

# Schlaglicht Israel Nr. 21/10 Aktuelles aus israelischen Tageszeitungen

08. - 23. November 2010

## 1. Verhandlungen um erneuten Siedlungsbaustopp

Die amerikanische Regierung bemüht sich, Israel zu einem erneuten, 90-tägigen Baustopp in den jüdischen Siedlungen im Westjordanland zu bewegen. Im Gegenzug soll Israel großzügige Sicherheitsgarantien erhalten, darunter 20 Kampfflugzeuge des Typs F35. Die Verhandlungen über einen Brief, der diese Garantien festschreiben soll, ziehen sich jedoch hin und sind von widersprüchlichen Botschaften der Verhandlungsparteien geprägt. So hatte der israelische Premierminister Benjamin Netanyahu seinem Kabinett verkündet, dass Ostjerusalem von dem Bautstopp ausgeschlossen werde. Daraufhin sagte Eli Yishai, Parteichef des Koalitionspartners Shas, zu, nicht gegen den Stopp stimmen zu wollen. Allerdings wurde die Aussage zu Jerusalem von amerikanischen Stellen dementiert, die verlautbaren ließen, dass sie auch in Jerusalem zumindestens einen inoffiziellen Baustopp erwarten.

Es ist nicht klar, ob Netanyahu über eine Mehrheit in seinem Sicherheitskabinett verfügt, um den Baustopp abzusegnen, da jeweils drei Likud- und Israel Beitenu-Minister bereits angekündigt haben, dagegen stimmen zu wollen. Unklar ist außerdem auch, ob der palästinensische Präsident Mahmoud Abbas bei einem Baustopp tatsächlich an den Verhandlungs-tisch zurückkehren wird.

## The United States' lost honor

"A West Bank building freeze for three months, six months or a year will not advance the peace process. [...]

Israel knows this, Washington is no fool. [...] The current freeze has another role: It's a lesson in discipline and friendship. Obama [...] does expect a country receiving billions of dollars in aid [...] to

comport itself politely, or at the very least not humiliate it. [...]

The United States now wants to [...] regain some of the respect it has lost. [...] A settlement freeze is not just another gesture to the Palestinians, an implementation of the road map or preparation for a West Bank withdrawal. This time, it's a faith-building measure toward the U.S. administration, and at a bargain price."

Zvi Bar'el, HAA 21.11.10

## Assyria will not save us

"Netanyahu told his ministers that at the end of this freeze, the pressure would be off him: The Americans would understand that the Palestinians are the ones rejecting peace. He's not mistaken, he's misleading them deliberately. [...] The Palestinians are never accused of rejectionism. [...] More than ever, their work is being done by others. The Americans, as is their wont in every field of endeavor, are determined to rack up achievements. And only Israel can supply them.

But once they have been supplied, the Palestinians will, of course, refuse to accept them. After all, they know that after every refusal of theirs, Obama will once again come down on Netanyahu like a ton of bricks."

Israel Harel, HAA 18.11.10

## Undermining our security

"In recent days, Members of Knesset and cabinet members on the right flank of the Likud and their hawkish allies have expressed vehement opposition to the proposed US aid package – the latest reminder that what concerns the Right is land, not security. Foolishly, the Right is lobbying against one of the most generous deals that Washington has offered the Jewish state in many years. [...]

Continued foot-dragging on the peace process and the ongoing provocation of settlement activity threatens to seriously erode Israel's relationship with a host of major global powers, including its most important ally: the United States. If the right prevails and US mediation efforts are rebuffed, it will feed into the narrative of those in Washington who see Israel as a liability, rather than an asset." Guy Ziv, JED 23.11.10

Facing our fears

"Netanyahu claims that the Americans agreed to continue respecting Jewish property rights in Jerusalem. The Obama administration has refused to confirm this claim. [...]The F-35 deal is simply bizarre. Israel needs the F-35 to defend against enemies like Iran.

Yet the administration claims that its agreement to send Israel the F-35s is contingent on Israel signing a peace deal with the Palestinians. In other words, the Obama administration is now giving the PLO power to veto American military assistance to Israel by continuing to say no to peace."

