

**New Profile  
Annual Report 2005**



*Photography by: Tal Hayoun*

*We would like to extend our warm appreciation to all of those supporting us, whether financially or by spreading our ideas, enhancing our networking, or in many other ways.*

This report, based on the bi-monthly reporting and documentation performed by a long list of New Profile activists and coordinated by Ronit Marian Kadishai, Michal Gelbart and Rela Mazali, was compiled and written by Rela Mazali and Ruth Hiller, with editing support from Paula Mills and Sergey Sandler.

May 2006  
[www.newprofile.org](http://www.newprofile.org)

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*New Profile Annual Report for 2005:*

*Abstract*

Militarization in Israel and the use of military force by the Israeli state continued unchecked in 2005. Despite a widely heralded “disengagement” from Gaza, no respite emerged in Israel’s repression of Palestinians through direct military and other means. And yet, Israeli society shows hopeful, though limited and inconsistent, signs of receptivity towards a feminist critique of Israeli militarization. A main instance was the surprising degree of responsiveness to the New Profile “Feminist Conscience Campaign”.

Achievements in the type of grassroots advocacy work carried out by New Profile are, however, more easily measured in terms such as new projects and steady, sustained activity. The incremental change driven by our actions is diffuse and can’t be traced to New Profile work alone. Nevertheless, seven years after its foundation, New Profile broke new ground this year. A few significant developments included:

- A unique “Feminist Conscience Campaign” focused on feminist CO Idan Halili;
- An evening of reflective discussion with renowned feminist researcher Cynthia Enloe;
- Publication (in Hebrew) of: *Militarism in Education*, the collected proceedings of the New Profile-initiated 2001 international conference;
- An Alternative Summer Camp for Youth, a collaborative project led by young adults;
- A first independently coordinated New Profile speaking/fundraising tour in the U.S.A.

Additional highlights of New Profile work during 2005 extended the methods and ideas informing our efforts from the outset. Some of these included:

- Facilitating the persisting movement of young people refusing military conscription – both declared conscientious objectors and draft resisters of other kinds;
- First legal interventions on behalf of Druze COs, strengthening ties with their families;
- A second season of the creative “Peer Facilitation” training program for New Profile speakers;
- Strengthened ties with the Turkish anti-militarist movement through supporting CO Mehmet Tarhan;

In addition, as detailed in our Annual Activity Report for 2005, routine New Profile work continued – through our public and youth education programs, through the regularly updated website, the Refusers’ Counseling Network and the Legal Aid Project.

In 2005, New Profile continued to operate without an office, in an intentionally decentralized structure leaving decisions and responsibility to the teams coordinating various projects. The annual budget was quite modest, still basing the bulk of activity on members’ volunteer work.

The New Profile Annual Report offers a list of statistics on New Profile activity over 2005, a detailed description of new developments, and a concise project-by-project survey of ongoing action. We hope you’ll visit our website to read the report in full ([www.newprofile.org](http://www.newprofile.org)).

*We would like to extend our warm appreciation to all of those supporting us, whether financially or by spreading our ideas, enhancing our networking, or in many other ways. A significant proportion of New Profile funding is provided by a long list of caring individuals.*

*If you would like to support our work with a donation, please mail a check to:  
POB # 3454, Ramat Hasharon, Israel 47100. In the U.S., tax-exempt contributions, earmarked for New Profile, can be made online through the Refusers Solidarity Network (<http://www.refusersolidarity.net/>).*

**A year of significant developments:**

Militarization in Israel and the use of military force by the Israeli state continue largely unchecked. Despite a widely heralded “disengagement” from Gaza, 2005 provided no respite in Israel’s repression of Palestinians through direct military and other means. And yet, within Israel itself there are some hopeful, if limited and inconsistent, signs of increased reception of a feminist critique of Israeli militarization. One of the main instances in which this was manifested in the past year was the surprising responsiveness to the New Profile “Feminist Conscience Campaign” (see below).

However, the results of the type of grassroots advocacy work carried out by New Profile can very rarely be measured in terms of country-wide social processes. The achievements are more easily measured in limited concrete terms such as new projects, and steady, sustained activity. Seven years after foundation of the movement in October 1998, New Profile, Movement for the Civil-ization of Israeli Society, has broken new ground in several areas which are not necessarily visible to the general public. The incremental change driven by such grassroots level actions is diffuse, difficult to follow and often isn’t attributable to New Profile’s work alone. Keeping this in mind, a few major achievements in our work during 2005 nevertheless emerge, including both advocacy and campaigning as well as internal organization-building projects. These include:

- A unique, highly visible and surprisingly successful campaign on “Feminist Conscience” focused on feminist conscientious objector Idan Halili;
- An evening of study and discussion with world renowned feminist researcher of militarization, Cynthia Enloe, which was integrated into the Feminist Conscience Campaign;
- Publication (in Hebrew) of the book: *Militarism in Education*, presenting the proceedings of the New Profile-initiated international conference on this topic in 2001;
- Co-sponsorship of an Alternative Summer Camp for Youth, a cooperative project of various organizations initiated and led by young adults;
- A first independently coordinated, full scale New Profile speaking and fundraising tour in the U.S.A.

Additional highlights of New Profile work during 2005 continued and extended the work methods and ideas which have formed and directed our efforts from the outset. Some of these included:

- Vigils, support and advocacy facilitating the persisting movement of young refusers, both men and women, who openly declare their conscientious objection to serve in the military;
- Further development of the system of support and services for young people who resist the draft without declaring conscientious objection;
- New Profile’s first legal interventions on behalf of imprisoned Druze objectors supported by a growing dialogue with Druze refusers’ parents;
- The second year of the creative and extremely productive “Peer Facilitation Project” set up and operated by New Profile activists as a training program for less experienced speakers and facilitators;
- A systematic strengthening of ties with the Turkish anti-militarist movement and tangible expressions of support for imprisoned CO Mehmet Tarhan;
- An exchange of workshops and joint discussions with both Mizrachi and Palestinian groups in Israel.

