



since an icky IUD (which I'm not sure) was plucked my rotting innards in 1974. alpenitis reoccurred for year until the infection got d one tube and my appendix removed. I stopped taking ill last month and what ens. Redundant ovaries back into action, discover- uge cyst attached. Not ected with the pill you rstand just the same old of a woman whose only h problems have been 'gynae' and associated contraception. 5 in my post-operative absence I'm despairing over rge paper bag of condoms he g respect of cap-fitting wondering why they didn't ve the soggy old tube while were at it. I don't want kids mong the men I know who eiber, there's one trouble aseotomy. from n Williams, on 72

man feminists are ind on racism

Spare Rib, e now read Spare Rib for one and I like it very much. I 'lock forward to receiving it month. am a lesbian. I live together my seven year old daughter y woman friend. I studied age, but due to the high ployment rate I did not find and I am now working as a tarp. In my opinion a very liating job. have followed with interest ange of your collective, eg white women and half n of colour. I have also read ebase on the difficulties the n of colour have to cope and the difficulties white n have. Well your situation eady, but at least something ving. You do not just write sting articles on all the s which are wrong you try to je your own behaviour and s the most difficult thing to nfortunately the German nist newspaper collectives r from doing the same. wish you lots of luck and f strength to cope with all fficulties. I Love k it is good that you opened difficulties to your rship. want to subscribe to Spare or another year. Enclosed ill find a copy of the Postal

Women of Colour meeting was great

Dear Spare Rib, I felt I wanted to write to you to say thank you all at Spare Rib for the Women of Colour meeting. I was so glad that I took part in the meeting. I feel something good can come from this for the black women's liberation movement. Also after meeting yourselves it was good to go home and re-read old SR's actually having met the authors of the articles. Spare Rib has improved so much: for me personally it meant that I continued to read Spare Rib because of articles on the Nationality Act (SR 129), Sona's article on 'Mixed Race - So What!' (SR 131) and 'Racism in Feminism by Manny (SR 132) besides the reviews on the Mawyard Indian Drawings from the Mughal period (SR 131) and reviews of black theatre. Thank you all for making Spare Rib and its readers more aware of racism and reaction within the white women's movement, and for making Spare Rib into a magazine which may attract more black women to the movement. Love from, Elizabeth Desorgher, Birmingham.

Spare Rib is a sister

Dear Sisters, I'm just writing to say thankyou for giving me hope and strength. The other day I bought a copy of Spare Rib for the first time and I can honestly say that it's the best magazine I've ever read. As a young lonely lesbian I now have the reassurance of knowing that I'm not as alone as I felt before. One of your correspondents said in issue 133 "You [Spare Rib] are as much a sister to me as the women I know and love". She speaks for me too. Love, Annie, Plymouth.

Sofia a brilliant mathematician

Dear Spare Rib, On looking through the August issue of Spare Rib I was pleased to find the article about a female mathematician, Sofia Kovlevskaya. When I read the article, however, I was disappointed that it didn't tell me anything about what Sofia actually achieved in mathematics. Describing her merely as a brilliant mathematician is just like describing someone as a top athlete without mentioning the relevant sport or

mentioning the records that she had broken. I also felt that the article was in danger of reinforcing women's traditional lack of interest in matters scientific and technical. Simply by reporting everything about Sofia Kovlevskaya except her technical achievements, the only thing that really matters from a historical standpoint: the article unfortunately diminishes her, instead of according her the respect she apparently deserves. Regrettably, I am unable to supply the missing information myself, but I hope one of your readers (or Teresa Stratford herself) may be able to do so. Yours sincerely, P.C.Hare, Edinburgh.

Israel - another view

*Dear Spare Rib, As you printed Magda Devas' letter (SR 134), I hope you will print the following facts to correct the extraordinary assertions she made. She wrote 'The majority of Jews who lived and fought in the Warsaw ghetto actively resisted the creation of a Jewish-only state'. This is an outright lie, as I shall explain. She continues 'They believed in promoting Jewish identity, culture and autonomy in their country.' What possible autonomy does Magda Devas think the Jews in Poland had, stripped of all civil and political rights, of their homes and livelihoods and possessions, their synagogues burned down, imprisoned in the ghetto to await their own deaths? And what does she know of their beliefs? But she goes on 'They believed they had as much right to live in Poland as any other Pole and died for this belief.' Another lie, and one which contains the offensive suggestion that the Jews of Warsaw chose their deaths over some other option. They did not die for their beliefs. They died regardless of their beliefs, and the only choice they had was - in a few cases - over the manner of their death.

To set the record straight. In May 1939 the British Government, who controlled Palestine, issued a White Paper on Jewish immigration into Palestine, then under British control, limiting it to 75,000 Jews, to be spread over a period of five years. They did this because of, not in spite of, the number of Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution. Boatloads of Jewish refugees were turned away from Palestinian ports, to die at sea or be sent back to Nazi-occupied Europe. Magda Devas, by implication, claims that the Warsaw Jews on principle turned down the choice of fleeing to

Palestine. For the great majority of European Jews, the choice wasn't there. By making it seem like a choice, Magda Devas' falsification of history lets off the hook all those - not only the British - who refused to help Jewish refugees. Yours, in severely tested sisterhood, Dena Attar, York.

Class and Race Contradictions

*Dear Women, Palestinian/Zionist debate: I am working class - I do not have the cash to buy many books/magazines. I have never been initiated into that peculiar middle class world of 'education', academia, 'white middle class culture'. As Manny said in her story 'Lonely Among the Feminists', she had little in common with middle class Iranian women. Obviously there are huge contradictions right across the board.

Frankly - even when/if the debate on the Palestinian murders/anti-semitism (from whoever's viewpoint) is clarified, when all positions are stated, supported/boycotted, whatever - what the hell help will it have been to the dead Palestinians, or the Jewish women who are still, now, the victims of white and Black anti-semitism, or the Black women at SR at the brunt of white racism, or working class women in Israel or . . . (white middle class women will take PHDs in Palestinian oppression, just like the Women of Colour say - and get their facts 'correct').

I support the PLO/IRA/Red Brigades' right to liberation through violence. Nefertiti is right - power is never given up willingly through non-violence. I just hope that when all the confrontation on this particular debate dies down, that white middle class women will start to do something about their classism (Jewish women included) and Black women will realise that working class white women are not their enemy, and that anti-semitism is racism too. I want to see the women's 'movement' doing something about classism, and part of that includes publishing working class women's writing, not just things written 'about' us. A 'sister' (at least I think so) PS I totally support the Black women on the collective, in their struggle to work at SR under such racist pressure. As one of my posters says: 'Power to ALL the people or to none'.



LETTERS

White feminists failed to support Palestinian women

Dear Spare Rib,
The invasion of the Lebanon and the horrific events that followed prompted much needed coverage of the Palestinian struggle in the pages of *Spare Rib* and *Outwrite* — and our own contribution as 'Women for Palestine' also came to notice. We have all since received a barrage of insults, slanders and threats of violence. The ferocity and maliciousness of this campaign against us has not been in the least lessened because our attackers were women. On the contrary women in the WLM have displayed with full force their hostility to all those who take an uncompromising stand against Imperialism and dare to challenge their feminist complacencies.

It is in fact the usual and well practised tactic of the Zionists to slander all opponents as anti-semites. They conveniently avoid any argument that might expose the oppressive logic of these slanders and concentrate on manipulating the fear and guilt created by the terrible history of European anti-semitism. This is best described as moral terrorism. Systematically preying on this guilt and fear these unashamed supporters of imperialism not only effectively dominate the media coverage of the Palestine issue but seek to immobilise support for the Palestinians and silence all opposition to Zionist interests — in the WLM as elsewhere.

The (West London) 'Jewish Lesbian Feminist Group', who have been particularly active and vocal in this malicious and cowardly campaign, were given space in *SR* to argue in support of their charges of anti-semitism against 'WFP' and any 'focus on Zionism'. This they never did. What did they use this space for? They reasserted this slander alongside accounts of the historical experience of anti-semitism — as if this proved the point.

We state categorically that *Zionism is racist* both against the Palestinians and against the Jewish people — who it seeks to segregate and to isolate politically from others who are oppressed; that the holocaust and the actual or threatened resurgence of anti-semitism must be given coverage and without apology, but that this history **IN NO WAY EXCUSES OR JUSTIFIES**

ZIONISM; that just as we give full support to the struggle against *APARTHEID* and to the struggle against *BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN IRELAND* we have no hesitation or reservation about our opposition to Zionism and treat the slander of anti-semitism as unjustified as if opposition to Apartheid were considered racist against Afrikaaners.

SR allowed its pages to be used by apologists for Zionism, in the service of *Imperialist butchers*. This is appalling. (*SR* 123 'About Anti-Semitism' and *SR* 127 some extracts from 'Nice Jewish Girls'). Unfortunately *SR* went further and in *SR* 126 printed an editorial which gave credence to the slanders of anti-semitism and discussed the issue as if Zionism had a 'good side'. This was to have totally capitulated to Zionist pressure. This capitulation was made more repugnant by the pathetic 'liberal' excuses and veneer of 'feminist' heartsearching in which this hypocrisy and cowardice was wrapped. If it were not for the coverage of the black and 'third world' women on the *SR* collective who have now spoken out, it seems that *SR* would have continued to play this disgraceful role. For defending the just struggle of the Palestinians these women have won the extra recognition of regularly receiving the racist insult: 'foreigners go home'.

