# PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

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One Man's View

by Dov Barnir

# Israel's "Prosperous" Bankruptcy

There is the joke about the man who falls off the roof of the Empire State Building in New York. When he passes the 50th floor someone asks from a window: "How are things?" To which he immediately replies: "So far not bad."

That joke would seem to apply to Israel's economy in the hands of the likud government, with one decisive difference: under the baton of Treasury Minister Yoram Aridor, that government has decided to adopt the advice "to eat and drink because tomorrow we die."

This suicidal economic policy it calls the "correct economics". It might much more correctly be termed "election economics, without a minimum of national responsibility. In keeping with these policies the Begin government, before the last elections, cut import duties on color television, flooded Israel cheaply with that popular commodity... and won the elections. Tens, if not hundreds of millions of dollars, were thrown into the ballot boxes in order to secure Likud control for four years more. That, however, was not the end of the story, but only its first stage.

We can see its latest continuation in the annual budget presented to the Knesset recently by the Treasury Minister. At the very same time that Mr. Aridor was boasting that while all the industrial countries were in the sad state of unemployment, an "economic miracle" had taken place in Israel and there was no unemployment, the Central Bureau of Statistics published some figures. The Minister did not tell the Knesset and the public that we were "eating and drinking" the two billion dollar American grant which we were wasting on consumption rather than on production. Since the Likud's ascension to office our national debt to the American Treasury has climbed from 10 to 20 billion dollars, an annual rate of two billion. Every Israeli child is born today with a debt of 5,000 dollars to

# Words... So Many Words

The negotiations between Israel and Lebanon have taken a curious form and the resulting formulations are only verbal structures. When it became evdent that the negotiations were moving ahead at a snail's pace, the U.S.A. once again took the lead role. While the formal delegations meet for talks concluding with announcements of "additional progress", the real negotiations are going on via Philip Habib.

The Special Ambassador is sitting in Jerusalem with the Israeli representatives and is attempting to make some progress in security arrangements or in normalization, now called "future relationships between the two states". Supposedly only acting as the American mediator, in reality Habib is speaking for Lebanon, presenting the Lebanese positions.

If that is the Likud government's political achievement in its relations with the United States, what would we call a political or diplomatic failure? For many years relationships between Israel and the U.S.A. were founded on preliminary coordination — after clarifying differences — between the two countries. More recently we have seen such preliminary coordination between the U.S.A. and Egypt concerning Israel (on the autonomy issue) and also between Lebanon and the U.S.A., again in connection with Israel.

The Likud government has been trying to erase the traces of its total failure in Lebanon. Instead of a "full and contractual peace" we are now discussing an agreement on the "termination of the state of war", that essentially will not be different from the armistice agreement. However, there will be an innovation. In keeping with Israel's demand, the "future agreement" will declare that "It takes the place of previous agreements".

The discussion of these formulations will undoubtedly go on for a long time, but they are no longer of any significance in a Lebanon where Israel is no longer wanted. What remains to be decided are the security arrangements. Here, too, it would be preferable to deal with specific matters and not with questions of prestige.

"Al Hamishmar", January 20, 1983

the American debt-collector. By the time that child comes to maturity that debt will reach such astronomic dimensions that not even the most diligent work will ever be able to repay.

Living on Loans

The story does not, however, end with that. We find that we are living today on the loans coming from the American Treasury and various international banks. We received these credits on the assumption that we would be able to repay our debts. The Garden of Eden, however, is coming to an end. Every year, under the Likud government, we are using an enormous part of the government's budget to pay foreign indebtednesses, in 1981 - 31 percent of the total budget. In 1983 it will already be 38 percent, the year after that we shall repay the American Treasury the entire sum of the loans given us, in the form of interest. In short - in only a few years Israel will be unable to/ repay its debts and foreign

bankers will no longer give us loans or credits. Bankruptcy is drawing closer in giant steps.

Perhaps we could say here: if we work diligently, tighten our belts and cut consumption, export a great deal and import a minimum, we may effect the savings to pay the debts and slowly come out of our straits. The present government, however, already preparing for the coming elections, perhaps even next year, flees from any unpopular measures. It wants the Israeli citizen to continue to live in a fool's Paradise and to emulate Louis XV's "apres moi le déluge."

That is then what the Israeli economy looks like under the rule of those who for years waved the banner of "free enterprise," productivity of production," and all the rest. This year the number of private cars has increased by 65 percent, shops are filled to the brim with

(Continued on page 3)

# BRIDGE OVER THE CHASM

By M.K. Mohammad Watad

Jewish-Arab coexistence in the State is deteriorating. Relationships between Jews and Arabs as individuals are generally correct and sometimes even friendly. The situation is different when we speak of the Arab public as a single national unit. It is the Israeli establishment that sets the tone. Sometimes it allows itself to be dragged behind the rabble and comes to terms with that part of public opinion that demands victories over the Arabs.