In addition to all these, as detailed below, routine New Profile work continued – through our public and youth education programs, through the regularly updated website, the Refusers’ Counseling Network and the Legal Aid Project.

In 2005 New Profile continued to operate without an office, in an intentionally decentralized structure where most decisions and responsibility are taken by the separate teams and individuals

coordinating various projects. The annual budget was quite modest, still basing the bulk of activity on members' volunteer work. For the most part, newer labor-intensive projects which were difficult to achieve through unpaid work alone were either slowed down considerably (for instance, renewal of the traveling exhibit) or postponed (for instance, establishing an archive).

The following report will begin with a list of statistics providing a quantitative overview of New Profile activity over 2005. A second section will then describe new projects and developments in some detail. The third section will provide a briefer, project-by-project survey of ongoing New Profile action. The report will then conclude with an outline of internal organization-building work and New Profile networking with other groups and individuals, both in Israel and abroad.

### **New Profile numbers for 2005:**

The following statistics reflect some of the components of New Profile's activity throughout 2005. Though the figures are rounded and some of them are – unavoidably – estimates, they provide a valid idea of the scope of activity under each heading. The figures for media coverage are based only on items that we are aware of and the actual figures may, in many cases, be higher.

#### **Public appearances**

In Israel:

Lectures and workshops for varied audiences	-	16
Number of New Profile speakers offering lectures/ workshops	-	15
Number of participants in New Profile lectures/workshops	-	1,200
Number of visiting foreign groups who met with New Profile	-	14

Abroad:

Number of lectures/appearances abroad by New Profile members	-	57
Number of New Profile speakers appearing abroad	-	9
Approx. number of participants in New Profile lectures & appearances abroad in: U.S., Turkey, Britain, Greece, South Korea	-	2,400

#### **New Profile exhibit**

Showings of New Profile exhibit "Study War No More"	-	7
Number of days exhibit was on show	-	15
Number of New Profile members guiding on-site discussions of the exhibit	-	24
Number of viewers exposed to New Profile exhibit	-	500

#### **Media exposure**

In Israel:

Number of media items on New Profile in general	-	4
Number of media items on New Profile Youth Seminar (March 2005), published/aired on: Israel's largest internet news site (Ynet), additional (youth oriented) portals, a panel on a national TV network (prime time), local radio stations and the press	-	8
Number of media items published about week long showing of the New Profile exhibit published/aired in: a Jerusalem weekly, Israel's largest evening paper ("Yediot Achronot"), a local radio station, the Israeli military monthly, a Swiss newspaper, a Ramallah newspaper	-	6
Number of media items published on Feminist Conscience Campaign	-	27
Number of media items published on <i>Militarism in Education</i> book	-	2
Total number of media items published in Israel	-	47

Abroad:

Number of media items on New Profile published in: English (including an article in the well known ZNet magazine), Swedish Turkish, Greek and German	-	9
Number of media items published in the U.S. on the New Profile speaking tour	-	3
Total number of media items published abroad	-	12

Working with youth

Number of ongoing youth groups in 2005	-	4
Number of New Profile seminars for youth in 2005	-	2
Number of participants in youth groups and seminars	-	90
Length (in days) of Alternative Summer Camp for Youth	-	6
Number of participants in Alternative Summer Camp for Youth	-	100

Supporting refusersPublic support:

Number of vigils accompanying COs to main conscription base	-	3
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Legal aid:

Number of imprisoned refusers on whose behalf New Profile lawyers intervened	-	18
Number of prison visits by New Profile lawyers with imprisoned refusers	-	24
Number of other legal interventions on behalf of refusers	-	21
Number of lawyers performing prison visits & legal intervention	-	4
Number of lawyers and activists participating in New Profile legal aid listserve	-	29

Counseling network:

Number of activists operating Refusers Counseling Network	-	20
Number of people requesting counseling in 2005	-	1,500-2,000
Number of activists regularly offering information on Counseling Network listserve	-	42
Number of specific questions raised and discussion threads opened on Counseling Network forum	-	1,140

Feminist Conscience Campaign

Number of flyers distributed by Feminist Conscience Campaign	-	1,800
Number of participants in campaign events	-	150
Number of Knesset Members involved in the campaign	-	2

Members, supporters and contacts

Average number of activists attending monthly plenary meetings	-	24
Number of activists subscribing to the regular activists' listserve	-	65
Number of subscribers to the general Alternative Information Listserves	-	1,200
Number of subscribers to the listserve for updates on Conscientious Objection only	-	150
Average number of monthly entries into New Profile website	-	2,200
Combined number of discussion threads opened on New Profile forums	-	1,450
Average number of posts per thread	-	5-10

**Activities – New projects:**

1. Feminist Conscience Campaign –

From early November 2005 till late January 2006, New Profile conducted an unusual, creative campaign in support of Idan Halili, a young feminist woman who refused to enlist, explicitly fusing her feminist views with her objection to militarization and to compulsory military service.

The exposure in Israeli media was extensive and surprisingly sympathetic, including: 4 articles in major local and national newspapers (3 of significant length); 4 television interviews on major news programs; 3 radio segments; and about 16 articles on internet news sites. New Profile published a large ad in Haaretz entitled “Feminism and Conscience” and also printed and distributed 1,800 fliers at various related events and sites. A support rally of 50 was held at the gate to the main conscription base. A public discussion: “Feminism and Conscience” filled Tel-Aviv’s Tsavta 2 hall to capacity with an audience of 100. One of the speakers was the prominent U.S. feminist scholar, Professor Cynthia Enloe (Clark University). Idan addressed the Tsavta 2 audience and spoke, as well, to two smaller groups, with a total audience of several dozen. Knesset Members Roman Bronfman and Zahava Gal-On sent protest letters to the Minister of Defense in support of Idan.

New Profile supporters from all over the world responded with great interest and enthusiasm. Prominent U.S. feminist playwright and activist, Eve Ensler (*The Vagina Monologues*), circulated a personal letter of support. The campaign was supported financially by both Ensler and by the US based, feminist Urgent Action Fund.