We in 'WFP' feel it is time to make a clear statement on the conflict within *SR* and the WLM on these questions:

- 1 We repudiate completely the charge of anti-semitism made against our contribution to *SR* and all our collective public acts/writings.
- 2 We condemn the hypocrisy and cowardice of those on the *SR* collective who would call themselves anti-racist, anti-imperialist or socialist yet who have willingly printed and given credence to *Racist and pro-Imperialist arguments*.
- 3 We say shame on all so-called 'Feminists' who rationalise or justify oppression — whether in Palestine, Ireland, South Africa, Brixton or elsewhere. Shame for this betrayal of all *Black Working Class Women*.
- 4 We congratulate the *Women of Colour* on *SR* for their stand and call on all sincere supporters of liberation struggles to give support to these women who some in the WLM are

attempting to isolate and intimidate.

- 5 We call for support of anti-zionist Jewish women (of whom there are many in spite of Zionist denials and harassment). We must support these women in their attempts to make their voices heard against the Zionist abuse of their own oppression.

WFP will not be diverted or intimidated. We will continue to give every possible support to the just struggle for a liberated Palestine — and this includes exposing our enemies wherever we find them, in whatever disguise they try to hide — in or out of the 'Womens Liberation Movement'.
In Solidarity
Women For Palestine
London

Respect a porn film?

Dear Spare Rib,
Last evening our company held a magazine screening for our film *MY TUTOR*. We invited your publication and one of your journalists attended. After about fifteen minutes into the film this journalist left, loudly telling the rest of the audience to 'enjoy the bullshit'.

I don't believe this kind of behaviour does anything to enhance the fight for women's rights and their role in today's society. Most film distributors would not even bother to invite *Spare Rib* to a screening of their film; we were open minded enough to do so. Your magazine is your mouthpiece through which you can air your criticism of our film. The outburst by your reporter demonstrated a basic lack of respect for other people and gained no sympathy from the rest of the audience.

I trust that not all members of *Spare Rib* are so aggressive, humourless and ill-mannered. Yours sincerely,
Maureen Bartlett
Director
'My tutor' is about a pretty face boy introduced into sex, ideal respectable sex taught him by his private french tutor, not by prostitutes or the shop assistant women. It is a disgusting film. Don't see it.
Manny

CPGB is dishonest

Dear Sisters,
I am a member of the Communist Party and I too, like Manny (*SR* 133, p.12-13), was disturbed and angry after reading the article on 'Women in Iran' in this spring's

issue of the Communist Party's women's journal. It was a dishonest and evasive account of the situation for women in Iran since the revolution of 1979 — it turned a blind eye to the repressions and the tortures and completely failed to understand that the 'liberation' of women under Islamic fundamentalism is quite, quite different from our own concepts of women's liberation. This is not a matter of respecting women from other culture's definitions of liberation, for the definition of women's 'liberation' in post-1979 Iran has been set by Islamic fundamentalism, which is patriarchal (to say the least!), reactionary and repressive. But Elizabeth Wilson and Mary Davis, the authors of the article, failed to discuss the place of Islamic fundamentalism in the Iranian revolution, just as they failed to acknowledge many other undoubted facts.

As Manny says, why? What can possibly be gained by such deceit? How can turning a blind eye to repression and violence (until that is, members of the Iranian Communist Party itself are tortured and killed) assist the revolution in its attempts to become genuinely democratic and socialist for all women and men — attempts which have of course failed. Of course it is important to support anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles, but this must be done without sacrificing women's rights and lives. Some leftists inside and outside the Communist Party would sacrifice such rights for the supposed advantage of the working class, although this is not the official policy of the CP.

No doubt, it is the same blind eye, however, that is also turned towards attempts to get such important issues debated in the pages of *Link*. Surely, nothing is gained by dishonesty or lies — except women's continued oppression. There are many women in the CP who would also like Manny's questions answered. How can we convince people of the need for socialism if some of its proponents are seen to ignore its basic principles? Not by selling our feminist beliefs and values for a notion of socialism in which people's basic freedoms and rights are ignored and to which people's lives are sacrificed. In sisterhood,
Mary Braithwaite,
Cardiff.

Yom Pales

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om Kippur and destinians

Dear Spare Rib
The High Holy Days usher in the
New Year, beginning with
Hashanah and ending with
Kippur. During this time,
wish people the world over con-
t and make peace with the
year to begin anew. It is a
of introspection and
conciliation, a time to ask
forgiveness and to forgive others.
mourn and honor the dead
remember the sanctity of

As two Jewish lesbians we
why is this Yom Kippur
ferent from all others? This
ar, the 10th day of Tishri also
marks the one year anniversary
of the massacres of 3,000
armed Palestinian people in
Lebanese refugee camps of
ora and Chatilla. It was during
Israeli invasion and occupa-
tion of Lebanon that they
were murdered by the Lebanese
along with the complete
implicity of the Israeli govern-
ment.

As Jews we mourn:
the victims of these massa-
s;

Israel's continuing occupation
Lebanon and the imprisonment
10,000 Lebanese and Palestin-
ian people;

Israel's and US's refusal to
negotiate with the PLO, and the
continued exile of the Palestinian
people from their homeland;

Israel's role as a major
supplier of arms to repressive
regimes in Central and
South America, and in Africa;
that the Israeli State has
chosen to link its survival with
the role of oppressor. We mourn
the effect of that role on the soul
of the Jewish people;
our failure as American Jews
to criticize Israeli policies and
American policies supporting
Israeli militarism;

at last, and yet the beginning of
a worldwide anti-semitism;
for thousands of years Jews
have been subjected to exiles,
slavery, persecution, and most
recently the Holocaust.

The experience of the
Holocaust has taught us once
again that anti-semitism can
occur at any time to any of us.
The suffering of the Holo-
caust does not make right the

oppression of other peoples. It is
the vigilant fight against anti-
semitism, not the Palestinians,
that will ensure our survival.

If you are a non-Jew reading
this letter and you are saying to
yourself, "Yes, Israel is the most
oppressive country", we urge you
to look inside a little deeper and
check out your own anti-semitism,
even if you've already dealt with
it. Anti-semitism is everywhere,
in the right and in the left.

We feel our connection to all
Jews and therefore offer this
letter in the spirit of the long and
continuing tradition of radical
Judaism. This Yom Kippur, let
us resolve to further educate our-
selves about the history and
current conditions in the Middle
East; push through our fears;
discuss the information and our
feelings, criticize and let our
thoughts be known. May peace
and reconciliation become a
reality for all of us.

Ruby & Rhea,
San Francisco, CA, USA.

Your mag keeps me sane

Dear Sisters,
Keep on with the good work
your magazine is the only thing
that ensures I keep my sanity.

I am a married woman with
two children. My husband thinks
Woman's Liberation is a ridicu-
lous idea. He says women are as
free as they want to be, the
inequalities are a figment of my
imagination. My neighbours are
similar in their views.

Your magazine and the views
expressed keep me going, thanks
for that.

Love,
Margaret,
Stockport.

SR — peaceful, easy- going and friendly

Dear Spare Rib,
I popped into your offices
yesterday (Thursday) to help out
typing and just wanted to say
what a lovely place I thought it
was. Peaceful, easy-going and
friendly.

When you work in the rat-
race it's hard to imagine working
in an environment where equality
exists, non-sexism is there to be
seen and the general friendliness
so refreshing.

I hope to be able to spare a
day again, but will telephone
first.

Best wishes and love,
Terri Evans,
Coulsdon, Surrey.

I thought I wasn't racist

Dear Spare Rib,
I wonder how many of your
readers like me, feel disquiet over
the changing character of the
magazine? While I acknowledge
the need for political awareness
and solidarity with our sisters of
all cultures, I feel the bias away
from the life of the 'average'
woman (especially one like me
who recently dropped out of a
22 year old marriage!) — is so
marked as to be in danger of
totally losing a great number of
dedicated, and potential new,
readers.

I recently had the interesting
experience (!!) of being inter-
viewed by you, and being event-
ually turned down for the job on
the grounds that I had racist
views which I had never acknow-
ledged. At the time, I was
disappointed, angry, and totally
denied the allegation — but on
reflection (and a discussion with
one member of the collective), I
have realised that in fact, like
most people brought up in our
society I am racist! The fact that
I have never acknowledged this
ever to myself is totally mind-
blowing and has opened up a
whole new level of conscious-
ness and avenue of thought to me.

I also have very mixed
emotions about the way the
women's movement is working —
and the ways in which women
treat each other, when the
original concept of sisterhood I
envisaged was to break down the
old traditions set up by the
patriarchal system by which we've
all been conditioned. Is it true
'sisterhood is just a word made
up by men'? . . .

I'd be interested to hear other
readers views!
Love to you all, in sisterhood,
Veronica O'Reilly,
Milton Keynes.

Black is beautiful and very, very angry

Dear Spare Rib,
The Faversham Women's Group
say they welcome SR's expanded
interest in cultures other than
white English (Letters, SR 134).
This really is jolly decent of
them. Their magnanimity is all
the more touching given the hurt
the poor things experience over
the vicious rantings of those of
you on the collective who are
Women of Colour.

The poor FWG has obviously
been stung. The pain and anguish

they feel is obviously greater than
that constantly borne by people
who are forever being stung by
WASPs. (Those of you who are
not White Anglo-Saxon Protest-
ants will know what I mean.)
What the FWG requires to make
it feel good again is something
soothing — that classic embro-
cation which combines Essence
of Liberal Hogwash with
Tincture of Tolerance and Eau
de Integration. When given to
those with certain skins this can
work wonders, producing a
happy, health glow. Unfortun-
ately for those of us who suffer
from WASP stings, it merely
serves to exacerbate the
complaint . . .

However, lest I be accused by
the FWG and others like them of
making 'cryptic assertions', let
me come to the point. I want to
thank the FWG for pointing out
that the WLM may now con-
ceivably 'split on colour lines'.
And I, fool that I am, have been
labouring under the delusion
that the WLM has *always* been
'split on colour lines'! (A quaint
phrase. I've always referred to
this as plain old white racism.)