Israel's Arabs are Arabs when it is convenient for the establishment to consider them as such in order to promote what it thinks is some Jewish interest. Settlement in Galilee, for example, is a Jewish interest as opposed to an Arab interest. Galilee settlement in this context thus becomes a patriotic act. Once the State officials spoke of pioneering and fructifying the desert, of creating and absorbing immigration. Today they speak of land-grabbing and of preventing Arab expansion. This is not semantics it is an ideology. Pioneering is not a sufficient incentive to settle in Galilee; Arab expansion, they urge, can be prevented by policemen and outposts.

In such matters Israel's Arabs are Arabs. However, when their rights are to be determined by national and civil status, they cease to be Arabs and become Israelis; at best they are members of the non-Jewish minorities... Moslems, Christians, and Bedouin. Their political and civil image is a function of the thinking and norms within the Jewish public. There are extremists, conformists or persons with reservations, waverers. These descriptions change in accordance with Israel's political situation. The comformists of today are the waverers of yesterday. They have not changed their respective views; yesterday, today and tomorrow they have supported, support and will continue to support the cause of self-determination for the Palestinians alongside Israel. Whát happened is that a larger Jewish public has adapted itself to the idea of self-determination.

Yesterday's Extremists

Today's waverers are yesterday's extremists. RAKAH is said to have reservations today. RAKAH has not changed its positions; what happened is that a more radical group has arisen within the Arab public. RAKAH is considered to be more moderate and therefore it only "has re-

servations." An Arab considered to be a conformist is lost from the public standpoint. The Jews think him in their pocket, no longer an authentic Arab; for the Arabs he no longer represents his people. The Jews will court the Arab waverers. There are Jews who know what is good for the Arabs better than the Arabs themselves, and they will also court the extremists. The Arabs themselves will flock behind the extremist. Moderation does not pay. It is sufficient to pin the label of "positive" or "moderate" on some Arab public figure and thus liquidate him. Arabs will criticize him publicly and Jews will sneer at him among themselves. We can learn this from their actions. The adjective "negative" (to Israel) is a certificate of public loyalty in the Arab street.

Why has this happened? Let us take for example of the National Committee of Heads of Arab Councils. The men behind the Committee, all positive in the past, are reserved or extremists today. They organized originally in order to achieve specific municipal goals, to solve problems of education, increased grants, better services. Their efforts however came up against a blank wall. In a short time they learned that their battle was not viewed as a civil and municipal effort but as a national struggle.

Started with Integration

The Arab National Committee started out in a struggle for integration. On "Land Day" it turned towards differentiation. The growing lag in the civil sphere that the Committee had wanted to change, had to explode. Today we are witness to a series of explosions, and the most dangerous of all may come in the foreseeable future. The problems are becoming more serious at every session of the National Committee of Heads of Arab Councils. There are very few conformists and the waverers are beginning their count down.

The Likud government officially took a new stand from that of its predecessor: with a single sentence it wiped out the Green Line and made the Arabs of Nazareth the same as the Arabs of Nablus, the Arabs of Galilee like those of Hebron. The Likud government had a wise and learned Advisor on Arab Affairs Dr. Moshe Sharon, who had many good intentions. He also gave a lot of good advice that the Prime Minister did not

accept. Dr. Sharon, however, made one unfortunate recommendation that was accepted: He claimed that the Arabs of the Territories and Israel's Arabs were one and in its enthusiasm to erase the border, the government accepted his advice.

The result: if the Arab countries finance Territory municipalities, could they not also finance Arab local councils in Israel? If Hebron Arabs are allowed to establish a religious university, could not the Triangle Arabs do the same? If Nablus can turn a secondary school into a university, why do Israel's Arabs need Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem or Beersheba? Why shouldn't there be an Arab university? And if there is an Arab university why should the public council for Arab education be headed by a Jew and an Arab; why not an Arab alone? And if the Council is headed by an Arab, who needs the services of Emanuel Kolplowitz, the head of the Department for Arab Education? Why should he not be replaced by an Arab? And so on...

#### **Coexistence Retreats**

Behind all these demands we find the failure of integration and the retreat of coexistence. The conformist Arab lecturer became an extremist when he reached the conclusion that he would not be given the opportunity to become number one in his department. His reaction: to raise the banner of an Arab university. The Arab intellectual and scholar, the experienced éducator, is beginning to raise the flag of Arabizing education — because he finds himself stuck in one place without any opportunity to advance. Personal ambitions, which should not be ignored, join with public aspirations.

