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# Progressive Israel

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This special issue of Progressive Israel is a compilation of two issues that were produced over the summer, and contains articles published just before and after the Israeli national elections on July 23rd. The National Offices of Americans for Progressive Israel (API) prepared this special issue in the hopes that we would be able to fill-in some gaps in our members' and friends' analyses of the summer elections, and the implications of the results for all of Israeli society.

A few articles -- notable the one below, reprinted from the International Edition of The Jerusalem Post of September 16-22, 1984 -- have also been printed in these pages, and we hope that readers find them of interest and value.

The editor of Progressive Israel, Aaron Alperin, having been called-up for reserve (military) duty near the end of August, and currently on leave from both the IDF and the "movement" in Israel, will be back in Israel producing Progressive Israel in the near future. In the meantime, all correspondence should be sent to the address shown on page 11.

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## Massive Mapam vote to quit the Alignment

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The left-wing of the Labour Alignment went its own way last week, rejecting the national unity government. The Mapam central committee last week voted overwhelmingly to establish a separate Knesset faction. Mapam has six MKs. And Labour left-winger MK Yossi Sarid has concluded an agreement with the Citizens Rights Movement for the establishment of a parliamentary bloc.

More than 300 Mapam committee members voted for the decision with only six dissenting.

The decision dissolves the 15-year-old Alignment partnership between Mapam and the Labour Party. However, the committee approved a resolution that Mapam will continue its partnership with Labour in the Histadrut, the local authorities and "every other place in which the two

parties are lined up against the Likud."

The committee further decided that Mapam will "seek new avenues of cooperation with the Labour Party, in the event of the national unity government breaking up."

Sarid predicted last week that a 10-member parliamentary bloc -- comprising himself, the three CRM seats and the six Mapam seats -- would be established within a week. It would be an active "fighting opposition," he promised.

Mapam's action was described by party secretary Victor Shemtov as a "decision with fateful consequences for the labour movement and the country." It was taken after an emotional four-hour meeting. The tone was set from the outset by Shemtov, who, in an eloquent speech, summed up Mapam's opposition to Labour's pact with the Likud and its hopes for the future.

Shemtov attacked the guidelines of the government, the decision to establish two "inner cabinets" and the concession of all the important economic portfolios to the Likud. The guidelines on economic matters are very general and allow for the implementation of many "anti-social and anti-worker steps," Shemtov said.

Despite his attacks on Labour, Shemtov stressed that Mapam sees the Labour Party as its "natural" partner. "The Alignment is dead and buried," he said, "but we will continue to look for ways to work with Labour. Next time we will talk to them from a position of strength."

Shemtov and many of the other speakers called for a new, rejuvenated Mapam, which would serve as the nexus of Zionist socialism.

Among the 30-odd speakers at the meeting were the party's Knesset Members and veteran Mapam leader Ya'acov Hazan, who described the moment of dissolution as "a black day." There is no alternative but to split from the Alignment, "if Mapam wants to retain its honour," Hazan said.

Prime Minister Peres devoted a good part of his address to the Labour party political bureau last week to an attack on Mapam.

The Labour Party central committee voted 394 to 166 to approve the unity agreement.

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 ELECTIONS '84: ALIGNMENT AND REALIGNMENT

By Eric Lee

Who won the Israeli elections of 1984? Note carefully: I am not asking who gets to form the governing coalition. The two issues are not identical. The Israeli media seemed to give the victory to the Likud, and foreign journalists agreed with them. But is that really the case?

I will make the case that the 1984 elections brought about a minor realignment in Israeli politics. There were changes in all three major voting blocs, right, left and religious. A study of the three blocs will indicate that far from winning, the right lost badly in these elections.

And not only the right. The religious parties allied with the Likud government also took a beating. In fact, every party associated with the governing coalition with the sole exception of Tehiya suffered losses.

Taken in the context of Israeli political history, in the history of recent elections, there is good news on every front.