The group further enlightens
us by suggesting that a confront-
ation with racism/imperialism
will cause SR to lose its appeal to
a 'wider readership'. That SR
may actually be trying to achieve
a wider readership by appealing
to more Women of Colour is
patently a useless consideration
as, if one reads between the
lines of the FWG letter, we are
totally non-existent. Their
confident assertion that the
'Plain Sailing' article in SR 132
'puts women off' begs the
question: Which women? It
didn't put me off and I'm sure
other Women of Colour welcome
the beginnings of what is bound
to be a painful and heated debate.
(Not to mention a long overdue
one.) One may only logically
conclude that we are not 'real'
women or that we don't exist
at all!

Finally, the FWG lifts the
scales from our eyes by telling us
that racism/imperialism is not 'a
central women's issue'. Gee,
thanks girls.

In the meantime, Black is
Beautiful — and very, very Angry.
Sincerely,
Ali,
Basingstoke, Hants.

LETTERS CHOSEN BY MANNY

#132 July 1983

letters letters letter

Second Thoughts on Adoption

*Dear Spare Rib, I hope that Teresa Hewat (SR 130) who requested information about adoption, having recently learnt of her infertility, didn't find Caroline Leinster's letter (SR131) as saddening and disheartening as I did.

Unfortunately we adopted people often consider ourselves experts on adoption and find it difficult to see that changes have taken place in adoption practice and the law since our adoptions.

To start with her inaccuracies — although benefits for single parents are woefully inadequate (a side issue which will hopefully be settled on June 9th) women these days do have the right to choose whether or not to keep their babies. They will be given support in their decision for as long as they need/request it.

On the law — it does not try to pretend that adoption has not taken place, after all, why keep a register of adopted children. These days any adopted person over 18 has the right in law to obtain their original birth certificate and the details of their adoption from the court records. The law also gives the opportunity for counselling. If the person is counselled by the agency which arranged their adoption there may be details of the adoption, and even photographs of their original parents available. The agency may act as

a go-between to arrange contact between original parent(s) and 'child'.

The other point concerning the law is that of incest. Adopted children are considered in law in the same way as other children. They have the same rights of inheritance and of protection by the law from the abuse of parents. Incest is not defined by biology.

It's true that for many years there has been a 'shortage' of healthy white babies for adoptions, due to gradual improvements in contraception and abortion and to the increasing numbers of single mothers. This has been beneficial in that it has promoted a broadening of adoption criteria and the development of agencies concerned with placing children who may previously have been considered difficult or impossible to find adopters for. There is still of course a long way to go.

I feel it's the duty of all of us, if we genuinely care about understanding each other, to explore the myths about parenting and about not being a parent, whether by choice or otherwise. We won't get anywhere while we retain our fixed ideas and closed minds.

In personhood,
Liz Moore,
Bristol.



Policewoman on Policemen

*Hello, I am a twenty two year old police constable who is not married. I work with men (most of whom are) and I would like to say something in answer to a letter printed in SR 130 written by Fi.

It goes without saying that policemen are just like any other men and therefore spend a lot of mental energy in anticipation of some form (to varying degrees) of 'opportunity' as regards females. I can see the train of thoughts ticking over behind their eyes when they are being sent to assist or even detain any woman whether she be a miss or mrs. They discuss over the radio or between themselves whether 'she' was as hoped for or as expected or worth knowing the address of etc. etc. This attitude I feel personally is not particularly different although I do feel that if any profession has a wide scope for

this kind of intrusion then the police force certainly has a free rein.

Unfortunately it is down to the individual female to make a stand as far as, in this case, 'visitors'. You can only make it quite clear verbally that you do not want policemen knocking on your door, competing to be the one who 'cracked it' and that if this message is not getting through effectively you will complain to the officer in charge of the police station. I can assure you the threat itself and most certainly if you are forced to carry it out will scatter them and they won't dare to try it again.

The 'I'll come round later on and make sure you're alright' is as standard a line in this job as 'haven't I met you somewhere before' is in a pub! Don't buy it. You have absolutely nothing to fear at all from local police because you close your door to their 'friendly, concerned' visits. There will be no come back. Warm wishes,
Denise,
Hants.

Birthmarks

Dear Spare Rib, I am 27, and I have a birthmark or 'port-wine' stain on the right side of my face. It has never caused me as much obvious distress as is suffered by some people who have similar birthmarks, and I believe that this is because of the supportive atmosphere that I grew up in.

However, I am very aware that I have been deeply affected, and still am affected by my birthmark. Comments like these — 'You'd be so attractive if it wasn't for your birthmark' — made to me in my teens and childhood, obviously have an effect. Because of the support from my parents and

sisters, I have, on the other hand, always been aware that it is me as a person that is important, rather than my looks. There are subtle ways in which I am affected, through my own consciousness that I am different and stand out visually in a group of people. These effects are both positive and negative.

I would like to hear from other people, particularly women, who have a birthmark — of whatever size, colour or shape. My eventual aim is to write about the many affects having a birthmark has on people: and the affect that attempted or 'successful' treatment or disguise has on the same people. If anyone knows a man who has a birthmark, I would be interested to hear from him — I'm sure the effects must be of a similar degree.

Waiting eagerly for replies,
Eleanor Attack,
Manchester.

Write to Eleanor c/o Spare Rib.

I'm still proud of being Jewish

Dear Spare Rib, Your editorial in SR 130 sickens and saddens me. SR is now doing to Jewish women exactly the same thing that men have been doing to feminists for the past decades. If you ignore them, or at best, pay lip-service to how sympathetic you are really, they'll go away. If Jewish women negate the struggles of Palestinian women by 'silence in this area', then the resounding silence of SR must, by now, have made all Jewish women (and SR, get it straight, Jewish women need not be either Israelis or Zionist) at best invisible, but more likely, extinct. Your vague comments around how you must extend your consciousness and your

Oops!

In the article *We Shall Return: Women of Palestine* (SR130), we forgot to say the extracts came from a book of the same title by Ingela Bendt and James Downing which has been published in English by Zed Press, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DN. In SR131 very sorry but we left off Jilly Green's name on the subpage photo, and the cartoons in the *Sexual Harassment in Schools* piece were done by Lyn May. Also the telephone number for Format Women Photographers Agency was misprinted. It is 01-609 3439.

Last but not least — the cover of SR128 we missed crediting Manushi (Indian Feminist magazine) for one of the photos — sorry sisters!

The Election and Aftermath

Spare Rib is in the unfortunate position of going to press the week before the election and coming out after it's all over. So, by the time of reading this you'll know the result. Undoubtedly it's an extremely significant election, and whatever the result, will have a huge impact on women's lives, (not only in Britain). In Spare Rib 134 we want to take a look at how women's groups and campaigns are going to direct their struggles under the new government — how proposed policies will affect you, how do we avoid demoralisation at the terrifying prospect of more Conservative rule; will it be any different under Labour, what will be our tactics if they've been returned? We invite letters, comments and articles by July 4th — contact Susan at Spare Rib.

#132 July 1983

letters letters letters

coverage of anti-semitism sound as they are: a sop to appease those of us who might — for probably no reason, you can conceive of — be offended at the blatant anti-Jewishness of the rest of the editorial.

When I see Nazi graffiti, hear anti-Jewish jokes, I used to be able to feel strong in my sense of sisterhood with other women, to think that at least, here, I could be proud of my Jewishness as I am of being a woman.

Well, no more. I'm still proud of being Jewish. But sisterhood? SR, you've made it very plain: your sisterhood doesn't extend to me.

With thanks for the lesson.
Heather Dale,
London SE24.

Betrayal of liberation

*Dear Sisters,
Look, just because we're women in collective struggle doesn't mean we have to sit back and tolerate the reactionary crap that some Jewish 'feminists' have been coming out with. I remember in one issue of SR, a Jewish woman said she was 'wary of all non-Jews'. OK, anti-semitism is ingrained in most people, including those who would consider themselves anti-racist. But I'm against that being used as a (flimsy) excuse to defend or even support Israel.

Throughout history, the Zionists have been the friends of imperialism. The central slogans of the Zionist colonisation process were: 'Conquest of the Land', 'Jewish labour' and 'Buy Jewish'. Israel is a free country, there is no poverty, everyone is content — as long as they're Jewish. Even Black Jews face discrimination under Zionism.

Zionism is racist on two counts: the first is the daily persecution of the Palestinian Arabs. The second, more subtle aspect is that it shares the same assumptions as anti-semitism: the anti-semites want the Jews to 'go away', while the Zionists want them to 'come away'.

As an Irish nationalist, I feel in my heart that the Irish liberation struggle is the same as the Palestinian fight. Our tears of horror at the brutal murder of the Palestinian refugees recently, must spark into rage at Israel's

racist, power-hungry state.

Feminists must give full support to the Palestinians and the struggle to smash the State of Israel. Anything else is a wet liberal cop-out and a betrayal of liberation.
Solidarity and Revolution,
Shelagh,
Brixton.

Aliens in their own city

Dear Spare Rib,
I have only very recently begun to read your magazine. I just wanted to contragulate you on your work. I initially bought your magazine for the articles on the views of Palestinian women in Lebanon after the destruction of Beirut. Having lived in Israel for six months last year during the war I became aware of the plight of the Palestinians after spending some weeks living with a Palestinian family in the Christian quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. They appeared to be aliens in their own city, singled out by curfews at night and made noticeable by the different coloured registration plates on their cars to those of the Israelis.

I arrived in Israel a few days before war broke out, the peace of the lush Jordan valley was broken by the sonic booms of Israel's low flying jets. On the Kibbutz almost 100 men were immediately called up so it was up to the women of the community to keep the bulk of the industry going. The plastics factory was the main source of income and, even though working the injection moulding machines was hot, dirty, monotonous work it was an interesting experience; we also tended the trees and harvested in the banana and date fields. The men also did their share in the kitchen and dining room too.