For almost two years a committee of scholars and public workers attempted to formulate the aims of Arab education; only a very few of the recommendations of the Peled Committee, which concluded its work in 1976, have been implemented. Arab education continues to be bothered by problems of content, goals and elementary tools. Within a short time the demand will be raised for equality in Arab and Hebrew education. That is a natural continuation of the public line of development within the Arab sector, whose awareness of the need for "two-way traffic" in coexistence is deepening.

The Arab local councils are soon going to carry out their "Education Day" (this

## **Bankruptcy**

(Continued from page 1) anything one might desire, mostly foreign-made, expensive imports have increased while exports have shrunk, the growth of the national product is tending towards zero, inflation (about 138 percent annually) is the highest in the world, after Argentina.

**Poverty Increasing** 

Worst of all, instead of Mr. Begin's promise to "improve the people's lot," and to end poverty in Israel, the Bureau of Statistics figures show that the proportion of the population beneath the poverty line has increased from two to eight percent of Israel's Jewish population. While the poor increase and the rich become richer, hundreds of thousands of persons are gambling on the stock market. And now, while we write these lines, the prices of stocks have fallen precipitously and masses of small investors are seeing their savings washed away.

Hard to believe, but only five years ago, under Labor leadership, Israel's economy was moving ahead vigorously. The national debt was decreasing, imports were declining, exports growing, poverty was in steady decline.

Now, five years later, we can see the Likud government providing a modern version of the Roman "bread (American) and circuses," That Lebanse circus has cost hundreds of dead and thousands wounded and crippled. All these the Israel's present government calls "correct policies" and "correct economics."

As long as the faucets of the American dollars remain open it may be possible to delude the Israel citizen that everything is going fine, but the bottom is not far away.

has already been done — Editors). Too bad that it was expressed in closing the schools instead of in some more constructive manner. There was, however, apparently no escape from the strike because the struggle is becoming a battle for principles, a fundamental one.

It is now the battle of a public that is becoming conscious of its ability to be a subject of the State of Israel, instead of only an object of treatment. This must be directed into constructive channels, without looking for excuses in Homeini-ism, PLO-ism, etc., if we want to build a real bridge, instead of one of words alone over the chasm that is widening before our eyes.

# POINTS OF VIEW

#### Soviet Missiles in Damascus

Information from American intelligence sources tells of a first shipment of SAM-5 missiles to Syria from the USSR. When we were first informed a month ago about the presence of missile sites near Damascus it was still not clear whether the USSR would really supply the missiles as well. Now largel faces a situation which, according to American definition, is a real threat to its security.

Security circles in Israel are, for some reason, attempting to play down the importance of these missiles, arguing that they are outmoded and inaccurate. That does not, however, contradict the fact that the missiles can hit almost any target in Israel's skies.

There is, of course, no reason to create alarm over the new weapon in the hands of a country hostile to Israel; the possible dangers, however, should also not be ignored. About one month ago the Chief-of-Staff and other security sources disseminated the view that the shipment of missiles to Syria might have been intended by the Russians to restrain the Syrians from acts of war against Israel. That assumption, actually still only a guess, is based on the fact that Syria would now feel itself stronger but would also be more dependent upon Soviet guidance. The Soviet Union, according to that same assumption, does not want another Syrian defeat, but is interested in the possibility of joining the political processes in the area.

That may be reasonable; however, the opposite is no less reasonable: the Soviet Union is supplying the SAM-5 missiles not to restrain the Syrians but to encourage them to go to war against Israel and thereby to redeem the honor of Soviet arms.

One thing is undeniable: Syria's intensified rearmement is a direct result of the Lebanon War that supposedly was intended to enhance Israel's security. We still do not know how the Lebanese chapter will be concluded and when the Israel Defense Forces will move out; meanwhile, however, clouds are gathering on our northern border with Syria; the additional "security profit" of the Lebanese war. "Al Hamishmar", January 19, 1983

## How to Come to Africa

The Minister of Defense has gone off to Zaire with his scores of followers, newspapermen and all the rest of the show Ariel Sharon likes to put on.

Certainly, it is very important for Israel to return to Africa after the long rupture in diplomatic relations. The question, however, is how are we to re-enter Africa?