Caroline Glick, JPO 19.11.10

#### Show me the money

"Earlier this week, when the Israeli price was set at \$3 billion (the cost of 20 F-35 fighter jets to be supplied to the Air Force,) it turned out that while Netanyahu may not be a great success story as a prime minister, he is phenomenal as a brothel manager. [...] However, it would be a pity if the Americans stop here and ignore the potential for leveraging this Israeli weakness to secure further diplomatic achievements. [...] You think that renouncing the 'settlement blocs' is out of the question? Just give us a squadron of spaceships worth \$90 billion and we'll hand over Tel Aviv's suburbs to the Palestinians as well." Asaf Gefen, JED 20.11.10

## America paying the price

"Despite all the criticism leveled at Netanyahu from Left and Right in the wake of his meeting with Clinton in New York last week, the PM registered an impressive achievement - a three-month freeze in exchange for 20 F-35 fighter jets. That's not a bad deal.

Israel worked very hard to get the stealth aircraft, and now we're getting it in exchange for a 90-day freeze, rather than a withdrawal from West Bank territories.

One cannot avoid the feeling that the Americans are currently paying for their failed management of the process and the public demand of Israel to stop

building. By doing so they turned the freeze into an issue, and they are now paying some billion dollars for every month of frozen construction." Yitzhak Benhorin, JED 17.11.10

#### Now we are all up a tree

"Netanyahu [...] is going to be less and less likely to reinstitute [the settlement freeze] the more that Washington confronts him directly over the east Jerusalem issue. [...] And with the Obama administration making it repeatedly publicly obvious that another West Bank construction halt is not sufficient anyway, since it regards even Jewish neighborhoods in the east of the city as thoroughly illegitimate [...] there is ever-less incentive for the prime minister to demonstrate further flexibility. The growing temptation, however misguided, indeed, may be to wait out the Obama era altogether, in hopes of a more understanding American leadership to follow." David Horovitz, JPO 12.11.10

#### Over to you, Mr. Abbas

"The Israeli government is moving toward accepting the Obama administration's request to renew the building freeze in Judea and Samaria for another three months.

Netanyahu's support for the measure and Shas's willingness to abstain in a vote would likely yield an approval of the plan in the appropriate cabinet forum.

This is a necessary step, not principally because the US has sought the extension in return for a package of security incentives. [...] The significance of Israeli acceptance of another freeze would lie in Israel's demonstrable renewed commitment to a negotiated peace that best serves its interests. [...] A renewed freeze [...] reopens at least a narrow path forward. [...]

But with Israel on board, in step rather than in friction with Washington and led moreover by a relatively popular government, it is Abbas who should come under pressure to compromise - and to take positions that give his people, and ours, the opportunity for genuine reconciliation and a secure future."

JPO 14.11.10 Editorial

#### Where will Palestine be?

"This is the objective of the additional moratorium: to get Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas back to the negotiating table, and to discuss the border issue first.

Setting the border will bring order to the settlements issue and will make it clear where Israel is entitled to build and where it is not. From there, talks will move on to the other core issues. [...]

The decision required from Netanyahu is clear: Accept the U.S. proposal, freeze settlement construction immediately, and determine the border on the basis of the new security understandings with the United States - even if such a decision requires a different coalition, such as one that includes Kadima and in which opposition leader Tzipi Livni takes Lieberman's place."

HAA 15.11.10 Editorial

#### 2. Kunst, Politik und Zionismus

Im August 2010 hatte eine Gruppe von Theaterschauspielern und Regisseuren zum Boykott des Kulturzentrums in Ariel, einer der größten jüdischen Siedlungen im Westjordanland, aufgerufen. Dieses Kulturzentrum wurde nun eröffnet und die Mediendebatte wieder aufgenommen. Dazu trug auch Kulturministerin Limor Livnat bei, die bei der Eröffnungsfeier sagte, der Boykott sei "undemokratisch". Am Vortag hatte die Ministerin einen neuen Kulturpreis für Kunstwerke, die zionistische Geschichte oder Werte darstellen, angekündigt. Zuvor hatte Außenminister Avigdor Lieberman außerdem dazu aufgerufen. Kulturinstitutionen, die sich weigern, in den Siedlungen aufzutreten, die Fördergelder zu streichen.

#### The minister of cultural coercion

"It was reported yesterday that Livnat issued a directive that would make state funding of cultural institutions conditional on their undertaking to perform anywhere in Israel - which, by her definition, includes Ariel. [...]

The Zionist Art Award, another Livnat invention, demonstrates her lack of culture. By her criteria, the works of Amos Oz, David Grossman, Meir Wieseltier and Sami Michael are undeserving of an award. It's very doubtful that Israel's Declaration of Independence would pass Livnat's loyalty test.