I spoke to many of the Kibbutzniks about the war, none of them wanted it but everywhere in Israel the military is so much in evidence that it seemed almost unavoidable. After the massacres of Sabra and Shatilla some of the Volunteers along with a group of Kibbutzniks attended the demonstration in Tel Aviv and although thousands gathered in the square the whole event was very peaceful with only a few minor scuffles at the edge of the crowd.

For six weeks I lived in a new Moshav settlement on the West Bank, the farmers' crops thriving with modern irrigation and spraying systems and a tractor replaced the family car. Below us in the valley a small community of Arabs lived in an old refugee camp with one tractor between them to scrape a living from the hard dust of the desert. I asked a member of the Moshav if he had the slightest twinge of guilt living in his comfortable home seeing the Arabs below in hovels and their crops wilting away because they have no developed irrigation system. I was told that they liked living that way, they have money but prefer to act hard done by to gain the sympathies of the world. The Arab women often worked for the Moshav because the Israelis could hire them cheaper than Volunteers from other countries, even though they despised and did not trust them to work on their own.

After seeing and hearing both sides of the story I know where my sympathies lie.

I'm afraid I seem to have got carried away. I only meant to write to congratulate you on your magazine, not to air my political views, anyway, thanks again.

Yours,
Julie Evans,
Mitcham, Surrey

Support anti-racism

Dear Spare Rib,
Reference your editorial (SR 130), I would like to express my support for your stand against anti-semitism, racism and oppression of all kinds and wherever existing. Furthermore, I would like to support Aliza Khan in her statement, 'If a woman calls herself feminist she should consciously call herself anti-Zionist'. I would like to add to anti-Zionist anti-racist as well...!
Yours
A. Kuttab,
Imperial College, London.

Think carefully about Semitic races

Dear Spare Rib,
Please stop assuming all Jewish women are white. This country, its male control, its schooling and working institutions, liberal left wing groups, most feminists

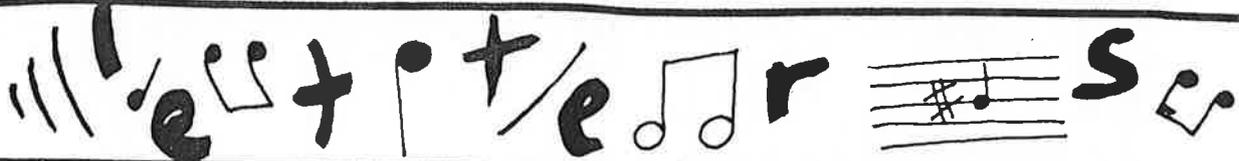
and Jewish feminists, long gone white women lovers have all successfully prevented me from finding out about my roots for over 25 years. Now, very provokingly and painfully through love and support from Black sisters and brothers am I starting to learn.

My Sephardi mother came from Aden, Yemen (British ruled) and fled when Palestine (British Mandate) became Israel (I cannot tackle that one here, but Begin is as bad as Thatcher), to refuge in Alexandria, Egypt (British port). She met my Ashkenazi Russian/Italian father, bore me in England, where he then lived and then fled to Paris two years later with him. I was brought up by his relatives. Too long have I accepted their kindness, liberal kindness, white women's kindness. I don't need it and I don't want it. But I want to claim my right to educate sisters trying to be non-racist. Anti-Semitism is not the issue — think carefully about Semitic races or do some research. Some of my closest friends and kin are Arab.
Love,
Sharon,
Bath.

Growing Unease

Dear Spare Rib collective,
I have just read your editorial (SR 130) and am a bit confused, as one of the Jewish women whose letters you refuse to publish. I can't be the only socialist-feminist who wrote to you who is not indifferent to the injustices suffered by the Palestinian people, but who is also torn by a concern to ensure the survival of the Jewish people. Like you I do not have easy answers to the problems of Palestine and Israel's future existence.

My confusions however, arises from an apparent contradiction in the editorial. How can you open SR up to 'a continuous dialogue between Jewish women and Palestinians and Arab women' (a course of action I urged in my first letter to you), if you refuse to publish what your Jewish readers write to you?
Yours in sisterhood and growing unease,
Madge Dresser,
Bristol.



Silencing

Dear Spare Rib,
As Jewish feminists who have been involved in two meetings in the last couple of months with members of your collective, we know that you have taken a decision as a collective not to publish any of the 'flood of letters' received in response to the articles by Women for Palestine (SR121 & SR124). We know that many of these letters were written by Jewish feminists, Jewish feminists from a variety of political positions. We know that a number of these letters were about anti-semitism in the articles, differing and opposing views of Zionism and the politics of the Israeli government; some supporting the Palestinians' struggles.

The fact that NO LETTERS WHATSOEVER were printed is experienced by us as silencing. Silencing involves ignoring and distorting Jewish experience, or refusing to acknowledge the persistence of anti-semitism. A lot of statements were made in the articles defining Jewish experience. By refusing to publish these letters we have not had the opportunity to answer these statements. Despite your avowed commitments to fighting anti-semitism in editorials and articles, we experience this silencing as anti-semitic. Silencing is a traditional weapon of anti-semitism in a long history of anti-semitism in Britain.

It is only too easy to put all Jewish women in the category of oppressors because of what is happening in the Middle East, and then silence our experience of anti-semitism. We feel that every time we want to say something about anti-semitism in the context of Middle East politics, we are prevented on the grounds of being Zionist, whatever our actual political positions on Israel. This silencing prevents any meaningful debate. During the second meeting our experience of anti-semitism was referred to as 'perceived anti-semitism'. Does this mean that it can therefore be discounted? Would a Black or other minority group woman be told that her experience of racism was merely perceived? (In making this point we are not, of course, trying to compete in hierarchies of oppression.)

Whilst we recognise that Zionism can be used in militaristic and oppressive ways against Jews and Palestinians, we also see

that some forms of anti-Zionism can contain certain anti-semitic elements. Why can't other women acknowledge the possibility of the latter as well as the former? In your editorial (SR126) you have made a commitment to explore these issues, yet your actual contribution has been to silence a considerable section of the contributors. We suggest that the collective seriously considers the implications of their actions regarding the Jewish feminist community. What implications does this have for other minority groups?

In our meeting we have not been given adequate explanations as to why none of the letters were printed. Could it be that had we not brought our objections to the collective and asked for meetings, this issue would neither have been addressed by the collective nor brought to the attention of the readership? Your readership has a right to know.

Yours,
Adi Cooper Karen Goldman
Rosalind Haber Judy Keiner
Francesca Klug Sally Lawson

This letter (which contains an inaccuracy — the article in SR 121 was not by Women for Palestine) was written before our editorial in SR130. In that we explain why we have not published the letters referred to. SR took a position not to publish letters which some of us considered pro-zionist. We are not 'silencing' Jewish women but we refuse to publish letters that are pro-zionist and which ignore the consequences of that policy/ideology for thousands of Palestinians. We have been under undue pressure over this issue. We do not accept that anti-semitism is above or in isolation from other oppressions. (This footnote is not a unanimous response from the Spare Rib collective.)

Tolerance, but also awareness

Dear Sisters,
I was extremely interested to read the editorial in SR126. As a Jewish woman nonetheless describing myself as anti-Zionist, I would like to make a contribution to the debate you are attempting to initiate.

I would like to touch briefly on some of the eleven questions you pose. In answer to your first

question, I would submit that the emphasis must be on tolerance but also awareness. Obviously, women must be allowed to express vast, often extreme differences of opinion. At the same time, if this is to be in a feminist context, women who are ready to share their opinions must be aware of their possible implications for/effect on other women. In other words, before we engage in any kind of debate, we must analyse our viewpoints as deeply as possible and root out any elements of racism and bigotry.

With regard to the second question, it seems to me that the fact that 'many of the questions we are asking . . . are tied up with patriarchal power, as well as imperialism and racism' not only affects but determines 'our involvement as women'. It is in this respect that we must confront the question of Zionism, a philosophy and political practice very closely bound up with racism and imperialism.

The historical and modern meaning of Zionism is a subject on which many books have been written. My personal perception is that the idea of a Jewish state in which all Jews have an automatic right of return was developed at a time when the Jewish people desperately needed some form of salvation from oppression and when such a need was not answered by any of the so-called democracies in the West. It is this need which has been exploited by the Zionist leaders in collaboration with the Americans, who have a vested interest in establishing their influence in the Middle East, and which has been fulfilled at the terrible cost of the rights and lives of the Palestinian people.

Furthermore, I believe that the need for freedom from oppression can no longer (if it ever could) be answered by the existence of a State to which the oppressed can simply flee. This brings me to your questions on anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. It seems to me not only possible but also imperative that we fight anti-semitism and yet be anti-Zionist; that in fighting anti-semitism we actually use the tactic of opposing Zionism. For anti-semites and Zionists see the Jewish people in the same light — that is, as different and separate from their gentile compatriots in a racial as well as religious sense, and thus as

people who do not belong in their country of birth and who should therefore 'get out' and 'go home' to Israel, a country with which they probably have no more than a biblical, sentimental connection. I regard this as a racist and fascist way of thinking and I am opposed to it no matter what its source.

It is this same mentality which has dominated the thinking of the Israeli leaders and which has led them to perpetuate crimes against the Palestinian people in the name of Zionism — an obsessive belief in the exclusive right of the Israelis to the territory they inhabit. Thus the atrocities in Lebanon must be condemned on behalf of the Jewish people, and not as a blind curse against them. Such a condemnation is therefore in no way anti-semitic; quite the contrary, in fact.

I hope SR will continue to further the debate on this subject by bringing together Jewish and non-Jewish women, so helping the latter to reach an understanding of what anti-semitism means and to reduce the fears of the former of criticising what their upbringing has told them to believe about Zionism. Yours in Sisterhood, Ms. Lynda S. Pearl, Oakham, Leicestershire.