Working in close coordination with Idan herself and with the lawyers active in New Profile’s Legal Aid Project and legal listserve, New Profile defined the campaign goals as 1) Raising public awareness in Israel to the interconnection between feminism and anti-militarism; 2) Generating a growing public discussion of this connection; 3) Upholding Idan’s right to an exemption from military service on grounds of her feminist conscience.

The ease and swiftness with which these goals were achieved far exceeded our expectations. The topic of anti-militarist feminism has received extensive exposure through a variety of Israeli channels; The activity on diverse internet forums, talkback responses to news items, the lively participation in all campaign events, the citation of Idan’s case in at least two academic lectures, all indicate success in initiating a broad and continuing public discussion, in Israel, of the links between feminism and anti-militarism. Finally, Idan’s right to exemption from military service has been upheld, despite the army’s use of an obviously fictitious “unsuitability” clause to justify the exemption. In all likelihood, the widespread publicity played a major role in pressuring military authorities to swiftly exempt Idan from military service. She was formally exempted on December 27<sup>th</sup> 2005.

Now building on this success, New Profile is in the process of locating and operating channels for keeping the discussion going and especially among high school girls.<sup>1</sup>

2. Study & discussion evening with feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe –

During her week long visit in December 2005, Professor Cynthia Enloe of Clark University generously allocated an evening to meeting with New Profile. One of the foremost feminist analysts of militarization in the world today, Cynthia Enloe has influenced New Profile thinking and practices very significantly and the meeting was a rare opportunity to discuss some of the issues encountered by New Profile activists in both study and activism. The evening was all the more meaningful in the context of the Feminist Conscience Campaign, with which it coincided and of which it became an integral component, as it offered a particularly nurturing space for creative thinking and discussion about practicing critical feminist thinking and feminist anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Based on the Campaign report compiled by Tali Lerner, Idan Halili & Rela Mazali and on the report on part of the followup work by Tal Haran.

militarism. The open exchange provided New Profile members with a much needed pause for pertinent reflection and study in the course of the labor-intensive campaign. Members of New Profile's Tel-Aviv youth group attended the meeting along with the members of the activist core group. Some of the questions they raised and discussed were: introducing feminist views on militarization to different people in our vicinity, building knowledge on some of the phenomena that militarization involves, asking feminist questions about militarization.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Book publication: *Militarism in Education* –

Edited by Haggith Gor, this book (mainly) comprising a collection of the papers presented at the 2001 conference: "Militarism and Education", initiated by New Profile, was published (in Hebrew) by Babel Books in October 2005. An extensive interview with editor Haggith Gor was issued in the weekend magazine of "Yediot Ahronoth", Israel's largest newspaper. A review of the book was published in the weekly book review magazine "Haaretz Sfarim" on November 9, 2005.

The collection has already been integrated into the syllabus of a course on "Patriotism and Media", offered by the Tel-Aviv University Department of Communications. A substantial number of New Profile activists are among the chapter authors. New Profile members regularly use the book as resource material for talks and workshops and distribute copies at appropriate events.<sup>3</sup>

### 4. Alternative Summer Camp for Youth –

In recent years, young people have led or collaborated in some of the central innovations of grassroots activism in Israel, including the refusers' movement, the struggle against the separation wall, various environmental campaigns, actions towards ending cruelty to animals and others. Nevertheless, most existing civil society organizations consistently fail to truly integrate youth into their leadership. New Profile has been at least partly successful, where most NGO's have failed, in creating the space for young leaders to grow and develop, with the support and active involvement of older activists. New Profile views its collaborative role in facilitating the youth-led Alternative Summer Camp for Youth as a significant achievement and a further indication of the movement's growing success in conducting an egalitarian and nurturing dialogue with youth.

Youths and young adults, no less than older activists, are in need of the sustaining alternative public sphere provided by an extended, socially committed community. Without these, long term political and social activism is extremely difficult to maintain. Efforts made by activist youth to critically explore Israeli society have led to the formulation of possible, separate, alternatives to the culture of consumption, to militarist Zionism, to the racism and sexism viewed as controlling lives in Israel and the occupied territories. The Alternative Summer Camp for Youth is an attempt to collect these alternatives into a viable and moral social system rooted in equality, sustainability, and multi-culturalism. It strives to create a framework encouraging participants to become or remain actively involved in shaping society, meanwhile building a working model of an alternative society based on these values.

First conceived in 2004, by four young activists, the initiative gained the support of numerous NGOs, including New Profile, and came to life in the summer of 2005. The project carved out a space in which young people met and learned about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, about ecology, globalization, militarization and education, about feminist issues and more. The learning processes were experiential – through creative workshops, tours, games, films and intensive, small group discussions. Meanwhile the camp laid foundations for a strongly-bonded and extremely supportive community of socially aware and active youth.

The one-hundred youths who took part in the project were aged fourteen to nineteen, mainly, though not only, from the central region of Israel and from major urban centers. Young women outnumbered young men by far at the camp and the group of Jewish youths outnumbered that of

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<sup>2</sup> Reported by R. Mazali.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the report compiled by Ronit Marian Kadishai & Michal Gelbart.



young Palestinians. Working on an extremely low budget and in a very small team, the organizers and participants succeeded in building an eco-friendly, vegan camp that lasted a whole week. The young people had a wonderful time, with zero technical problems of any kind.

The degree of success in achieving the organizers' goals was a surprise to all. Participants, including the longtime activists among them, left amazed by the new and significant knowledge they had acquired and the many tools they had gained towards making more of a difference. The youth camp goals were all fully achieved including knowledge building and education, aiding empowerment of individuals and groups, as well as community building and supporting continued activism. A great majority of the youths have become more involved in various activist groups in Israel-Palestine such as: the draft-refusal movements, non-violent joint Palestinian-Israeli demonstrations against the apartheid-wall, human rights and animal rights organizations, Permaculture farms and activities. Most of the guides from the small groups are still in touch with many of the participants from their groups, allowing a feeling of belonging and community.