One road is the constructive and practical one, the one that bore fruit in the past: agricultural guidance and assistance, medical and educational services, assistance in rehabilitating countries that were exploited and enslaved for generations. Israel, a small country not involved in the conflicts of the powers, peace-seeking and bringing progress, is one thing. Israel Sharon-style, coming to establish military alliances against "enemies at home and abroad", to provide mercenaries and services to rulers hated by their own peoples and isolated from the world at large and the third world in particular, is something else. In their worst dreams Israelis never imagined that Israel, the "light unto the gentiles", was going to be like that.

January 19, 1983

### 100 Years Terror — and War!

The other day the Israeli public heard an apoclyptic statement by the Prime Minister's Advisor in the war against terror. Said Advisor Rafael Eitan (not the Chief-of-staff): "We can expect another 100 years of terror." We don't know on what facts he came to that blunt conclusion that means not only the continuation of terror for additional generations but also a long series of wars between ourselves and the Arab countries.

The assumption behind that bleak forecast is, of course, that the disputes between Israel and the Arab countries and the Palestinian problem, will not find

# ADDICTION TO THE SUPERFLUOUS

by Yehoshua Sobol

In the moment of shock after some miraculously avoided catastrophe we suddenly see things very clearly. We stand open-eyed before all the superfluous in our lives, the wasted energy, the wasted telephone calls, the unnecessary discussions, the unnecessary efforts to obtain things without value or importance. In that so precious moment you can discover how much of your life you have been wasting on things you could do without and how little time and vitality you have devoted to things that were really essential and important,

Who is a Jew? That is a very important matter... a vital one. Converted according to Halakha (Jewish religious code) or not, truly a subject we cannot ignore these days. Just think: hundreds of thousands of people are actually knocking at our doors, wanting to immigrate and become citizens of Israel. There is a terrible danger: among these hundreds of thousands flocking at our gates there are tens of thousands who were converted to Judaism by Reform or Conservative rabbis. This creates a veritable danger of the country being flooded by tens of thousands of persons whose Judaism, according to Halakha, God forbid, would make infinite trouble for us, In view of that terrible situation there is really a very urgent need, at least according to the Orthodox amongst us, to determine swiftly and clearly that a Jew is only someone who was born of a Jewish mother or was converted according to Halakha. Something we absolutely cannot do without!

Do we have to experience a possible catastrophe to see that Agudat Israel is burdening our people with some superfluous foolishness, a matter we can live without. To deal with this is a pathological addiction to the totally superfluous.

#### **Inability to Face Real Problems**

Where does this addiction to the superfluous come from? Generally from the inability to face our really existential problems. In that way an economy sick with malignant inflation occupies itself with changing the currency, and a society plagued by the need for housing for young couples builds villas on foreign occupied territory which one day will undoubtedly be returned to its inhabitants. In that same way, this country, where immigration has almost stopped completely, deals pathologically with the absurd question of who is a Jew. Our State, which has one very vital interest and that is to resolve the decades-old dispute with the Palestinian people and to come to peace with it, engages in another and completely unnecessary war against that people.

How can we explain that pathological addiction? By occupying ourselves with superfluous things, easier to do, we create the illusion of seeming to deal with the true issues. The addiction to the superfluous leaves us with a temporary psychological profit. That was the way it was, from the viewpoint of inflation, when the lira was replaced by the shekel. The Lebanon War is the same non-solution for the Palestinian problem. The government does what is easier and puts off the single effective act: cut out all wastage in the government's budget and consumption and return to sanity.

Or take the development towns. Their problems have all been solved. Prosperous factories are operating in all of them and there is no unemployment or lack of housing. The same holds true for neighborhoods in distress; the government has satisfied the needs of young families for apartments, and our rich country has no place to pour the surplus billions filling its coffers. So, what do we do? We establish settlements beyond the green line, pave roads throughout the West Bank, build "colonies" of private homes on every high hill between Hebron and Jenin.

Here, true, catastrophe has not yet befallen us, that is, if the Yamit affair was not catastrophe enough. Afterwards everyone will suddenly see clearly what the Israel Government was doing in these fateful years: wasting our people's strength, vitality and money on something totally unnecessary, superfluous and even harmful. Every minute of our life, every drop of perspiration, every penny, every effort invested today beyond the green line is superfluous and at the expense of vital needs that are not fulfilled. We are being addicted to superfluity.

Consider the activity of the "Bourse" (stock-market). That is really a most vital place, bringing our country great gains! What is it other than something completely superfluous in the conditions in which we live?

This addiction to the superfluous characterizes the mentality of our present government. It is reflected in small matters as well as in large ones. The demand that Knesset Members wear jackets and, God forbid, not appear in sandals, belongs to this madness. We can also add the ridiculous ideas raised by the present government earlier to celebrate the state's 30th birthday, with elaborate and costly military ceremonies, fortunately rescinded.