'I am an Arabic Jew'

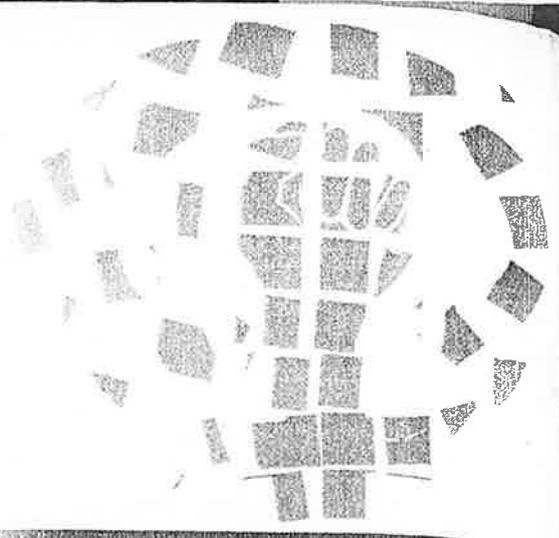
*Dear Spare Rib collective, In SR127, you included extracts from a book *Nice Jewish Girls*. One of the extracts in particular, 'I am an Arabic Jew', was extremely racist towards all Arab and Muslim people. I am appalled and disgusted that your collective should have allowed its inclusion.

Perhaps I should not be surprised by this, considering your previous 'liberal' editorial position on the Palestinian question (SR126). Liberalism in the context of Zionist/anti-Zionist politics is to suggest that 'possibly' the deaths of thousands of women and children and the continued repression of all the Palestinian people could be justified.

If you as a collective would rather be racist than confront Zionist women within the movement, then at least have the courage to say so.

Yours,
Kate Askew,
London.

#130 May 1983



EDITORIAL

Spare Rib has received approximately 40 letters in response to the article, 'Women Speak Out Against Zionism' (SR121). The article was based on the conversation of three women — one Lebanese, one Palestinian and one Israeli anti-Zionist woman. This article came out of the urgency we all felt after the Israeli invasion into Lebanon and the death and destruction which followed. Aliza Khan, the Israeli woman, declared that 'I'm a woman calls herself feminist she should consciously call herself anti-Zionist'. Many of the letters have responded strongly against that statement. Others asserted that Zionism was not necessarily a reactionary force. Some women were angry that non-Jewish women should make judgements about what was or wasn't anti-semitic; some women wanted nothing more to do with *Spare Rib*. There were letters from Zionist organisations which denounced the PLO and *SR* and defended the present state of Israel and its actions.

The *Spare Rib* collective has been discussing the letters and the issues for months (see Editorial SR126). We have considered various ideas and ways of publishing some of them. Our differences on how to react to and deal with letters which questioned our support of the Palestinian cause divided us then and divide us now, even though membership of the collective has changed by more than half during that time.

For all of us there was no question of publishing extreme Zionist letters. Some of the collective felt that even if the other writers did not declare themselves as Zionist, the substance of their politics was (ie, even if critical of the present policies of Israel, they still, through silence in this area, negated the oppression and struggles of the Palestinian people). Others, although not necessarily in agreement with all the letters, wanted to print ones which covered a wide range of issues including Zionism, its meaning and history, questioned aspects of our Palestinian coverage, and struggles around anti-semitism.

After numerous and exhausting discussions we have decided (not unanimously) not to publish any of the letters we received. As a collective we are united in a pro-Palestinian position; we are concerned about Palestinian oppression and support their struggle for self-determination and independence. We are not an anti-Zionist collective although individually many of the collective define themselves as such and some *SR* workers have been threatened on the streets for wearing pro-Palestinian badges.

We have been accused of publishing anti-semitic material in our pro-Palestinian articles. We take a collective position on opposing anti-semitism in our society, and in ourselves, but we do not deny that we have much to learn. We are concerned about the oppression of Jewish women and Palestinian women but in trying to cover both peoples with their distinct and sometimes interlinked histories we inevitably run into contradictions, all of which have clearly not been resolved, not only in *SR* but in other groups and movements engaged in the debate.

We recognise that there is growing anti-semitism in this

country; especially at times of economic crisis anti-semitism and racist and sexist attacks increase. Our consciousness and coverage of these developments must extend further. We must cover the overt anti-semitism and racism of the National Front and the British Movement. And we should confront our own anti-semitism. Part of that confrontation is recognising that anti-Zionist coverage can conceal anti-semitism. On the other hand it does not inevitably do so, and we feel that in the course of the last year's debate there have been some unjustified criticisms made with the intention/effect of immobilising support for the Palestinians. We do not accept Zionism as a strategy for the liberation of oppressed Jewish people at the expense of Palestinians. Zionism as it was created in the 19th century by European imperialism had no right to decide for the Palestinians and their land. We also understand that Israel is not the only country in the world which is built on a racist basis and that European anti-semitism was and is a contributory factor to Zionism's appeal.

We do not pretend to have any collective agreement on how we see the future existence of Israel and Palestine. We are against the oppression of Palestinians in Israel, war-mongering and expansionist policies of Israel in the Middle East. We condemn the sufferings that Israel has caused Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian women in the occupied territories.

Spare Rib takes a non-sectarian anti-imperialist stance; we support liberation struggles in Ireland and the Third World but not without question. Our support for the Palestinians and their right to return to their homeland does not mean that as feminists we are uncritical of the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation) and its lack of feminist policies. *Spare Rib* has fallen between two existing stools for taking an independent and questioning line on Zionist feminism and the Palestinian liberation struggle. As a result we have been attacked from both sides.

Women of Colour are now one half of the collective, and have been at *Spare Rib* for the last 7 months. We, the Women of Colour, don't have the security and privileges that come with being white, tenuous though these may be for many working class, Irish and Jewish women. We have to live with constant racist attacks as well as the general sexist assaults all women are subjected to. The *Spare Rib* collective is committed to feminist policies within an autonomous women's movement in this country and internationally. We have taken a strong anti-racist line and we want to see every form of racism and sexism combated in this country and internationally.

Differences and struggle are never easily faced and engaged in. In this editorial we have tried to speak about some of the issues which have been occupying us for a long time. The collective remains divided — it's not the end of the discussion for us or about what appears in the magazine. We would like *SR* to be open to a continuous dialogue between Jewish women and Palestinian and Arab women, carried through by them and for them.

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#126
Jan 1983

EDITORIAL

Many *SR* readers will have noticed that over the last few months we have printed two articles from women supporting the PLO and critical of Israel and/or Zionism, in relation to the Palestinians. We have also printed one article from a Jewish Lesbian feminist group which described each women's experience of anti-semitism. These separate but connected articles have arisen at *this* point in time because of the particular international situation.

Our first article by two Arab women and one Jewish woman, arose out of the outrage many women felt at the terrible situation of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. After this article we received many letters, a high percentage from Jewish feminists who felt the article ignored the history of anti-semitism, while too crudely opposing Zionism. Some of the writers thought the article was itself anti-semitic.

We discussed these letters and were faced with the problem of what was the best way to take the discussion forward. We decided to keep the letters and for publication to ask two groups of women to address themselves to the same set of questions concerning what was happening between Israel, Lebanon and the PLO and the very real threat and growth of anti-semitism in western countries. We also wanted to know how feminism was part of any of these questions. We asked Women for Palestine and a Jewish lesbian feminist group to write another article.

The discussion has not ended, but at this point we feel it

must take a new turn. We have been accused of anti-semitism and ignorance of Jewish history for allowing pro-Palestinian and anti Zionist positions to be published in *SR*. We have been accused of publishing criticism of national liberation struggles and asking what is in them for women.

We accept that *SR* must continually examine the politics of the magazine and be open to change. We accept that we must answer the criticisms of Black, Third World, Jewish, and other women who experience colonialism and imperialism. But, we also maintain that we have a responsibility to decide how to present struggles and differences *between women*. We also take responsibility as a collective for believing that articles expressing anger and criticism *now* about Israeli imperialism were not in themselves wrong, although some of us now feel that *aspects* of those articles were incomplete and open to anti-semitism interpretation.

In this context we would like to list the kind of questions which we feel are important to keep in mind during our discussions of what comes next. They're not 'new' questions - they have come up around other complex and sometimes contradictory situations at *SR*. We are searching for a militant way of opposing anti-semitism here and now, and of opposing any imperialist oppression of the Palestinian people today. The fundamental question of what the resolution of the problem of a Palestinian homeland is, has to be examined in relation to all these questions.

1. How do we deal with extreme differences which

- exist between feminists? How do we criticise but not discount or despise each other?
- 2. How does the fact that many of the questions we are asking which are tied up with patriarchal power, as well as imperialism and racism, affect our involvement as women?
- 3. What does Zionism mean, both historically and today?
- 4. Can women be anti-Zionist and fight anti-semitism?
- 5. How can *SR* best combat anti-semitism?
- 6. How can we find a way of criticising Israel's actions in Lebanon without being anti-semitic or fuelling anti-semitism?
- 7. What is a critical feminist support of Israel?
- 8. What is a critical feminist support of PLO?
- 9. How should European feminists support Third World, national liberation struggles?
- 10. How do we define imperialism?
- 11. Can any of these questions be discussed usefully without referring to the power and influence of the USA, Soviet Union, western European countries, and to the Arab states?

The process of developing a feminist politics which can deal with these questions is obviously ongoing. While accepting responsibility as an editorial collective we also want to ask whether or not it is possible for *SR* to be an arena of debate without others blaming us and other groups of women rather than going to the *roots* of the conflict. We hope to continue to publish articles which help to clarify and develop these politics. ■



WOMEN AGAINST ZIONISM

Women for Palestine express their horror at the atrocity that the Palestinians and Lebanese people have experienced, and they give an analysis of the Zionist movement and show how recent events are related to the political nature of Zionism.