Success has engendered a sequel and a group of some 20 activists from various NGOs and movements are now working in topical groups, in non-hierarchical form on a second Alternative Youth Camp, scheduled for the end of July 2006.<sup>4</sup>

##### 5. New Profile U.S. tour –

Sponsored by the Refuser Solidarity Network, the Youth and Militarism Program of the American Friends Service Committee, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Diana Dolev of New Profile started the speaking tour on October 18 in New York City and concluded it on November 9 in Princeton New Jersey. Preparations, begun in June 2005, involved a team of four New Profile activists, assisted by members of the sponsoring organizations.

The three week tour reached 13 towns and cities along the east of the US, where Diana Dolev gave 24 presentations to a total of about 700 people, as well as 3 media interviews (one radio interview and two to university student magazines).

Talks given by Diana Dolev included a panel called "Gender, Weapons, and Militarism" at the United Nations in New York City, lectures for both large and intimate audiences at Carnegie Mellon University and Duquesne University (Pittsburgh, PA); Allegheny College (Meadeville, PA); St. John Evangelical Protestant Church, Unitarian Universalist Church, and Ohio State University (Columbus, OH); Wesleyan University (Delaware, OH); Friends Meeting House and Frederick Unitarian Universalist Church (Frederick, MD); Duke University (Durham, NC); Warren Wilson College (Asheville); American University (Washington, DC); the Brecht Forum (New York, NY); American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia, PA); Franklin & Marshall College (Lancaster, PA); and Princeton University (Princeton, NJ).

Several activist groups also organized talks, including OSU Committee for Justice in Palestine, Women in Black (in several locations), peace organizations of Asheville, Howard County Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, Philadelphia Jewish Peace Network, Bubbes and Zaydes for Peace in the Middle East, and the Saalam-Shalom Group.

The talks, adapted to the interests of each venue, were on: "Militarization, Gender and Anti-militarist Activism in Israel"; "Working for Peace In Israel; Women's Activism against War Culture"; "The Militarization of Education in Israel"; "Militarization, Gender and Anti-Militarist Activism in Israel"; "A Feminist Perspective on Society and the Military in Israel"; "Peace Activism in Israel: Obey the Law or Pursue Justice?"; "Principled Civil Disobedience Versus Fanaticism"; "Building a National Identity – Ideology and Architecture at the Hebrew University"; "Society and the Military in Israel from a Feminist Perspective"; and "Militarism and Architecture in Israel: a feminist Perspective."

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<sup>4</sup> Based on 2005 report by Haggai Matar, Tali Lerner and Rotem Mor and on 2005 grant request by H. Matar.

Diana Dolev was especially struck by the wide-ranging sentiment about the similarities between the situation in Israel and the United States, including the similarities in attitude towards the justification of war, dehumanizing the “enemy”, and military recruitment efforts.

The fundraising effort was only moderately successful. In addition, we had hoped to connect to the growing anti-war movement in the U.S. and to share venues with women conscientious objectors from the States, thus reaching new parts of U.S. society. These efforts too were not realized by the tour. However, the project clearly succeeded in bringing New Profile’s ideas and work to varied engaged audiences, laying foundations for a growing network of partner organizations. The vast majority of responses, both during and long after the tour, were warm and enthusiastic.

Diana Dolev has written, “The various discussions in the different venues revealed the numerous implications these issues have on life. For instance, the effect of polarized perceptions in a militaristic society on education at all ages, on the well being of all people, on tolerance of people of different backgrounds, languages, gender and religion. ... I was also pleased to see that a number of local US activists from different groups met for the first time at my talks showed an interest in each others work.”<sup>5</sup>

#### 6. “Study War No More” – joint project with Bat Shalom –

Drawing on the success of a previous, similar week long showing of New Profile’s traveling exhibit at the Tel-Aviv office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, New Profile and Bat Shalom collaborated in 2005 on a joint showing of the “Study War No More” exhibit at the Jerusalem offices of Bat Shalom. The week long showing, supported by the Coalition of Women for Peace, was designed to bring New Profile topics and messages to the public in the Jerusalem area and to strengthen ties and dialogue between the two sponsoring organizations. A series of accompanying workshops led by activists from Bat Shalom and New Profile, employed the exhibit as a teaching tool, and interactive tours of the exhibit were conducted by New Profile members.

The packed opening evening, attended by an audience of about 80, featured speakers from both Bat Shalom and New Profile, a lecture by Prof. Orit Kamir of the Hebrew University and the Center for Human Dignity, and a piece by a New Profile activist and performance artist. The riveted silence of the crowded audience as well as numerous responses clearly indicated that the people found the talks, the lecture and the performance piece compelling, powerful and significant.

Some additional 65 people, including two youth groups, visited the exhibit in the course of the week, entering into animated discussions with the activists offering guided tours and taking part in the varied array of workshops. These covered subjects such as: Men and the military, Militarization and the environment, Activism within the family, and others. While one or two of the workshops planned were cancelled due to lack of participants, several visitors notably arrived at the showing after reading a press item, with no prior knowledge of New Profile.

Media coverage of the exhibit included, among others, a small but effective preview in Israel’s largest newspaper, “Yediot Ahronoth” and a large spread in a Jerusalem local weekly. All in all, at least six media items were published on the exhibit.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Based on reports by Diana Dolev and Rabbi Laurie Zimmerman.

<sup>6</sup> Based on reports by Elat Benda and R. Mazali.

**Activities – Ongoing action:**

1. Youth groups –

Youth groups are usually active over the period roughly corresponding to the school year, between September/October and May/June. This is the time in which it is most feasible to identify new participants, to initiate and form new groups and to create a steady routine of meetings and activity. In winter 2004-5 New Profile operated eight successful youth groups all over Israel, over varying periods of time, in Beer Sheva, Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem, Yavneh, Haifa, Mevaseret Zion, Ramat Hasharon, Emek Hefer and the Galilee. In addition, an attempt was made to open groups in Herzlia. In fall 2005, coordination of the youth groups was rotated to a former group counselor, assisted by a co-counselor and accompanied of an older member of New Profile with extensive experience in facilitation and in work with young people. Coordination includes locating new counselors, helping them find interested youths, assisting them in building the substance of group activities, strengthening ties between youth counselors, youth and the body of New Profile activists and work.