Let's start with the right itself. The Likud coalition, like its forerunners going back to the 1949 election, had never suffered reverses. It marched from election to election ever confident of gains. In recent years the trend was especially marked in this direction. The 1973 election following the Yom Kippur War brought the Likud to the very brink of power, winning them 39 seats. In 1977, with only 4 new seats added, they had won enough to form the government. In the 1981 elections in which the Alignment won gains of more than 200,000 new votes, the Likud also picked up seats, bringing them up to 48 seats in the Knesset.

Now, forget the optimistic polls for a moment. Forget the pollsters and prophets who spoke of a Likud with only 37 or 38 Knesset seats in 1984. The reality is that for the first time in Israeli political history the Likud vote fell -- and fell by more than 57,000 votes. The Likud would up with only 41 Knesset seats, fewer than at any time since the 1973 elections.

Add to that the more than 30,000 votes won by Moshe Dayan's Telem party in 1981, votes which disappeared in 1984, and the massive losses of the religious parties, and we can begin to see the scope of the government's defeat.

Not only the Likud, but the right as a whole took a beating. In spite of the addition of 2 more seats (and some 38,000 new votes) to Tehiya, and the selection of Rabbi Meir Kahane (with about 25,000 new votes), the overall bloc of rightist seats declined from 51 in 1981 to 47 in 1984.

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 INDEPENDENT PALESTINE NO DANGER TO ISRAEL

An independent Palestinian state established within the framework of a peace agreement with Israel is the solution to the Middle East conflict which least endangers Israel's security. This is one of the conclusions in a study undertaken by the National Security College of Israel four years ago.

At least that's what Col. (Reserve) Ron Cohen told students at "Tel Aviv" University in an open meeting recently. When asked, "If you were defense minister what policy would you enact regarding the territories?" Cohen, a candidate for the Knesset on the Citizens Rights Movement list, responded by saying that two teams of researchers studied this question recently. One at the National Security College, which looked into military aspects of an independent Palestinian state, and whose conclusions were not looked upon favorably by the politicians. The second team was at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies of Tel Aviv University, and it reached similar conclusions.

The report of the academic team was published in a book written by American researcher Mark Heller, entitled--"A Palestinian State: Its Consequences for Israel." The book, released last year in English by Harvard University Press, caused quite a commotion in the U.S., but for some reason caused no stirrings in Israel. A Hebrew version is due to be released shortly.

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"SONG OF THE DOVE"

More than 70,000 gathered at Horshat Tal in the Upper Galilee on the Shavuot holiday to celebrate the music festival -- "Song of the Dove."

Organized by the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement, the festival brought together dozens of Israel's best known artists and lesser known musicians from the kibbutz movement in a 30-hour musical marathon.

Shalomi Sheked, secretary-general of Hashomer Hatzair, noted that it was not by coincidence that the Galilee was chosen to host the event, rather because the area holds a double meaning when talking about peace.

A special effort was made to keep the festival a-political. Proof of this was seen in the appearance of Kiryat Shimona's mayor, Prosper Ezran of the Likud. Ezran warmly thanked the tens of thousands who gathered in the Upper Galilee for the first time in decades for an event of such magnitude. He called the gathering a step in the road to peace and to breaking the cultural barriers between different groups in Israel.

Many Kiryat Shimona residents who participated in the festival noted enthusiastically that since they have been living in the Galilee they had not witnessed another evening like this one.

The religious partners in the Likud's government suffered major losses. Tami lost some 13,000 votes and fell to only 1 kneset seat. The National Religious Party lost 25,000 votes. The NRP is, in fact, steadily disappearing from the Israeli political map. In 1977 it won twelve seats, or fully 10 per cent of the vote. By 1981 it had fallen to 6 seats. In 1984 its leaders were content, indeed overjoyed, that the party was able to hold on to 4 Kneset seats. The biggest loss for a government coalition partner was that suffered by the non-Zionist Agudat Yisrael party -- which fell to only 2 Kneset seats and lost no less than 37,000 votes.