In SR 121 we carried an article 'Women Speak Out Against Zionism' — where an Israeli woman, a Lebanese woman and a Palestinian woman explained their opposition to Zionism. In SR 123 in an article 'About Anti-Semitism' the West London Jewish Lesbian Feminist Group wrote about how they felt 'the focus on "Zionism" seems to us in itself anti-semitic and hardly feminist'.

Here Women for Palestine analyse the history of Zionism and a Palestinian woman describes what it has meant for her.

To the memory of the Palestinians and Lebanese massacred by the Israeli 'Defense' Force.

Only the most callous and reactionary could remain unmoved by the slaughter of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese during the latest Israeli invasion of the Lebanon.

'Up a track through the rubble, we found the bodies of five women and several children. The women were middle aged and their corpses lay draped over a pile of rubble. One lay on her back, her dress torn open and the head of a little girl emerging from behind her. The girl had short, dark curly hair, and her eyes were staring at us, and there was a frown on her face. She was dead . . . Down every alleyway, there were corpses — women, young men, babies and grand-parents . . . They had been knifed or machine gunned to death. There were signs of hastily dug mass graves. Perhaps a thousand people were butchered here.' (*The Times*, 20-9-82, page 1).

The dreadful massacre of defenseless people in the refugee camps of Sabra and Chatila is not at all an isolated incident, but a consistent feature of Zionist history with the complicity of the imperialist governments like Britain and the USA. Thus, on April 9, 1948, Irgun soldiers — Irgun was a terrorist organisation led by Menachem Begin, now Prime Minister — attacked the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin and slaughtered 250 women, men and children.

'Families were lined up and shot down in a barrage of machine gun fire; young girls raped; a pregnant mother was first slaughtered and then had her stomach cut open by the murderers with a butchers knife. A girl who tried

to remove the unborn child from the woman's stomach was shot down. Some of the Irgun fighters slashed their victims to pieces with cutlasses.' (A Red Cross report quoted from *The Palestinians* by Jonathan Dimbleby.)

The capture of Deir Yassin was part of a carefully formulated strategy. Begin himself said: 'The massacre (of Deir Yassin) was not only justified, but there would not have been a state of Israel without it.' (Quoted in *How Israel Lost its Soul* by Maxim Ghilau).

The assault on Deir Yassin had been approved by the Jerusalem Commander of the Hagana, the 'official' Zionist military wing, who wrote: 'I wish to point out that the capture of Deir Yassin and holding it is one stage in our general plan.' (Quoted in M. Begin, *The Revolt*).

The intention of both massacres was to eliminate a great number of Palestinians and terrorise many more into fleeing away and leaving their lands.

The invasion of Lebanon was planned as early as 1955 by the leadership of the Israeli Labour government. Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharett wrote in his diaries:

'According to Moshe Dayan, the Israeli army will enter the Lebanon, occupy the necessary territory and create a christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory, from the Litani southwards will be totally annexed to Israel. (Dayan) recommended this to be done immediately, tomorrow . . .'

Moshe Dayan's plan entered its final phase on the 6th June 1982, with the invasion in Lebanon. The invasion had two main aims:

★ To expand the Israeli territories into Lebanon: the military rabbis have been distributing a pamphlet with a map to the Israeli soldiers. The pamphlet explains that Lebanon was God-given to the children of Israel and already conquered once by

Joshua. The map gives the proper biblical Hebrew names to all major Lebanese towns, without borders between Israel and Lebanon.

★ To paralyse the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon in order to complete its practical annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

According to Sharon (Israeli Defence Minister) 'the bigger the blow and the more we damage the PLO . . . and the more the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza will be ready to negotiate with us.' (*Time Magazine*, 10.6.82).

Sharon's way of 'negotiating' is by increasing the brutal repression of the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli soldiers and settlers are killing children and terrorising the entire population. For the above two aims, Israel used the most horrific means. They used internationally prohibited weapons and massacred thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese.

They used cluster bombs. One such bomb has the capacity to cause death and destruction in an area covered by ten football stadiums. They used phosphorous bombs that provoke terrible burns. Once the surgeons try to remove the shrapnel from the body, the phosphor catches fire. They also used the latest equipment given to them by the USA, such as the vacuum bomb. Two such bombs turned a seven floor apartment block to rubble in seconds. Two hundred people died then. The Israeli invaders did not even spare the hospitals. They arrested nurses and doctors, and bombed hospitals, even mental hospitals.

All kinds of weapons were used by the Israeli army in the siege of Lebanon. But the media in Britain was accusing the PLO as the one responsible. They claimed that peace would come as soon as the PLO fighters left.

The PLO fighters left Beirut leaving members of their families behind with tears in their eyes. The entire popula-

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on was left defenceless, vulnerable to the Israeli forces. It was then that the Israelis invaded West-Beirut in order to analyse the Lebanese progressive forces who had been fighting side by side with the PLO, and to carry out the massacres of Sabra and Chatila.

The Israeli leaders called the invasion of Lebanon 'Peace for Galilee'. The kind of peace they meant was turning Lebanon into a graveyard. Many of their victims were Palestinian refugees who had themselves been expelled from Palestine in 1948.

We will continue to fight for the day when Palestinians and Israelis can live together, in a democratic secular state.

to be born as a Palestinian is to be born under oppression. It is to be dispersed around the world and to see all kinds of horror and suffering.

I am a Palestinian woman from Nablus. Nablus is a large town on the West Bank, populated by approximately 30,000 Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

In 1969 I was five years old. I did not know what Judaism and Zionism meant; all I knew was that lots of armed soldiers were in the town stopping people from leaving their houses and walking in the streets. They searched the houses to search them and arrested men in some cases. My uncke was one of them.

The older I became, the clearer things appeared, especially after I went to secondary school. There I started to take part in the struggle against Israeli occupation. One day, a demonstration was organised against building Jewish settlements around Nablus and other Palestinian towns. Israeli soldiers attacked us.

Nabulsi, a schoolgirl, was shot in front of my eyes. Seven people were injured and three were arrested: I was one of those. I was thrown into one of the soldiers' jeeps, my school uniform was torn. My body was full of bruises from their kicks, fistcuffs and from being hit by the gunbutts of six soldiers. As we arrived at the police station, I was thrown out of the jeep and taken to a room with four men sitting behind a table. Two of them wore army uniforms. I was ordered to sit on a chair facing them. All the way through the first interrogation process which lasted three hours, kicks and slaps were coming my way. All that was to make me confess. I was one of the leading organisers of the demonstration, that I was carrying a Palestinian flag — which was and still is, a major offence — and mainly that I was a member of the PLO.

But I was none of that. After many interrogations, they moved me to the main prison. I stayed there for 18 days, which was a minimum in those days. In prison, I was picked up by a female soldier because I was going to my cell-mate.

Finally they released me because they were all the way through that there was nothing true in their allegations against me. This happened when I was 15 years old. The following week I was not the end of the affair, a week later I was taken to court. The

sentence was to pay a big amount of money. It seems I was lucky since lots of others were sentenced to prison.

After I finished my secondary school, I went to Bir Zeit university. After a couple of months of the beginning of the academic year the students' union organised, as usual, a 'Palestine Week'. On the opening day, soldiers covered the exits of all towns and cities on the West Bank, including the entrance of Bir Zeit, to stop people from taking part in that week. Their second step was to attack the university and arrest students. The third step was to close the university for two months. In November 81 they closed it for three months. Later, after the 3 months were over, they closed it for a further period of two months. Now, it is closed for three months.

What I've suffered seems to me very simple compared with what some other people faced and are still facing. My suffering is what nearly every student on the West Bank goes through.

My question is, what can we, Palestinians, do against Israel's discrimination, oppression and plans for eliminating us, but to carry our guns in order to build a new, democratic and peaceful life . . .

Amira, September 1982

Zionism claims to be a movement to free the Jewish people from oppression and persecution. It pretends to 'solve' anti-semitism by creating an exclusively Jewish state. Zionist propaganda also claims that Zionism is the 'national liberation movement of the Jewish people'. But the Jewish people around the world do NOT constitute one national entity. Moreover, a liberation movement is a movement that fights the oppressor; whereas Zionism does not organise the Jews to struggle against anti-semitism, but to emigrate to Israel! 'According to Zionism, rather than waste their time in a futile fight against anti-semitism, Jews should go to colonise Palestine.' (M. Machover, *Zionism and War and Peace in the Middle East, 1978*). Long before Zionism originated, anti-semitism was at the roots of massacres and pogroms conducted against the Jewish people in Tsarist Russia and other Eastern European countries. The ruling classes in those countries used anti-semitism to divide the working class. In Russia for instance, radical Jewish workers were crushed by the state which stirred up anti-semitic hatred against them. Yet this did not prevent leaders of the Zionist movement from co-operating with Tsarist Russia against the interests of the mass of the Jewish people. As Herzl told the Foreign Minister of the Tsar, Von Plehve: 'Help us faster to get a land and the revolt will end. So will the defection to the socialist ranks.' (quoted in Lacquer, *Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, New York, 1960*).

During World War 2, when the US and the UK refused to accept Jewish refugees, they met with no objection from the Zionist leaders. Those leaders preferred to use their refusal — and its implications for the thousands of Jewish people in danger — as a bargaining tool so as to obtain support from the West for the creation of a Jewish state.