By the end of 2005 there were two youth groups meeting regularly, one in the Tel-Aviv area, entering into its second year of activity which shifted the responsibility for meeting dates and topics to the young participants, encouraging a different mode of participation, one in Jerusalem, mostly attended by youngsters who had taken part in the summer camp or in the High School seniors group. By the end of December, the group had already held 6 meetings but was still in an initial formative stage. Two more groups, in an advanced stage of preparation and planning, were scheduled to open in Beer Sheva and Sede Boqer. (By the time of this report the Beer Sheva and Sede Boqer groups have been now running successfully for several months and a second group has been opened in Tel-Aviv.)

New Profile had hoped to duplicate and surpass the successful growth of this project success in 2004, during which the movement operated eight youth groups all over Israel. One of the major obstacles preventing us from reaching this goal was the persistent difficulties encountered in finding suitable facilitators – young adults who are ideologically committed to the feminist demilitarization of Israeli society and who are willing and able to work with youth. Many of the younger active members of New Profile are either doing alternative service in various NGOs or are self-supporting students. Moreover, many of them are involved in additional activist groups and struggles. These circumstances make it difficult for young activists to commit to organize and lead youth groups. As the season of group activity is concluded this coming summer, we will be holding discussions on how to extend and improve this central branch of our activity.<sup>7</sup>

2. Youth seminars –

New Profile held two seminars for youth in the course of 2005 – one over the weekend of March 18-19 and another over the weekend of November 18-19. Each of the seminars was attended by about thirty participants, who came from all over Israel. New Profile sees the participation of young people from the periphery as a meaningful achievement.

The theme of the March seminar was “Militarism in Education” and it offered discussions and experiential learning on militarism in bible studies, militarism in the twelfth grade trips to death camps in Poland, preparation courses for military service in high school, militarism in school field trips, the militarization of Israeli visual culture (a workshop based on the New Profile traveling exhibit). It also offered two films and – according to the participants – a lot of fun. Several young people noted how deeply they were impressed by the non-hierarchic atmosphere and practice in which their thoughts and ideas were valued and elaborated on by counselors who treated them as equals.

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<sup>7</sup> Based on reports by Ronnie Barkan, Hanna Aviram, Sergeiy Sandler, H. Matar, T. Lerner, Eli Fabricant, Alex Prushin.

The seminar, supported by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, was advertised in two major Israeli Internet portals – Walla and Tapuz – both primarily youth-oriented. Posters were hung near schools in several cities and towns. Potential participants were also invited directly using lists of participants in New Profile’s youth groups and young activists in several other organizations.

A press release led to the publication of an interview with one of the seminar organizers on Ynet – Israel’s largest Internet news service – which in turn led to additional media exposure, including three regional radio interviews, one print article and participation of one of the organizers on a national, prime-time T.V. panel discussing the role of the military in the education system. This publicity per se represented a realization of one of the seminar’s primary aims – promoting public discussion of the militarization of the educational system in Israel.

The theme of the November seminar was feminism and its critique of militarization. The seminar offered discussions on the hero figure, on masculinity and use of force, on women’s role in the Zionist vision, on the connection between social oppression of various groups and the unraveling of gender divisions. This seminar too offered an alternative show and was warmly appreciated by participants.

The organizers view the number of seminar participants as meaningful but insufficient. They have outlined plans for improving outreach in hopes of enlarging the number of young people who attend future seminars.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Refusers’ Counseling Network –

About 20 activists from all over the country operated the Counseling Network in the course of 2005. A large proportion of the initial requests for counseling – over eighty a month on average – came in via phone, with many of these arriving through the activists of the High School Seniors Letter (published March 2005 and declaring the refusal of a group of high school seniors’ to enlist in the military; the number of signatures grew steadily during 2005; <http://www.shministim.org/>). About ten to fifteen requests per month on the average arrive via the New Profile email address. An average of an additional 95 requests per month arrived over the Internet Forum of the Counseling Network, moderated by several activists. The majority of requests for counseling came from young teen-agers who have decided not to enlist, but a significant number – about twenty a month – came from conscripts who were already serving and had resolved to terminate their tour of duty. All applicants for assistance were informed in detail of their legal rights and options and provided with descriptions of other’s individual experiences. Improved internal networking between participants in the network has made such personal resources more easily accessible in 2005. Due to the army’s stricter treatment of declared conscientious objectors, network members conducted intensive preparations with this type of applicant.

The two major channels through which the ongoing counseling work was carried out were telephone conversations and the Counseling Network Internet Forum, though in many cases – and especially that of declared conscientious objectors – the counselors also met with resisters and/or their parents. Almost all the applicants applying for counseling who were fully resolved to refuse to do (or to continue) military service eventually obtained exemptions from the military. Notably, some of the applicants for counseling become counselors themselves after completing the process, visiting and advising the internet forum regularly, attending training sessions for the counseling network, taking phone calls and meeting with refusers and/or parents in person, with various people sometimes involved in all these activities and others focusing on one or another channel. In addition, after encountering the counseling network quite a few refusers or parents have joined New Profile’s core group of regular activists.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Based on reports by Oshra Bar and S. Sandler.

<sup>9</sup> Based on reports by T. Lerner and S. Sandler.

#### 4. Refusers' Legal Aid Project –

Over 2005 New Profile continued to provide refusers with legal aid, mainly in the course of prison sentences served by declared conscientious objectors or by social refusers (young people living in poverty who resist military service on financial and family grounds). While the refusers' movement in general achieved far less media and public attention in 2005 than it succeeded in generating in 2001-4, when several new refusers' groups emerged, it should be noted that the number of imprisoned refusers aided by New Profile during the year reached eighteen, and the number of prison visits provided was twenty-four (where the number in 2003 was about 30). This is clear indication, on the ground as it's often called, that the refusal movement was alive and kicking in 2005 and that young people continued, through various routes, to resist participation in the military.