#### **Jackets in Knesset**

Superfluous and incomparably harmful was the decision to ground El-Al on the sabbath at a time when the company was burdened by a tremendous deficit; superfluous too was the liquidation of El-Al in order to change its name, once again involving tremendous waste. And what can we say of Yamit which was razed to the ground instead of being sold to the Egyptians? A wasteful and superfluous action — oh how superfluous!" This long list of superfluous actions was joined by the grandiose birthday party held for Menahem Begin in the midst of the superfluous war.

Here we arrive at the most serious of all the superfluous actions of this government that was elected thanks to the superfluous bombing of the Iraqi reactor and the reduced taxes on color televisions, grabbed like hot cakes by people who want to endow themselves with all kinds of superfluous trash generously donated by the government.

Yes, the peak was the Lebanon War, a war which we could have done without, that was completely unnecessary after a whole year of almost total quiet on the northern border. As time passes the superfluity of this war becomes more and more evident as not serving any vital need of the State of Israel or its people.

# President Navon's Message to American Jews

By Lennie Fritsch

We Israelis were filled with great expectations when we learned of President Yitzhak Navon's impending visit to the United States. Despite the "great debate" filling Israel's headlines and conversations, our president's personality and attitudes stand as symbols of the elusive national consensus we are always seeking and are unable to attain.

What better medicine, we thought, for the virus of disagreement and rancor which has infected our people in Israel and in the diaspora, than to give them a dose of Navon? He would pour oil on our troubled waters, bring the message of unity to the Jews of America and present Israel as it deserves to be shown to the world. There was no question in our mind, not the slightest doubt from any political quarter, that only good could come from this American tour of the Israeli president and his attractive first lady, Ofira.

The day of departure came and they were accompanied to the airport by almost every notable in the Israeli constellation. Seeing them off were the Prime Minister, government ministers, top military personel, Knesset Members, even Israel's Chief Rabbis Shlomo Goren and Ovadia Yosef.

We watched their progress in the United States nightly on television and read of it in the papers. We nodded in contented approval, seeing him charm Ronald Reagan in the White House and there were even those among us who allowed ourselves to fantasize (seeing the two presidents in close conversation) about Navon in a future role that would be far more influential and decisive than the one he fills today.

Message to Jews

Still, there was a crisis and, to our amazement, it was brought about by the president himself. Yitzhak Navon seems to have burned the midnight oil prior to his American tour and asked himself what message must he bring to the Jews of America, the largest, most affluent Jewish community in the world? The answer he finally gave was clear. It came from his mentor of many years, David Ben-Gurion, and it came from his own irrefutable logic, that the Jews of America want to participate in fulfilling Israel's most serious needs. That, he decided, would be what he would ask of them.

And so, his theme chosen, he proceeded to expound it on his rounds of the Jewish communities in the U.S. What Israel needs today, he said, is not financial support, though that is very much appreciated as a symbol of involvement in the State. What Israel needs is Jews. As simple as that! His message was: If you want a life of fulfillment and satisfaction as a Jew and as a human being; if you want to do something that can influence Jewish fate and the fate of the State of Israel; if you want to accomplish something truly meaningful, then what you must do is come and participate in the every day life of Israel. History is determined by the day-to-day life of every nation. That, then, was the mes-

"Why Us?"

We wish fondly that we could conclude this report with a "happy ending," that the Jews who heard Navon's message were inspired; that they realized they had a mission which would not only secure the future of the Jewish people but would also give them the personal fulfillment and contentment they seek. And that they came...

From the reports we have received here, that was, sadly, not the case. Rather, we were told, the President's words were met with discomfort. Pregnant silence fell over the audience that heard them. People looked at one another with raised eyebrows: What does he want of us? Doesn't he realize...? How can I as an individual...? And all the rest

All of which brings us to the conclusion that we, in all humility, have a message for President Navon: We praise your efforts in America; you said what had to be said and did what had to be done. It is the only message of worth to the Jews of the world today. And it is for all of us, from the President of Israel to the kibbutznik, soldier, worker, to deliver, over and over again. The answer to that message lies in the hearts and minds of those you spoke to in what my grandparents once called "the goldene medinah." We can only hope, for our sakes as well as theirs, that many who hear the message will find the correct answer.

Lennie Fritsch of Kibbutz Maabarot is Director of the English Language Desk of the World Union of Mapam.

# The Israel We Never Wanted (And Must Make Sure that it Won't Be)

"Ashkenazim to Auschwitz!"