Therefore, and by its own admission, Zionism was involved in saving the lives of Jewish people only in so far as this meant bringing them over to Palestine as settlers. In the late 30's, under the pressure of public opinion, various projects were proposed by the Americans, British and other governments for saving the Jewish people. The Zionist movement refused to co-operate and helped to shelve these projects: Moshe Sharett (who was later to become the first Foreign Minister and then second Prime Minister of Israel) put it like this:

'The fate of Zionism is to be sometimes cruel towards the Jewish Diaspora; that is when the building up of this country requires it.' (Quoted in Yigal Elam, *An Introduction to Zionist History*, page 122).

Out of the total number of Jews who sought refuge in Europe, most of those who fled to Palestine were unaware of what was being planned behind their backs. They were also unaware of the deliberate campaigns conducted in some Arab countries by Zionist agents to frighten Jewish people into emigrating. Zionist leader David Ben Gurion:

'... I would select a score of efficient young men... with the burning desire to help redeem Jews. And I would send them to countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews and plague Jews with anti-semitic slogans such as 'bloody Jews', 'Jews go to Palestine' and similar intimacies. I can vouch that the results in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries would be ten times larger than... preaching for decades to deaf ears.' (Quoted in A. Lillienthal, *The Other Side of the Coin*, New York, page 184).

Since 1948, Israel has not stopped expanding. The recent bloodshed in the Lebanon is the last of a series of expansionist drives. Throughout, the horrors of the holocaust have been used in a manipulative way to stop any criticism of Israel's attempt to eliminate the Palestinians as a people and a nation, and carve up the Lebanon and appropriate the South of Lebanon. The fight for justice and freedom of those Jewish people who died in the concentration camps has been abused and trampled upon. ●

issue 23

October 1982

About Anti-Semitism

We received a flood of letters in response to the article 'Women Speak Out Against Zionism' in Spare Rib 121, especially on the subject of the meaning of the word 'Zionism'. It seems to us that the word covers a whole range of meanings, from its original use to describe a belief in the right of Jewish people to a homeland — not necessarily exclusively Jewish — the right to live in a country where they are not an oppressed minority — to the ideology espoused by Begin, that Jewish people matter more than Palestinian people and that any action of the Israeli government against the Palestinians is justified.

In this issue, the London Jewish Lesbian Feminist Group write about the anti-semitism they are currently experiencing.

Feminists have been told that unless we're 'anti-Zionist' we're not feminists. As Jewish feminists the focus on 'Zionism' seems to us in itself anti-semitic and hardly feminist. Every country in this male dominated world functions in ways feminists are fighting. None of us have, however, suggested that Britain should cease to exist because of this government's behaviour in Northern Ireland or in the Falklands, nor are feminists held responsible for British army atrocities.

For as long as Jewish women have been involved in the women's movement in Britain, it has been virtually impossible to speak about our lives as Jewish women and our experience of anti-semitism both within the movement and in the wider society. The recent upsurge in 'anti-Zionism', while it has actively intensified our experience of anti-semitism by legitimating Jewish hating, also seriously threatens to make our experience and history completely inaudible and invisible. We refuse to be silenced in this way.

Fundamental attitudes towards Jews remain. The Holocaust has not altered them, just as centuries of systematic oppression (in every country in the world) — pogroms, ghettoisation, murder and slavery — did not. All the old stereotypes operate and operate against us now. When you think of

Jewish women how many of these terms occur to you? Middle class, bourgeois, white, vulgar, exotic, money grubbing, loud, corrupt, hooknosed, greasy, hairy, dominating mother, passionate, frigid, rich, evil, paranoid.

On challenging anti-semitism I am frequently told by non-Jewish women that they are not anti-semitic. Indeed they are outraged that I should make such an accusation. As a white woman I would never say to a woman of colour what is and is not racist. I would accept her version of racism. I can think of no other group of women whose experience of racism is so consistently invalidated as ours.

As a Jewish woman I am not taken seriously when I talk about anti-semitism. When I recently talked with a friend about the overt anti-semitism in a lesbian novel she was reading, she listened to what I said and then dismissed it with 'But it's such a funny book'. I was part of a women's group in which one woman was talking about a very 'disturbed' child. She kept referring to the fact that the child came from a Jewish family and talked at length about the child's pushy overpowering mother. The whole group immediately picked up on this theme. They had completely accepted the anti-semitic stereotype of the domineering, castrating Jewish mother.

The messages I receive in the feminist movement are very contradictory. On the one hand being a feminist means demanding the space to become more articulate about my own oppression and trying ways of taking control over my life. On the other hand, as a Jew I am silenced on precisely these issues. In fact, as a Jew, the issues are reinterpreted for me. Control is about wanting to dominate and becoming aware of my oppression as a Jew is nothing short of paranoia. Consciousness raising is fine as long as I don't dwell too long on how my great grandparents fled Russia and Poland in fear of their lives and I'm certainly silenced on how this has shaped my experience in this society where my security and safety is no more stable than theirs and in a movement where I must fight for the right to be heard.

My grandparents come from Mashad in northeastern 'Persia'. Jews had for generations lived a ghettoized life there. At one point they had been forced to convert to Mohammedanism and publicly practise. Privately they maintained their Jewish identity. They had always lived with the fear and reality of pogroms, sometimes being warned by members of other communities when to stay off the streets. After the 1917 revolution and the end of World War I things became worse for Jews in

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...shad. Many families travelled over-
...nd to Quetta and Bombay. Some
...yed. Others caught boats to Jaffa. My
...mily went to an already established
...wish quarter in Jerusalem where my
...other was born. Again some stayed
...d others went to Europe and
...merica...

Being a Persian Jew in the women's
...ovement is a schizophrenic
...perience. It's hard enough trying to
...lk about my Persian cultural back-
...ound on its own. But when I try to
...eak about being Persian and Jewish, I
...st become invisible — women just
...n't make 'sense' of me so they have to
...nore one or the other part — usually
...e Jewishness. Where do I fit in with
...e dominant stereotypes of 'Arab' and
...ew'?

pregnant with me, my mother escaped
...om Vienna at the start of World War II
...nd fled to England. Nazi slave labour
...as only for the strong, useful and
...encumbered. This meant that the
...rst to enter the ovens were the old, the
...ck, babies and pregnant women. We
...ould not have made it without
...ffidavits of support given by a few
...nglish women, strangers who had quite
...y accident seen some of my father's
...ulpture and asked to meet him. Thank-
...l to be alive, my family assiduously
...t about learning a new culture, a new
...anguage, factory work and made
...onsiderable efforts to fit in — to be not
...oreign, not Jewish. It seemed to be
...quired of us.

Assimilation into mainstream culture
...did not, however, prevent me and
...ountless other Jewish women from
...becoming intensely involved in radical
...olitics. After all, our histories gave us
...eason.

Being a Jewish woman in the
...women's liberation movement, however,
...has been little different than being a
...Jewish woman anywhere. In 1974 I was
...in a Jewish lesbian feminist group which
...was destroyed largely by the anti-
...semitism of other feminists. Our group
...was the only group whose right to exist
...has ever been questioned in the
...London newsletter. In the past eight
...years, the style has altered, not the
...effort to silence us.

My parents and all my grandparents fled
...various shtetls in various parts of the
...Russian Pale of Settlement (illegally) in
...the wake of a wave of pogroms. My
...maternal grandmother said they were so
...poor they were 'glad to have the tail of
...a herring to eat'. My grandmother
...travelled alone with three young
...children, walking, bribing border guards,
...sailing in a packed stinking boat in
...average. They made it. The ones who
...stayed, or couldn't leave, were wiped out
...I feel, relatively speaking, 'at home'

among lesbians, among feminists, only
...under certain conditions. They are: that
...I am relatively quiet and not very
...specific about being Jewish; that I do
...not speak about historical anti-semitism
...or its consequences; and particularly
...that I do not speak concretely about the
...anti-semitism I experience within the
...Women's Liberation Movement. On the
...one hand there is no way to alleviate
...any of the pressures, the heavy freight of
...preoccupation, pain, thinking, feeling —
...a whole kaleidoscope of awareness and
...experience that is mine as a Jew. On the
...other hand I have for so long been
...accused (the word is accurate) of being
...too heavy, too intense, too intellectual,
...dominating, middle-class — all regardless
...of my actual experience and behaviour,
...and all falling well within the range of
...typical Jewish stereotypes, that I can
...only conclude that I am being made
...invisible by deeply-rooted but entirely
...unacknowledged anti-semitism. There
...are, there always are, exceptions,
...feminists who are open and respectful,
...so I am not yet mad. But I do not feel
...that is sufficient. There has never been
...room, as there must be, within the
...context of the Women's Liberation
...Movement, for me and other Jewish
...women to undo the years of suicidal
...and double-binding attempts to
...assimilate, to reduce our otherness. On
...the contrary these violations have been
...both reinforced and seen as unaccept-
...able.

In the early 1900's my maternal
...grandmother and her sisters and
...brothers fled Russia after having been
...already hounded from place to place,
...at the peak of a wave of pogroms. They
...were dispersed in three directions — my
...grandmother found herself in England,
...in the East End of London, 16 and on
...her own, and the rest were split between
...Brazil and North America. They went
...where the transport they could find
...took them. They never saw each other
...again. The experience of my maternal
...grandfather was nearly identical. My
...father was born in Vienna, and escaped
...emerging Nazism by emigrating to
...South Africa in 1936 and then to
...England in 1949 when the ultra-right
...Nationalist Party composed largely of
...Nazis came to power. In 1938 my
...father's father, with thousands of other
...adult Jewish males, was taken to
...Dachau, not yet an extermination
...camp, merely a concentration camp
...whose inmates were worked, starved,
...humiliated and used as guinea pigs for
...'medical experiments'. He was lucky,
...interned for only six months, because
...my father, now in the allied armed
...forces, managed to organise exit visas
...for his parents. A few months later the
...Nazis called a halt to Jewish emigration
...and the 'final solution', the

extermination of the Jews, became the
...central task of the regime. Even in
...England, my father's parents were not
...safe; the British authorities were about
...to intern German and Austrian Jews as
...'enemy aliens'. But my grandparents
...managed to get to the US.