If freedom of speech and the strength of Israel democracy are dear to the prime minister's heart, he must rein in the minister of culture." HAA 16.11.10 Editorial

#### Mixing art and politics

"This is not the first time where talented Minister Limor Livnat finds herself at the wrong place and at the wrong time. Had she served under totalitarian regimes, or at least during long forgotten eras, in long forgotten worlds, she would have certainly been considered one of the most enlightened leaders for her time.

Back then, they would know how to appreciate, for example, her pompous statement about introducing a new ministerial award (named after her, of course) to encourage Zionist creation. [...] And what about cultural freedom, freedom of creation, and all these other intellectual trivialities? Well, for such nuisances there is no place or time (or tolerance) at the Ministry of Culture."

Zvi Lenchner, JED 14.11.10

#### There you have it: culture

"Uncountable numbers of words have been written on the subject of Zionism and the occupation. A prime minister has been murdered over this issue. And no, my memory is not mistaken: A majority of those who were first to write, protest and demonstrate over these issues were academics and creative artists.

The public did not always scorn them. Once, they were even called 'intellectuals.' Prime ministers, including the current one, used to pursue them and listen attentively to their words. [...]

But to Livnat and Ariel Mayor Ron Nachman, the artists' names and numbers are not important. They were and will remain a 'handful' of 'lunatics.' [...]

Contrary to the minister's claim, the heart of the matter is neither culture nor the cultural center, but the occupation and the fact that we are an occupying nation. Nor do we need Livnat to decide who is a Zionist."

Niva Lanir, HAA 15.11.10

#### Culture has no borders

"Every individual has the right to decide whether to appear on stage in the occupied territories or avoid doing so. Avoiding is ok. Boycotting is not!

We must separate culture from politics, just like we should separate religion and state. We must do so precisely because they are intermixed by their very nature. If culture intervenes in politics, it will grant politics the right to intervene in culture. Indeed, we see many examples of this at this time. The authorities are attempting to silence voices of criticism and doubt in academia and in textbooks. [...]

The theater artists who declared a boycott on Ariel are playing into the hands of aggressive rightists. These artists are throwing a boomerang that will end up undermining the freedom of art and creation. [...] If theater and art can have an effect, it is their right and duty to affect others - different people, who think differently. It would be a grave mistake to make do with convincing the convinced and influencing those who in any case think like us."

Amon Shamosh, JED 11.11.10

## The actors will pay the price

"Ariel, which has put significant effort into looking like any other city in Israel, can now take pride in its cultural center. [...] But the artists who in August wrote a letter of protest against performances in Ariel [...] were also victorious [...].They put an issue on the agenda that everyone - the government, the residents of Ariel, and even most of the public tends to forget or cause others to forget: [...] Ariel is in occupied territory. [...]

What about this is 'anti-democratic', as the culture minister claimed at the opening ceremony? [...] It will not be Ariel that gets hurt; it will be the livelihood of certain actors that gets curtailed. And when it comes to a choice between livelihood and politics, it is the democratic right of an actor, whose life is hard enough as it is, to choose livelihood. [...] In Israel today, to issue a call not to appear in Ariel because it is not within Israel's sovereign territory, and is at the heart of the conflict between us and the Palestinians, is an act of public courage."

## Putz-Zionism and the challenges of the hour

"The argument over Ariel has brought [Livnat] back from the abyss of ministerial forgetfulness, and with her an ancient voice – 'Zionism.' As a reaction to the artists' boycott of performances at Ariel, Livnat announced that she would grant a special prize 'for encouraging Zionist creativity' - a declaration that suddenly puts on center stage not only Ariel and not only the half-forgotten Minister of Culture, but the very definition of Zionism itself, all of them somehow under the same umbrella, in a somewhat pathetic fashion. [...]

'Post-Zionism' is today being faced by a kind of 'putz-Zionism' that is pompous and full of itself, reinforced by archaic rituals of symbolism and opposed to anything other than that. [...]

If a 'Zionist creation' is supposed to be defined by Limor Livnat, then thank you very much, many people say. We will find ourselves a different definition, if we have not already done so a long time ago."

