionists, four MKs who were sentenced to six months in jail and heavy fines for meeting PLO officials in Romania in 1986. Two other cases concern anti-Zionist Israelis who face even stiffer punishment for publishing work. In 1987, the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem was closed and its director, Michael Warshawsky arrested, on charges of links to the PFLP. The center's work focuses on human rights violations against Palestinians. In February 1988, the newspaper *Derech Hanitzotz* was closed. In April, its three Israeli editors were arrested on charges of affiliation to the DFLP; they face up to 40 years imprisonment if convicted. (Since this writing, the three have been tried; on January 25th, they were sentenced to prison terms ranging from nine to 30 months, as a result of plea bargaining.)

Even the ordinary Israeli citizen is subject to more surveillance than the citizens of most countries, as attested to by the CIA and State Department documents found in the US embassy in Teheran after the 1979 revolution, and first published by *CounterSpy*: «Security checks on native born Israelis are relatively easy to do, for the young Israeli, whose life is well documented, rarely enjoys the luxury of privacy. Police files, school records, university professors, army records, youth movements, political affiliations, voting records, family history, political persuasions and friends are scrutinized. If the applicant is foreign born, detailed immigration records may reveal pertinent information which can be cross-checked. Loyalty to Israel is the principal criterion. If the subject was a Zionist from early youth, he belongs to a special category; if he has never belonged to the leftist parties, MAPAM, MAKI and RAKAH, or to Herut, a rightist party, his employment opportunities are considerably enhanced.»

MILITARY PRIORITIES IN SETTLEMENT

The high degree of social cohesion in Israeli society is not alone due to indoctrination, though this of course occurs. More important, it is related to the very way the state was built up, starting with such a simple thing as where people lived. From the beginning, military priorities predominated in how the settler population was distributed. Along the 1949 armistice lines, a chain of armed kibbutzim was established, filled with settlers drawn mainly from the 'socialist' Zionist youth movements who had constituted the Palmach, the Zionist strike force in pre-state days. Thus, when Ben Gurion dissolved the Palmach, this didn't reduce the Zionist military forces, but

integrated them into the nominally civilian population.

Behind this frontline, a second line of 'defense' was created by crowding newly arrived Oriental Jews into moshavim and 'development towns' on confiscated Palestinian land. «... the numbers of people the Israeli authorities installed in these areas exceeded the needs of normal economic planning, and can only be explained by this political motive (preventing Palestinians from returning to work their land)» (Raphael Shapiro, «Zionism and its Oriental Subjects,» *Forbidden Agendas*, 1984.) Shapiro's point is borne out by the fact that unemployment is consistently twice as high in the 'development towns' as in 'Israel' generally. The pro-Zionist writer, Emmanuel Marx, also affirms the essentially military priorities of Zionist settlement policy: «The (development) town was planned within the framework of a national settlement policy... This scheme sought in particular to settle the strategically sensitive regions along the Egyptian and Jordanian borders... the Israeli defense authorities felt no urgent need to establish many Jewish settlements in Galilee, as the Lebanon border stayed peaceful» (*Israel in the Middle East*). Of course, this changed in the seventies with the nationalist reawakening of the Palestinian Arabs; new plans were adopted for Judaizing the Galilee, while the Zionists dealt with Lebanon through outright aggression.

The phenomenon of settlements as military outposts was repeated in the 1967 occupied territories. Military priorities are blatant in that far greater per capita subsidies go to West Bank settlers than to residents of 'Israel' proper, accounting for 80% of the state's development budget in 1983. Within the West Bank, the priorities are also clear: «By 1985, the World Zionist Organization alone had invested \$80,000 per family on Jewish settlements in the highlands of the occupied West Bank and \$160,000 per family in the Jordan Valley» - the most strategic part (*Middle East Report*, May-June 1988). Transportation routes follow the same priorities. Yaacov Granek, director of national planning for the Egged Bus Cooperative, said that Egged has for years run lines that «can be called political lines for they are not at all economically viable» (quoted in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 49, Fall 1983).

Far from being founded on socialist principles, the communal form of living was chosen for military and economic efficiency. Although kibbutzniks constitute only 3% of the Israeli population, they account for 10% of the gross national product (*International Herald Tribune*, February 18, 1987). They have remained a bastion of the political-military elite, contributing 25% of Israeli ministers, 22% of the middle and high military command and the majority of air-force pilots (Uri Davis, *Israel: Utopia Incorporated*, 1977). The kibbutzim followed the Israeli economy into industrialization and then the age of hightech, including arms production for export. The January 7, 1983 edition of *Haaretz* reported that kibbutz Beth Alfa, affiliated to the self-proclaimed socialist party, Mapam, had been providing equipment to the Chilean army. In 1987, *Israeli Foreign Affairs* reported that the same kibbutz had sold six water cannons to the apartheid regime in Pretoria, which

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