It is hard to believe, but Jewish hands wrote these terrible words decorated with swastikas on the Jerusalem Theater and on other buildings in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. In my mind's eye I see the files of Jews being led to the "bathhouses" of Auschwitz. In their last moments many of them thought of the Eretz Israel which they would never see. Forty years later, in sovereign Israel, Jewish hands did not tremble in committing their mad acts.

Mark Gefen, Editor, "Al-Hamishmar"

### Poll: Majority for Government to Continue Despite Committee of Investigation Results By Shuki Ben-Ami

Fifty-two percent of Israel's public believe that the government does not have to resign even if the Commission of Inquiry on the massacre in Lebanon finds it guilty on the political level. This was the finding of a poll conducted by the "Dahaf" Research Institute edited by Dr. Mina Zemach.

The survey also examined views on whether the Committee had the authority to examine the government's actions; 64 percent agreed, 32 percent were opposed.

# 45% of All Children West of Jordan — Non-Jewish By Yitzhak Schorr.

Knesset Correspondent

Non-Jews form 36 percent of the population of all of Eretz Israel west of the Jordan (former Palestine). However, non-Jewish children 0-14 years of age comprise 45 percent of all children in that same area.

The Chairman of the Immigration and Integration Committee said that for the long range these figures were very significant, MK Geulah Cohen said that the Alignment was attempting to face the "demographic danger" by evacuating Judea and Samaria instead of encouraging births. MK Imri Ron (Alignment-Mapam) said that during the past fifteen years there had been no significant change in the proportions between Jews and Arabs in Eretz Israel west of the Jordan. Statistician Prof. Robert Bacchi replied to this by saying that Arab emigration from the occupied territories in recent years had not been studied.

## "Peace Now" and Distressed Neighborhoods Protest Together

About two thousand "Peace Now" activists, people from the distressed neighborhoods, members of the "Shahak" movement in Ir-Ganim in Jerusalem and the "Panthers" from Musrara, sealed the entrances to Efrat, the community under construction near the Gush Etsion area. They were protesting against the diversion of resources to West Bank settlements instead of to aid to the distressed areas.

The members of the movement posted placards in the entrances to the community and carried signs saying: "Ir-Ganim is also an inseparable part of the State of Israel." The police were present but not intervene.

"Peace Now" is planning additional and similar actions with the cooperation of inhabitants of the distressed areas who are now working closely with the movement.

#### 100 Years of Terror

"We are being promised 100 years of terror," said Aliza Amir, Secretary of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation. She called on the public to listen to what the soldiers sent on police actions were saying. Avraham Burg, son of Interior Minister Yosef Borg, arrived at the meeting with other religious protesters after the Sabbath. He said that not everything that is good for Eretz Israel is also good for the people of Israel.

Dada Ben-Shitritt of the "Shahak" movement said that the battle for peace was mainly the struggle of the exploited and underpriviledged sections of Israel's population.

## Jews and Arabs Team Together

A Jewish-Arab workshop was established in Givat Haviva, at the initiative of the Youth Section and the Institute for Arab Studies. The workshop is based on teamwork by 20 young Jewish and Arab participants of both sexes, members of the Alignment parties or sympathizers, and its goal is to formulate a model for Jewish-Arab coexistence based on shared values and social experiences.

Moshe Shavit and Mohammad Watad, the workshop's initiators and directors, are planning two additional workshops in Eastern and Western Galilee, under the guidance of experienced psychologists. It has been decided that the workshop's participants would hold their meetings in the villages, kibbutzim and cities, with Givat Haviva serving as the petitive center.

# To Build in the Occupied Territories?

Recent weeks have seen a vigorous debate within the Histadrut, its Hevrat Ovdim cooperative and constructive enterprises and the Labor Party. The discussion came as a result of criticisms of the Histadrut-owned Solel Boneh Building Company and of the Yuval Gad prefab construction company (an auxiliary of the Histadrut's Koor industrial combine) for taking an active part in building operations in the West Bank, Some Labor party leaders, especially Yossi Sarid, and Mapam, had demanded an end to this activity.

The Hevrat Ovdim directorate adopted a resolution allowing Solel Boneh and Yuval Gad to continue building activities in the occupied territories.

"The board of directors therefore determines that Hevrat Ovdim's building firms must be concerned to guarantee employment for their workers and therefore to accept projects offered by government ministries and other bodies working according to law." The resolution was adopted after a stormy debate and some of the opponents immediately anounced that they would appeal to the Hevrat Ovdim Council meeting at the end of this month.