Ten of the imprisoned refusers were declared conscientious objectors. Seven were social refusers. Two of the declared conscientious objectors were women (including feminist c.o. Idan Halili) and eight were men. Two of the declared conscientious objections were Druze, one (one of the women) was Christian and the rest were Jewish. This was the first year in which the project succeeded in reaching Druze refusers, which New Profile views as a very significant development. We consider it important to offer aid to refusers from all communities and to strengthen networking among different parts of the varied and decentralized refusal movement. Members of the project coordinating team conducted the careful outreach efforts that facilitated this development and formed continuing ties with the Druze refusers and their families.

The team also collected detailed data on the imprisonment (whether first time or repeated) of refusers and disseminated reports on imprisoned refusers via New Profile's various listserves.

Four lawyers working regularly with New Profile (two of them pro bono) conducted both prison visits (usually bi-weekly) and legal interventions on behalf of these and other refusers, writing appeals to military authorities to expedite their exemptions from service.

Another component of New Profile's Legal Aid Project initiated and developed in 2005 was the Legal Network. Following an initial meeting (in late December 2004), subscribers to this discussion group have come to include quite a few lawyers and some of the New Profile activists involved in counseling and in legal aid. Over 2005, the subscribers conducted several significant exchanges on various questions raised by individual cases and updated the group on emerging developments in military practices regarding refusers. In particular, the Legal Network provided a rich and informative means of following and understanding new practices adopted by the military authorities in dealing with women objectors. The lively ongoing discussion held by this group thus helps subvert the army's exclusive control of knowledge and information about the procedures faced by young refusers. While created and hosted by a non-legal, lay organization, this exceptional network has made a major contribution towards coordinating the work of probably all the lawyers in Israel who work on Conscientious Objection and other forms of refusal and draft resistance, who - along with key activists working on these topics - conduct a vital, continuous discussion of both legal and public advocacy strategies and tactics.<sup>10</sup>

#### 5. Public support for refusers –

In addition to counseling and legal aid for young people resisting service in the military, over 2005 New Profile continued to organize and participate in support vigils for declared conscientious objectors, either accompanying them to the main induction base ("Bakum") or demonstrating outside the prison in which they were incarcerated. These demonstrations were invariably joint efforts coordinated with the High School Seniors group, the Refusers' Parents' Forum, Yesh Gvul and, in some cases, with additional activist groups. In the course of 2005, New Profile accompanied 4 young declared COs to the main induction base and took part in several prison vigils. New Profile members also continued to write letters and postcards to imprisoned

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<sup>10</sup> Based on reports by Ruti Divon, Mirjam Hadar, Yossi Wolfson and S. Sandler.

COs as well as state and prison authorities, inviting subscribers to our listserves to join these efforts.<sup>11</sup>

#### 6. Public lectures & workshops –

Focusing, as it does, on raising consciousness to the depth and prices of Israel's militarization, on initiating and propelling change in militarized culture and mind-sets within Israeli society, New Profile continued to organize and offer public lectures and workshops at a wide variety of venues during 2005. Among the venues were: a seminar at Haifa University (on the occasion of International Women's Day), the Al-Tufula Feminist Center in Nazareth, the "Women's Parliament" Project (which New Profile members spoke at twice, one of them when it was held inside the main women's military training base), a rural boarding school – Mevo'ot Iron, a course at Tel-Hai college in the Upper Galilee, the activism festival held in the town of Lod/Lydda, the Jerusalem offices of Bat Shalom, the Alternative Summer Camp for Youth, the Tel-Aviv infoshop and alternative culture center, Salon Mazal, Oranim Teacher's college near Haifa (on the occasion of the international Day Against Violence Against Women). In some cases, talks or workshops were conducted on the background of the New Profile traveling exhibit "Study War No More". A total audience of about 1,200 thus listened to New Profile presentations this year.

A broad array of topics related to militarization was covered in these events including, among others: women's refusal to serve in the military, women and the military, personal experiences of militarization, militarization in Israel, military service as a condition for the naturalization of migrant workers' children, refusers' rights and experiences, private policing in Israel, the occupation of Iraq & the occupation of Palestinian territories, child recruitment in Israel and others.

In keeping with the feminist New Profile practice of de-centralization, equalized participation and representation, the talks and workshops were presented, in some cases in pairs, by a long list of activists, fifteen in all, the youngest of whom were in their late teens and the oldest of whom were about sixty. While New Profile attaches great significance to both public appearances in Israel and to upholding the model of rotating representation, we consider the 2005 level of public exposure to New Profile ideas very modest and hope to raise it in 2006-7 through training additional facilitators and speakers and intensifying our outreach.<sup>12</sup>

#### 7. Showings of traveling exhibit, "Study War No More" –

Besides a week long showing in Jerusalem (see above), the New Profile exhibit traveled to a variety of venues during 2005, including a packed conference on "Militarization and Inequality" at Bar-Ilan University (featuring leading scholar Cynthia Enloe as keynote speaker), a book launching conference at Tel-Aviv University, the International Day Against Violence Against Women at Oranim Teacher's College near Haifa, the Alternative Youth Camp at Neveh Shalom and others. As always, New Profile activists accompanied the showings with talks, workshops and interactive tours of the exhibit.

In the course of 2005, a team of New Profile activists also began work on a new version of the exhibit, both integrating new materials and redesigning the display towards making it more easily accessible. Work on the revised exhibit has been progressing more slowly than we had hoped.<sup>13</sup>

#### 8. Public appearances abroad –

Aside from the New Profile U.S. tour (see above) New Profile continued to receive speaking invitations abroad in 2005, taking activists to a wide range of venues from Trinity College in

<sup>11</sup> Based on reports by Dror Mizrahi, T. Lerner, I. Halili, R. Mazali.