Doron Rosenblum, HAA 19.11.10

## 3. Diskriminierung der arabischen Minderheit

Eine Reihe von Vorfällen hat dazu geführt, dass Rassismus, Diskriminierung und die Integration der arabischen Minderheit in den letzten Wochen ausgiebig in den Medien diskutiert wurden. So hatte der Oberste Rabbiner der Stadt Safed dazu aufaerufen. Wohnungen nicht an arabische Studenten, die in der Stadt studieren, zu vermieten. In Jerusalem sind Araber von Jugendlichen angegriffen worden. Zu Ausschreitungen kam es außerdem in Rahat, wo eine Moschee, die ohne Baugenehmigung gebaut worden war, abgerissen wurde. Gleichzeitig wurde in Nazareth ein Imam verhaftet, der zu Gewalt gegen Juden aufgerufen haben soll. Dass die Integration der arabischen Minderheit in Israel nicht weit fortgeschritten ist, zeigte sich zudem in einem kürzlich veröffentlichen Bericht über Armut – neben Ultraorthodoxen zählen Araber zu der Bevölkerungsgruppe, die am stärksten von Armut betroffen ist.

## 'He shall dwell with thee'

"We can no longer ignore our moral responsibility toward the country's Arab citizens. [....] The test of a national majority is the way it applies its responsibility to afford maximal equality to a minority group.

The State of Israel, which was established to repair historical injustice toward the Jewish people, which had first been expelled from its own land, and later found itself persecuted and without rights in the Diaspora, must in its relations with minority groups honor the claim that justifies its existence. This means fully protecting minorities' rights and integrating minority citizens fully into the state framework. Instead of complaining about extremist inciters of various shades and making absurd demands of our Arab citizens, the Jewish majority has a responsibility to allow the latter to act on the basis of rights derived from their citizenship." Naftali Rothenberg, HAA 19.11.10

## Educating towards tolerance

"We live in segregated settlements and communities, send our children to separate schools, know very little about the other's religious or cultural rituals and practices and, worst of all, too few of us speak or understand the language of the other.

We don't really relate to the Arabs/Palestinians [...] as equals and we are often dismissive of the fact that they live in worse conditions and receive fewer

resources from the state – a situation which in any dictionary would be described as discrimination. [...] Respect for the human rights of the 'other' must be based on tolerant thinking and respect from an early age. This requires the socialization and creation of empathy for the other despite the existence of a national conflict."

David Newman, JPO 16.11.10

# That we need a reminder to integrate Arabs is shameful

"The socioeconomic gaps between Jews and Arabs continue to widen each year. [...]

It is a matter of shame that we need a reminder [...] as to the importance of integrating the country's Arab citizens. In recent years, hand-in-hand with the despicable rise in power of Israel Beiteinu and the racist passions it encourages, there has been a hardening in Israeli-Arab attitudes to Israel as a Jewish state, which can only be damaging to the country's future. [...] No country, and certainly not one that faces the challenges this one does, can afford this level of alienation among 20% of its population.

But our leaders have turned a blind eye to this problem."

Jeff Barak, JPO 14.11.10

#### Money cannot buy pride

"[Somebody] suggested that the problem is an economic one and therefore the solution is to pour more money into the region for improved infrastructure and better education.

This approach [...] assumes that an improved standard of living will decrease the level of crime and also foster a more positive connection amongst the Arabs to the State of Israel. Nevertheless, despite the widespread belief in this approach it misses the crux of the issue, as the problem is not a financial one but rather a cultural/religious one. [...]

To believe that an improved standard of living and all the amenities of modernization will magically cause the Arabs to happily integrate into Israel, to emotionally feel attached to the 2000-year-old Jewish dream, to relinquish any animosity they hold against us, is purely wishful thinking. [...]. In other words, the Arabs would prefer having a simpler, less developed Palestine as long as it is theirs and they are in control, rather than being a minority in a modern, advanced Israel that isn't controlled by them and therefore doesn't belong to them." Yoel Meltzer, JED 12.11.10 Who is a racist?

"Muslim-Jewish strife seems to be increasing. It is quite clear [...] that racism is alive and well in the Arab-Israeli Muslim sector too.

Racism and xenophobia stem from not knowing, or not wanting to know, the 'other.' [...] There are some nominally effective, conscientious and brave [coexistence programs] out there, but they are just holding their fingers in the dike. [...]

Perhaps with government help this could be encouraged, especially if the government [...] formed a Ministry of Coexistence that initiated, funded and supported effective, modern and brave programs that could start stitching the various sectors of this society together. Things like mutual Arab-Jewish social networks, more combined sports and school visits, more interaction in arts, culture, media and business.

As things stand now, we're drifting dangerously away from a sustainable situation."