#### No — for Populated Areas

Other resolutions adopted were:

The Board of Directors affirms that as a result of the allotment of resources that the Israel Government is making to settlement-building and substructure in the densely Arab populated regions of the West Bank, there has been much damage to the development areas in the north and south and to the welfare of the hundreds of thousands of inhabitants who came to them in answer to the policies of the Israeli government."

"In keeping with its outlook and its social commitments Hevrat Ovdim will strive to guarantee employment for workers in building and industry... The workers economy will not initiate projects for settlements in densely Arab-populated areas in Judea and Samaria and will not take part in activities of a speculative character."

The Mapam resolution which was not adopted stated that "the workers economy should not invest and not initiate projects and not be a partner to investments and initiatives, in building, development and settlement in the Occupied Territories and will not participate in activities of a speculative character."

## So Very Long Ago?

It was a long time ago:

One and one were two,

There was laughter

And the skies were blue

And we loved our neighbors

as ourselves.

It was a long time ago:

We did not count our sorrows

and tears.

And all our paths

Led straight ahead.

And we did not yet hurt with

our neighbors as with ourselves.

Was that really so very long ago?

**Dina Shachar** Kibbutz Hatzor

## Meet With Arafat

At the conclusion of a meeting between a delegation from the Israel Council for Israel-Palestine Peace and the PLO leadership, that took place in January in Tunisia, the following joint statement was issued.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat has met with a delegation on behalf of the Israel Council for Israel-Palestine Peace, composed of Gen. (rcs.) Matityahu Peled, Uri Ayneri and Dr. Yaakov Arnon.

Participating on the Palestinian side were Dr. Abu Mazan, member of the PLO Executive Committee, Dr. Issam Sartawi and Mr. Imad Shakur.

The meeting surveyed the situation in the Middle East in depth and also examined paths for joint action for lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

Chairman Arafat expressed his appreciation for the role played by the Israeli peace forces and their campaign for a just and stable peace.

A Shelli spokesman has declared that the meeting with the PLO heads was not conducted with its agreement or knowledge and that the subject had not been discussed in advance in any Shelli institution.

# Lebanese Palestinians Want to Talk to Israelis

A number of South Lebanese Palestinians serving in the committee providing assistance for Palestine refugees in Southern Lebanon have expressed their desire to meet with Israeli citizens in Lebanon and in Israel, and also with representatives of the Israeli public, in order to discuss the fate of the Palestinian people and possible solutions.

# Histadrut Warns Against Growing Social Divisions

The Central Committee of the Hisadrut has warned against the results of the growing polarity in Israeli society, as shown by the report published by the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Research Department of the National Insurance Institute showing growing gaps and the rise in the number of families living below the poverty line. It also warned against the implications of the new Government Budget for 1983.

Histadrut General-Secretary Yeruham Meshel stressed that 1982 had been the worst year from the economic point of view that Israel had ever known. The Minister of the Treasury and his advisors, Mr. Meshel said, know this but they allow themselves the luxury of self-delusion. The Histadrut, he said, cannot remain quiet in view of the situation. Of special concern are the worsening balance of payments and debt burden, on the one hand, and the growing differences in Israeli society, on the other.

#### **Sensitive Sectors Hurt**

General Secretary Meshel also pointed out that Israeli unemployment was concentrated in three very sensitive areas:
— in the development towns, among young demobilized soldiers, and among new immigrants. The Minister of the Treasury must provide an answer for the inhabitants of the development towns who form 10 percent of the population but suffer 30 percent of the unemployment.

He also stressed the growing dimensions of poverty in Israel, more than doubling in the last four years, from 2.8 percent to 6 percent, with poor children forming 8.4 percent of the total child population. These, he said, are the fruits of policies continued over the past six years and reflected year after year in budgets divorced from any sensitivity for social problems.

Yeruham Meshel rejected the demand that Hevrat Ovdim (Histadrut productive sector) initiate the establishment of new enterprises, pointing out that Hevrat Ovdim's enterprises had been hurt by government policies, just like those of the other sectors. They were doing everything possible to hold on to what they have and to avoid firing workers because of lack of employment.

Committee member Aliza Shefi, head of the Histadrut's social insurance section, said that the figures published by the Central Bureau of Statistics provide crushing proof that the situation is bad

## POINTS OF VIEW

their solutions for at last another 99 years. Unintentionally, the forecast also is a condemnation of the Likud government that will not be able to achieve peace with the neighboring countries or come to terms with the Palestinians...