When I finally came out as a lesbian in a
...feminist context, I allowed myself to
...believe that I had finally come home —
...to a sense of who I was even more
...fundamental than my Jewish identity. I
...was wrong. I have spent the last four
...years making connections with women
...through my lesbianism and my
...feminism, and failing to make sense of
...all the times I haven't seemed to fit, and
...have been perceived and judged by
...women around me as 'educated',
...'middle-class', and consequently as
...'oppressive', 'difficult' and 'dismissable'.
...My Jewish experience is and always has
...been inexplicable in terms of the
...standards and assumptions of the
...dominant culture. The stability,
...security, continuity, and the sense of
...immunity usually connected with being
...'middle-class' have nothing to do with
...my Jewish experience, informed as it is
...by our collective history. For those
...Jews who fled pogroms in Eastern
...Europe in the early 1900's, like my
...mother's parents, the only constant
...factors in their lives were poverty and
...hard work. The more assimilated Jews
...of Germany and Austria, many of
...whom, like my father's family, felt that
...they had become part of the German or
...Austrian middle class, were dispossessed
...overnight, legal safeguards notwith-
...standing. Those who escaped the 'final
...solution', left everything behind — their
...homes, their livelihoods and often their
...loved ones. Those who remained were
...literally stripped of everything and
...simply despatched to the gas ovens. So
...any Jewish experience of any kind of
...'well-being' is necessarily felt as
...arbitrary, transitory, contingent. We are
...aware that our 'rights' in the countries
...where we live are totally dependent on
...the good will of the host community.
...At best, all Jews — Ashkenazi, Sephardi,
...white, Black, middle-class, working-class
...— are tolerated. At worst, in a climate
...where Jew-hating becomes increasingly
...respectable, the lives of all Jews are in
...danger. So before you dismiss me as
...'educated' or 'middle-class', think about
...what it means to be Jewish in a Jew-
...hating society; learn about who we are
...and where we come from. If you believe
...in the principles of feminism, you can't
...settle for anything less than the
...rudiments of communication with all
...your sisters. ■

Sheila Shulman, Elizabeth Sarah, Lilian
...Mohin, Bev Gold, Hannah Aziz, Lin
...Davidson, Linda Bellos, Jenny Lovell.

Women Speak Out Against Zionism

'If a woman calls herself feminist she should consciously call herself anti-Zionist'

On June 6 the Israeli army invaded the South Lebanon, calling it the 'Peace for Galilee' operation. Fourteen thousand Palestinian and Lebanese people (mainly civilian) have been killed and thousands more injured and/or made homeless. *Nidal*, a Lebanese woman, *Randa*, a Palestinian woman, and *Aliza Khan* an Israeli woman spoke to *Roisin Boyd* who asked them about what was happening, and to explain the importance of recognising the difference between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Nidal: There is an enormous difference between being Jewish and being Zionist. The main idea behind Zionism is that all the Jews should gather together and form a nation, because they are in danger from the 'non-Jews', what they call the Gentiles. Which is so similar to the Nazi ideology that the Jews should not be with the Gentiles. There is a great quote from Hertzal, a well known Zionist leader, where he says Israel will be a bastion of imperialism in a 'sea of barbarity' and he draws a comparison with Ireland, Israel will be 'A Little Jewish "Ulster" in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism'.

I think it is important to talk about the guilt women experience when they start talking about the whole issue of Zionism. How they have lots of reservations about coming out as anti-Zionist, because this will be taken as being anti-Jewish. But anti-semitism is something we are fighting as well, and in the West we are also seen as semites. I was once assaulted by two guys who called me 'Yid' and 'bloody Jew'. For the life of me I wouldn't say I'm not a Jew, I'm Arab. That shows we suffer from the same problems. But Zionism separates the Jews, it says you cannot live with Gentiles, Christians or Muslims. You've got to live on your own. It's as if it's something biological.

It's up to us to show it up, but it's

also up to Jewish women because if you draw a parallel between that and the issue of racism — white women are always coming to Black women and asking them how to be anti-racist.

Aliza: Zionism claimed to speak in the name of the Jews. In fact, it was created by European Jews who used anti-semitism for their own interests. Its aim never was to fight anti-semitism, moreover, it saw anti-semitism as its best ally. Hertzal said 'Anti-semites will be our most dependable friends . . . our allies'. After the second World War, Zionist leaders used to say that Jewish people should thank Hitler because without him, the state of Israel would never have been created. If we are concerned about anti-semitism we must fight Zionism. To be anti-Zionist is to be anti-imperialist, and to be against the fact that Zionism (and the founding of the state of Israel) caused Palestinians to be refugees.

Nidal: The women who teach history to the children in the Palestinian refugee camps always make a point of telling them the difference between a Jew and a Zionist. Who took your land? And the child says the Jews and the teacher says it's not the Jews it is the Zionists. The Jews are our sisters and brothers like the Christians and the Muslims are.

Aliza: In contrast, in schools in Israel, the children are taught to fear and at the same time have contempt for the Arabs. The Arabs are presented as Jew-haters and murderers who may seem friendly at first, but would stab you once you turn your back. Even the existence of the Palestinians is denied.

Nidal: If you dare call yourself a Palestinian in Israel you would get five years in jail. When Golda Meir, the former Prime Minister of Israel, said it's a country without people, she just negated the existence of a nation.

Aliza: In Israel we were made to believe that Palestine was an empty land, before the Zionists came. Israel,

Zangwill, a member of the Zionist executive, said that Palestine was 'a land without people for people without a land'.

Britain as the colonial power in the beginning of the twentieth century in the Middle East, became the first ally of Zionism. The establishment of a Zionist base would serve its own interests of having a watchdog in the area. There would be no need to keep British troops in the Middle East once the Zionists played this role. This led to the Balfour declaration in 1917 which stated the need of a 'homeland' for the Jews.

In fact Israel was highly populated and the Israeli kibbutzim lie now where the Palestinians were living and working their farms. The image kibbutzim have in the West as a socialist and egalitarian enterprise is far from the truth. The kibbutz consists mainly of European Jews who employ large numbers of Palestinians and oriental Jews as a workforce. They actually forbid the Palestinians, and make it very difficult for the oriental Jews, to live in the kibbutz and share the profits. The kibbutzim are male dominated and many produce military equipment. Women work mainly in the kitchens and do the 'normal' jobs that women always do. If a woman calls herself feminist she should consciously call herself anti-Zionist.

Nidal: In the film *On Our Land* it shows Arab labour going from Arab villages which have become like enclosures or reservations, to go and work in big Israeli towns or settlements (kibbutzim) and how badly they are treated. It talks about how Arab workers don't have insurance or national health entitlement.

From the very beginning of Israel's existence Arab Palestinian workers were not allowed to work the land. In Israel the idea was that the workers and bourgeoisie should be Jewish and to eliminate the Arab Palestinians, either by killing them, or getting rid of them to Lebanon or Jordan. It is important to stress that when the Zionist movement started there were a group of progressive Jews who were against Zionism, and were acting against this Zionist wave. But they were silenced. In Lebanon now there are Palestinian Jews in the refugee camps. They saw themselves first as Palestinians and second as Jews. Of course the Zionists never mention that there are Jewish refugees too in Lebanon.

Aliza: When the Zionist leaders went to Arab countries to take in Arab Jews they actually misled them. The Ashkenazy (Central and East European) Zionists wanted a cheap labour force, so they used every means to bring the

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t we need is support if we can
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ported, then at least we know we are
not alone.

Randa: Palestinians suffer racism all
around the world. In Kuwait there are
Palestinian schools because they can't
go to Kuwait schools. All the
Palestinians in Arab countries are
treated as second class citizens. They
are not allowed citizenship, in Kuwait,
even if they've lived there thirty years.
They are seen as threatening the
existence of the Gulf states — the
Western orientation of the Arab
countries.

Nidal: And because they are racist.
How dare a Palestinian want to get
Kuwaiti citizenship! There is this myth
in the West that Arab means one thing.

Randa: But the West has really
divided the Arab world and they really
benefit from Arab disunity. Imagine if
the Arab world was united — it would
threaten America and the West. They
want their oil and labour cheap and
they want to make sure they keep it
that way.

Nidal: Now, there is such a complete
and utter isolation in Beirut. So com-
plete, that was obvious from the phone
call I got from my friend there. They are
even cut off from the Palestinians and
the Lebanese in the south. I asked her
about lots of people and she said I can't

see them. I felt so badly — was this the
last time I'd speak to her. She told me,
'Tell the world what is happening'.

Aliza: It's because of the bloody
Western countries that they are
suffering. It's not just Israel. It's because
of the West's interests that all those
people died. I am calling you sisters, to
come together against the holocaust of
the Palestinian and Lebanese people.
There is no way we can sit quietly and
do nothing about it.

*Letter from women in Israel. 'Once
again the men have gone to battle. We
are told that they want to defend us.
The wives, daughters, sisters and
mothers. We are supposed to wait with
open arms for the return of the fighters.
We shall not shut up. We shall not agree
to be "purged" of the Palestinian
people. Get out of Lebanon at once.'*
Women against the invasion into
Lebanon. (Published in Israeli papers)

Money and support to Women for
Palestine c/o A Womans Place, 48
William IV street, London WC2

* Haolem Hazeh 20/4/66. See also
'Black Panther', 9/11/72 (reprinted in
Documents from Israel, Ithaca Press, Uri
Davies/N Mezvinsky, pp23/33 (D Hirst
op cit pp 55-64 and op cit pp 89-201)
See also Alex Bein *History of Zionist
Colonisation*, 4th edition, Massada
(p101).



Women fleeing South Lebanon