The religious parties as a whole are suffering a historic crisis. In the 1973 elections they received 15 seats, divided among 2 parties. In 1977, a slight gain to 17 seats, but now there were 3 parties. In 1981 they fell to 13 seats, divided among 3 religious parties. And now, though holding on to the 13 seats, they are divided among no fewer than five religious parties.

The news on the left was, on the whole, good. It is true that the Alignment wanted and expected more votes. The Alignment managed to gain only about 16,000 new votes over 1981, and therefore suffered a loss of 3 Kneset seats (the size of the electorate has grown). But the group of parties which the Alignment heads, which could be called the "peace camp," has been growing steadily.

In 1977, these parties (I include the Alignment, Shinui, Citizens Rights, Communists, Sheli and the Progressives) won 41 seats. By 1981 that had grown to 54 seats. This time, 56 seats. With only four more seats, a Likud-led government would have been impossible.

Within the peace camp, the votes of the parties which are more dovish than the Alignment rose dramatically. Of some 92,500 new votes gained by the peace camp in the 1984 elections, only 10,000 gained by the Alignment and the Communists. The rest -- fully 82,500 votes, or the equivalent of five Kneset seats -- went to three non-Communist, dovish parties: Citizens Rights, Shinui and the Progressive Peace List. The rise of opposition parties which are more dovish than the Alignment should be sending a loud and clear message to Mapam. Those parties grew from 8 seats in 1977 to 12 in 1984; the non-Communist parties among them growing from 3 seats in 1977 and 1981 to eight seats in 1984.

The shift to the left occurred in three critical areas. In the cities there was a shift toward the Alignment, including a critically important victory in Tel Aviv, for the first time ever. There were also major gains for the Alignment in Haifa and other cities. In the kibbutz movement there were major gains for Citizens Rights; in a few kibbutzim more dovish parties actually polled more votes than the Alignment though the average was a high 12 per cent throughout the movement. Finally, the Arab vote swung left, with some 37,500 votes going from the Alignment and the Communists to the Progressive Peace List.

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To sum up, Israeli politics has realigned once more. That realignment, though partially at the expense of the traditional dominant party (Labor) is, on the whole, positive from the point of view of the left and peace movements. The right suffered major losses not compensated for by the gains by the extremists of Kahane or Tehiya. The religious parties are more divided than ever before, sharing a tenth of the electorate among five separate factions. The National Religious Party, formerly the dominant force in the religious bloc, holds less than a third of the religious votes. Finally, the left and particularly the bloc of dovish parties outside of the Alignment -- Communists, Progressives, Citizens Rights and Shinui -- showed gains in all sectors.

Who won the Israeli elections of 1984? History will decide that for us. If the largest and most powerful faction to the left of the Labour Party, Mapam, learns the lessons of the 1984 elections and applies those lessons, this vote will have been but a prelude for sweeping changes in the Israeli political scene.

(The author is a member of Kibbutz Ein Dor and edits the democratic socialist quarterly, The New International Review.)

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 ELECTIONS '84: NO MORE TAIL WAGGING  
 By Rubik Rosenthal

Once again the kibbutz movement went out to labour on election day, and returned with a sheaf of thorns. "The conception" of the Alignment high priests determined that the kibbutz is not marketable. So, the kibbutznikim were tread upon the the nominating process and afterwards in the election campaign.

The kibbutznikim reacted in three ways:

- Despite everything, they continued to work and lost themselves in the campaign.
- They accepted the message of face value, and went to sleep.
- Or the strongest reaction, they turned to the smaller parties (Citizens Rights and

Shinui).

It is high time to say loud and clear to the clic of generals running the Labour Party: A political party which attempts to be nothing more than an efficient governing instrument, and not an influential movement with social value, is doomed to wither on the vine.

The Likud survived despite its awful mistakes because it is the only major movement which offers its many supporters a political home, a sense of belonging and identity. On the left, only the small parties fill this role. The Labour Party does not. It does not fit into "the conception."