<sup>12</sup> Based on reports by Shani Werner, Slava Greenberg, Tal Haran, Ruth Hiller, Rom Levkovitch, M. Hadar, H. Aviram, M. Gelbart, R. Mazali, D. Dolev, T. Lerner.

<sup>13</sup> Based on reports by Tal Hayoun, M. Hadar, H. Aviram, R. Marian Kadishai.

Dublin through the War Resisters International seminar in Seoul, through refusers' and feminists' meetings in Saloniki, to a Women In Black meeting in London. Other venues included several U.S. universities and activist groups in Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Albuquerque as well as Indiana and North Carolina.

Nine activists addressing or participating in events at fifty-seven venues (including those reached by the U.S. tour), introduced a total audience of about 2,400 to New Profile ideas and activity. Some of the topics covered included: the prices Israelis pay for occupation and militarization, the militarization of Israeli education, personal experiences of refusal, the concept of security as national security, global networking towards building civil society.<sup>14</sup>

#### 9. Media appearances & items –

The bulk of media items published or aired on New Profile topics inside Israel, in the course of 2005, dealt with the individual refusal of Idan Halili, framed as conscientious objection on grounds of feminism (see above: Feminist Conscience Campaign) and with the New Profile Youth Seminar in March 2005. The joint showing of New Profile's "Study War No More" exhibit in collaboration with Bat Shalom also generated several media items which proved an effective form of outreach, bringing viewers with no prior acquaintance to visit the exhibit. The newly published collection *Militarism in Education* was reviewed and occasioned a large interview and a few additional media items dealt with ongoing New Profile activity and views (which, for the most part, are not viewed by media as newsworthy). A workshop on refusers' rights and experiences held in Tel-Aviv was covertly filmed by a television journalist and brief, distorted bits of it were aired on a mainstream TV talk show. As in a previous case, the sensationalist exposure brought in large numbers of phone calls and emails from refusers. Notably, one of the television appearances on New Profile was on an Israeli Russian language TV program (RTVI channel) on prime time, reaching a Russian speaking audience which is not easily accessed by most left-wing groups in Israel.

Activists were also interviewed for overseas media and a large article on New Profile activities was published in the well-known, leftist *Z Magazine*. Articles were published and appearances were aired in English, Swedish, Turkish, Greek and German, in the U.S., Sweden, Germany, Austria, Australia, Greece and Turkey.

During 2005, as over most of the years since its foundation, New Profile didn't issue regular press releases or make an ongoing attempt to place media items or interviews. Media outreach was focused and conducted only around specific events such as the Feminist Conscience Campaign and the exhibit showing. New Profile media outreach has been assisted enormously by the Media Coordinator of the Coalition of Women for Peace, Adi Dagan.<sup>15</sup>

#### 10. Alternative information listserves –

In the course of 2005, New Profile activists continued to operate the two listserves providing information or viewpoints that are under-reported or not reported at all by mainstream media in Israel or abroad. The general list disseminated items, both with and without commentary by the New Profile editors, on topics related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, to conditions in the occupied territories, to Israeli activism against militarization and against the occupation, to the refusal movement. A more specific list provided news on the refusal movement only, reporting on imprisoned conscientious objectors, on related protest vigils, on the exemption of refusers and so forth. The general list reached about 1,200 regular subscribers in 2005 and the specialized list reached about 150 subscribers. The sources drawn on included Palestinian and Israeli activist organizations, alternative information websites, individuals and sometimes mainstream media

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<sup>14</sup> Based on reports by Michal Raz, Eldad Zion, Amir Givol, Adina Aviram, O. Bar, S. Sandler, M. Gelbart, S. Sandler, Dorothy Naor and R. Mazali.

<sup>15</sup> Based on reports by Ronnie Barkan, D. Naor, Rivka Sum, E. Benda, T. Lerner, R. Marian Kadishai and M. Gelbart.

reports or analyses. The lists were operated by four New Profile editors who regularly selected and disseminated the items.<sup>16</sup>

#### 11. Website & on-line forums –

In the course of 2005 New Profile activists continued to update and maintain the website. Despite the wealth of information offered on the website, we are aware that it is not always clear or easy to navigate when searching for a particular item or topic. Plans to redesign and update the site are awaiting the financial support required for this effort. While the original design and ongoing maintenance were largely based on volunteer work, a new phase requires more professional skill and a larger proportion of paid work.

Regardless, the website continues to serve as a significant source of information, drawing thousands of visits every month, and to provide a central channel for outreach which brings the movement a steady stream of new members. The discussion forums, especially the one focused on refusal, are extremely lively and informative.<sup>17</sup>

### **Organizational development:**

#### 1. Peer Facilitation Project –

The peer facilitation project provides training for New Profile activists who are interested in gaining experience in facilitating workshops, offering lectures and giving presentations. The program, initiated and planned by two New Profile activists both of whom are experienced facilitators, provides each participant with repeated opportunities to construct, present and facilitate sessions of study and discussion, all of which focus on various aspects of New Profile's social, political analysis and activity. Planning and moderation of the monthly program meetings are rotated continually between program participants. Each such meeting ends with a session of detailed critical yet supportive feedback from project participants, reflecting on the stronger and weaker points of the presentation, the moderation and the discussion. This framework is an opportunity for participants to conduct in-depth, extended study of aspects of New Profile thinking and work, while enhancing presentation and facilitation skills. It is expressly constructed to allow a relatively egalitarian learning community, drawing on the knowledge, impressions, responses and reflections of all the participants. This has created an atmosphere in which women feel they are gaining confidence and developing significantly. The sixteen participants, including the two project initiators, testified to a deeply meaningful process of mutual empowerment and learning and some of those who had previously abstained from public appearances have begun leading workshops and giving talks in the course of 2005. The program, which completed a first season of activity in the summer of 2005, opened a second season of training last winter.<sup>18</sup>

#### 2. Partnership with Responding to Conflict –

The Birmingham-based organization Responding to Conflict (RTC) initiated a partnership with New Profile in 2004, constructed around a series of internal organizational workshops designed to help clarify aspects of the movement's vision, goals and modes of action. The RTC project hoped to facilitate the organizational growth of New Profile and, over time, to draw New Profile and other, related, activist groups into an enhanced process of networking. The partnership has continued throughout 2005, providing New Profile with four fully funded and moderated organizational seminars for exploring its thinking, ideas and practices while learning models for organizational analysis and work. The last seminar, an attempt to branch out to organizational work with additional groups, included several activists from the Coalition of Women for Peace.