Anyone who is convinced that the dispute in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab peoples will continue for another 100 years is actually, without sensing it, posing a question of the very existence of the State of Israel itself. How many more wars will we be able to bear and what will the Middle East be like in another few decades if peace is not achieved before then? Will Israel really be able to maintain its military superiority during decades of wide demographic and technological changes?

That forecast is based on the unwillingness to give up any territory in order to achieve a peaceful settlement and not talking to our neighbors. A dark "prospect" indeed, which must be abrogated by changing the present policies and replacing those holding the wheel of government.

Al Hamishmar", January 12, 1983

Soldiering Debased

Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan is a tough and proud soldier. His virtuousity, displayed over many years, has lain in battle: planning, managing and leading men in battle. Hardened by 35 years of martial achievement in the service of Israel's security and on behalf of the ideals of Israel's army, he would be unable to see himself as a victim. And yet victim he has become, like the society as a whole, to the corrosive effects of military occupation, which remains the correct description of Israel's control of the West Bank.

How else can be characterized the directives he issued last April to Israel's troops on the West Bank? These directives were revealed last week in a military court that is itself hearing a case involving charges of brutality against Israeli officers and men.

The directives were issued in order to curb the widespread unrest that was then current in Judea and Samaria. The aim, in other words, was to restore social order. The means advocated were nothing of which the nation or the chief of staff himself can be proud: systematic harassment, expulsion, collective punishment, arbitrary imprisonment, punishment of parents for activities of children, economic sanctions against whole villages, and more.

In a more innocent time, Israelis could all identify with Golda Meir's well-known dictum that she could forgive our Arab foes everything, but the fact that they forced our sons to kill their sons. On the West Bank the demoralizing dialogue of occupation banishes the ideals and sensitivities that Israel and the Israel army were able to uphold despite the pressures of war.

There the usages of repression, not the grammar of battle, absorb Israeli troops and their commanders. There the arts of violence are practiced not to defeat an opposing army but to make docile a civilian population bestirred to political resistance.

On such a mission no army can long keep its virtues and values intact. It falls victim to the evils of suppression. The chief of staff, at the end of a distinguished military career, has reflected the inevitability and tragedy of the process.

"Jerusalem Post", January 23, 1983

today not only for the state but also for many citizens. We find that there is a trend for the social differences to widen more and more as a consequence of government economic policies, she said.

She pointed out that from the figures for 1982 we find that there is less investment in resources for social welfare. The government has been adopting a selective social and economic policy giving advantages to the wealthier sectors but not at all trying to stem the growth of economic and social gaps.

### 15 Robots for Kibbutzim

Fifteen new robots will be introduced into kibbutz industry in the coming year, with the aim of improving production processes, especially in the metal and plastic industries. The robot era in the kibbutzim began about two years ago; preliminary surveys have already been carried out in 50 kibbutzim. The Union of Kibbutz Industry has also established a new department to operate in this field.

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AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

# World Union and Foreign Relations

Socialist Youth Congress in Spain

Mapam's Young People's Section has been invited to take part in the Socialist Youth Congress in Spain. The Foreign Relations Department hopes that this will be an opportunity to reach political understanding and lay the foundations for future cooperation between the two parties. It will also provide an opportunity to intensify links with the local Jewish population and especially Jewish youth. Danny Kayt, Yehuda Zur and the shaliach to France, Yitzhak Shtchupek, will be

> World Jewish Congress **Executive Committee**

The annual meeting of the World Jewish Congress leadership is convening at the beginning of February in Washington. The fact that the meeting is now

being held in Washington reflects the desire of its President and the American leadership to make it a sounding board for political issues such as the Reagan Plan and ways to move the peace process ahead. World Union Secretary Heini Bornstein will be Mapam's member of the Israeli delegation. Mapam members will also be coming from other countries.

## MK Elazar Granot to the **United States**

MK Elazar Granot (Alignment-Mapam) will be the guest Israeli speaker at the API's Annual Dinner. He will spend a week in the United States and his visit will be utilized for political talks and meetings with the press.

**Activities Abroad** 

Americans for Progressive Israel (API) and the affiliated Mordechai Anielewicz Circle held their annual Leadership Conference on January 28-29. Heini Bornstein, Elazar Granot and Jewish Agency Member Avraham Schenker took

London — forty members participated in a political and ideological seminar. Mapam European representative Aryeh Yaffe took part

Denmark - A European seminar will take place on April 2, 3, 4. Preparations for this seminar of Mapam Young People in Europe are already under way. Details may be obtained from French emissary Yitzhak Shtchupek in Paris. A delegation from the Israel Young Generation will be present.

European secretariats of parties and groups affiliated with the World Union will convene at the beginning of April, probably in Brussels.

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