Amir Mizroch, JPO 12.11.10

#### A tale of 2 cities

"To be honest, there's nothing new under the sun; even under Safed's sun. The surprised and shocked responses are puzzling or artificial, as this is the nature of the human spirit. This is how it's always been. In other countries, in other eras, the selling and renting of homes to Jews was forbidden, and those who violated the ban were penalized harshly. We all remember where it ended up leading to. Well, do we really remember?"

Zvi Lenchner, JED 09.11.10

#### Supporting racism

"The cabinet, led by the prime minister and the education minister, have been silent in the face of these disgraceful events in Safed. So too is the national student union, which did not come out in defense of its besieged colleagues in the city. The law enforcement establishment has not yet taken any action against the city's chief rabbi. [...]

The silence is even more worrisome than the events themselves."

HAA, 08.10.10 Editorial

## 4. Medienquerschnitt

Die Vielfalt der in Israel relevanten Themen kann in einem Medienspiegel nicht umfassend wiedergegeben werden. Um den deutschen LeserInnen dennoch einen Einblick in das breite Themenspektrum, das in den Medien behandelt wird, zu gewähren, veröffentlichen wir in dieser Schlaglichtausgabe wieder eine kleine Auswahl an weiteren Themen, die in den vergangenen zwei Wochen die israelische Gesellschaft bewegten.

Über den **Abgeordneten Rabbi Haim Amsellem**, ein rebellisches Mitglied der ultraorthodoxen Partei Shas:

## A righteous rebel

"Normally the idiosyncrasies of Shas's internal politics would not warrant much scrutiny, especially since Amsalem's confrontation with his party's political leadership does not immediately endanger the stability of the government coalition. However, Amsalem's struggle to retain the right to think independently against the wishes of his party leaders sheds light on the sorry state of [ultraorthodox] political leadership.

Amsalem's message is straightforward and enlightened. [...] Yet instead of earning the esteem of Shas's leadership, Amsalem's highly reasonable opinions [...] have led to him being ostracized: [...] Voicing opinions that deviate from the stance of the [ultra-orthodox] rabbinical leadership, no matter how rational and practical they may be, is a cardinal sin. [...] Any opportunity for open, honest debate is thus effectively stifled."

JPO 18.11.10 Editorial

## The whole nation is with you Amsellem

"Amsellem is the enfant terrible of Shas. He's a oneman opposition to Shas leader Eli Yishai and he fearlessly opposes Shas' distorted worldview on all important issues - conversions, core studies in the schools, military service and employment. [...] Amsellem represents [...] an outlook that is moderate and not extreme, that believes in 'live and let live.' [...] The way he sees it, the [Ultra-orthodox] must be integrated into all walks of life. [...] Amsellem accuses the [ultra-orthodox] leadership of sentencing its public to a life of poverty and want. [...]

The manhunt for Amsellem is at its peak now. [Shas party leader] Yishai will do everything in his power to get him out of the Knesset. But Amsellem is the voice of sanity."

Nehemia Shtrasler, HAA 19.11.10

Über **akademische Freiheit** und den Vorschlag, einen ethischen Code für Hochschulen festzusetzen:

#### Tedious, tasteless dough

"More than the smell of political coercion wafts from Education Minister Gideon Sa'ar's declaration about a new ethics code for institutions of higher learning that ostensibly would guarantee an array of opinions. [...] He is trying to entrench his conservative worldview - an outlook wrapped in a specious cloak of pluralism - in academic reading lists. [...] Instead of suffocating the higher education system at once, the minister is killing it softly. Students will be exposed to a wide spectrum of positions, but not to critical approaches." Na'ama Sheffi, HAA 08.11.10

## Mount Scopus or Mount Olympus?

"Professors have obligations precisely because they have privileges.[...] There is no appropriate legal mechanism in Israel to ensure that professors do not abuse their freedom of expression and respect the obligations that stem from their privileges.

Thus [Prof. Amnon Rubinstein] recommends the adoption of a code to clearly define what does and does not constitute academic freedom of expression. Those here who oppose the adoption of a code would do a service to the public debate by presenting sound arguments instead of claiming it would 'destroy Israeli academia' [...]. Until they do, one will have reason to assume that they have a problem with accuracy, restraint, and respect for the opinions of others."

Emmanuel Navon, JPO 15.11.10

HAA = Haaretz JED = Jedioth Ahronoth JPO = Jerusalem Post GLO = Globes

## Veröffentlicht im: 25. November 2010

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