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<sup>16</sup> Reported by S. Sandler and R. Mazali.

<sup>17</sup> Based on reports by S. Sandler and R. Mazali.

<sup>18</sup> Based on report by H. Aviram.



While recognizing the considerable gains the partnership has work has afforded – and particularly the rare opportunity to dedicate intensive discussions to reflecting on New Profile structure and process, a number of New Profile activists have found that the structures employed in the RTC training are not well suited to New Profile’s organizational culture. Accordingly, New Profile has decided, in consultation with our partners from RTC, to shift to a different format. The partnership will no longer involve an inclusive organizational commitment to hold and participate in training sessions. However, individual activists will continue to take part in joint workshops conducted by RTC along with activists from additional groups.<sup>19</sup>

### Networking:

#### 1. Collaboration with local organizations –

Over 2005, New Profile continued to work in various forms of collaboration with an array of organizations in both Israel and Palestine. Some of these are: the Coalition of Women for Peace and, in particular, its member organizations Women In Black (New Profile members played significant roles in preparing and conducting the International Women In Black Conference in August 2005) and Bat Shalom (New Profile collaborated with Bat Shalom on a week long showing of its exhibit – see above), the Mizrahi Democratic Rainbow (with which New Profile exchanged topical workshops), the Refusers’ Parents’ Forum, the Feminist Women’s Home, Salon Mazal (where New Profile held some of its events), Neveh Shalom, Nissan (a connection that has grown out of a partners’ meeting convened by the funding organization EPER/HEKS), the High School Seniors group, the Al-Tufula Feminist Center in Nazareth (where the exhibit was on show, accompanied by a workshop), the Women’s Parliament, BIMKOM, the Druze Initiative Committee, Zochrot, Gush Shalom, Yesh Gvul, the Israeli Committee Against Home Demolitions and others. While New Profile works primarily to achieve change in society in Israel, rather than creating partnerships and understanding with Palestinian groups and individuals, our efforts also continued to bring us into contact with organizations and activists from Palestine in 2005, including: Jerusalem Center for Women, Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights and others.

In addition, New Profile’s thinking and its manifestation in the group’s organizational structure and practices continued to compel the interest of Israeli feminist researchers, for the most part young graduate students, who conducted interviews with a number of activists.<sup>20</sup>

#### 2. Overseas connections –

New Profile ideas and practices continued, over 2005, to interest feminist researchers, filmmakers and activists from overseas. Quite a few members have been interviewed over the past year by (mostly) women scholars or filmmakers from Australia, Britain, the U.S. and elsewhere. One of the interviewers, Prof. Cynthia Cockburn of City University, London, should soon be posting her summary on her action research website, as a resource for activists and students.

In addition, members continued to meet with an extensive series of overseas organizations and individuals interested in learning about New Profile’s analysis and activity. Such meetings, often hosted in members’ homes, were held with organizations from the UK, the US, France, Spain and elsewhere. Some of the visiting organizations included: Fellowship of Reconciliation (US), International FOR, MAN (France), MOC (Spain), Jewish Voice for Peace (USA), Women to Women for Peace (UK), Ecumenical Accompaniment Program in Palestine and Israel and the World Council of Churches.

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<sup>19</sup> Reported by R. Mazali.

<sup>20</sup> Based on reports collected and compiled by M. Gelbart, R. Marian Kadishai, Ruth Hiller and R. Mazali.

Additional overseas organizations with which New Profile was in regular contact and/or with which we collaborated on various issues and projects included: War Resisters International (based in the UK), Amnesty International (UK), American Friends Service Committee (US Quakers), QPSY (UK Quakers), Quaker U.N. Office (Geneva), Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (based in the UK), Connection e.V. (Germany), Not in My Name (USA; Italy), Resource Center for Non-Violence (USA), Trop c'est Trop (France), International Action Network on Small Arms (UK), World Tribunal on Iraq (internationally based).

One of the more significant developments in New Profile's international networking during 2005 was the strengthening of ties with the Turkish anti-militarist movement, mainly occasioned by the Conscientious Objection of Mehmet Tarhan, a young homosexual man who refused to serve in the Turkish army and who suffered severe abuse and prolonged imprisonment. In an exception to the New Profile rule of abstaining from international travel (unless covered by an inviting organization), New Profile financed two trips to Turkey to witness sessions of Mehmet Tarhan's trial. A third activist, who had traveled to Turkey for other reasons, met and had a long, lively conversation with the anti-militarist group supporting Mehmet Tarhan. She delivered a joint New Profile letter of support and esteem and a personal letter to Mehmet Tarhan's mother written by another New Profile activist whose conscientious objector son was serving a prison term at the time. She also spoke of Mehmet Tarhan's case at a vigil supporting Israeli C.O.s who were in prison and on International Prisoners of Conscience Day, New Profile Activists held a protest vigil opposite the Turkish Embassy in Tel-Aviv.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Donor organizations in 2005 –

The organizations that provided New Profile with financial support in the course of 2005 included the following:

Refusers Solidarity Network (USA), Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (UK), Responding to Conflict (UK), Urgent Action Fund (USA), Objection Fiscal (Spain), QPSY (UK Quakers), AFSC (US Quakers), Coalition of Women for Peace. A significant proportion of New Profile funding continued, in 2005, to come from the accumulated personal donations of a long list of individual supporters.

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<sup>21</sup> Based on reports by M. Hadar and on reports collected and compiled by M. Gelbart, R. Marian Kadishai, R. Hiller and R. Mazali.