Labour operates on the basis of manipulations, it tries to capture the government through political maneuvers, bland propaganda, public-opinion polls, defections by other parties' Knesset members, and, in the end, "the conception." None of this works, it hasn't in the past, and it didn't in the '84 election, which was the labour movement's golden opportunity to return to power. It doesn't work because of "the conception," at the heart of which was the well-planned camouflage of the kibbutzim.

We must tell Mssrs. Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin, Mordechai Gur, Haim Bar-Lev, and, to my dismay, Yossi Sarid, that this will never work. If the kibbutznikim don't work with all their heart, there will not be an election campaign. And if the people seek out the kibbutznikim, rather than lying in wait for them, and they sense that the Alignment is hiding that which characterizes it more than anything else -- they won't vote Labour.

On that sad evening at the Palace Hotel in Tel Aviv (Alignment campaign headquarters), Mota Gur praised the kibbutznikim. That was kind, but the timing was not coincidental. Gur withdrew the kibbutz movement from its hiding place when he thought the time was right. It was only a few hours later that he heard about the thousands of votes which went to the small parties in the kibbutzim. He already knew about the damage which "the conception" had caused to their work in the field -- if he wanted to know.

Perhaps he realized, and others with him that sooner or later the kibbutz movement will cease to be the Labour Party's mistreated mistress.

(The author is editor of Al HaMishmar's weekend magazine, Hotam.)

ELECTIONS '84: A SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS  
By Dr. Avraham Rozenkier

The percentage of voters in Israeli elections is among the highest in the democratic world. And there was a high percentage in this election also -- 78 per cent of registered voters. Israeli society is finely attuned to the cataclysmic shifts in the political mood, and conspicuous in this election was political polarization -- 15 factions will be represented in the 11th Knesset.

The votes which drifted from the major blocs to the fringes of the political map gave great bargaining power to the small parties -- Yahad (Weizman), Tami, Ometz and the religious parties. The Alignment won 724,000 votes in 1984, as compared to 708,000 in 1981. While the Likud fell from 718,000 votes in 1981 to 662,000 in 1984 -- a loss of nearly 8 per cent in voter appeal. The Alignment won 44 Knesset seats and 34.9 per cent of the popular vote, and the Likud won 41 seats and 31.9 per cent.

It seems, then, that the Alignment's campaign strategy, which blurred over its stances and prevented sharpening the differences between Labour and the Likud, didn't challenge the Likud's hardcore and didn't set in motion a drift to the Alignment (despite the extreme optimism of the polltakers). Moreover, votes shifted to Ratz and Shinui. In a word, many voters disenchanted with the Likud didn't find their way to Labour, while many Labour supporters abandoned ship.

This is the price which the Alignment paid for three years of shallow opposition and a propaganda campaign which has been characterized as "ideological and political disarmament" by Victor Shemtov, Mapam general-secretary.

Continued on next page

SHDEMOT IN ENGLISH  
By Eric Lee

An invaluable resource for activists abroad remains one of Israel's best kept secrets. I am referring to SHDEMOT, the English language quarterly published collectively by all the kibbutz movements. Twenty-two issues of this superb journal have appeared since 1973, but in spite of eleven years of continuous publishing and the support of all the kibbutz federations, SHDEMOT's circulation can be counted in the hundreds.

I hope this article will induce a number of progressive Israel readers to work to remedy the situation by purchasing SHDEMOT subscriptions and spreading the word around.

First, some facts about the journal. Editors of SHDEMOT have included such prominent kibbutz writers as Muki Tsur and David Twersky. Its current editor, Michael Greenberg, is set to step down later this year and SHDEMOT has been seeking an editor from within the ranks of the Kibbutz Artzi. Members of the editorial board come from a wide range of kibbutzim and there is even a sprinkling of city people as well. Though sharing a name and office with the Hebrew journal SHDEMOT, and occasionally translating from its pages, the magazine is completely independent and has its own style and interests.

SHDEMOT runs original articles, interviews, symposia, translations, reprints, poems, stories and reviews. Among authors whose work has recently appeared: Abba Kovner, David Twersky, Muki Tsur, Ran Cohen, Amos Oz, Mussa Harif, Menachem Rosner, Lennie Fritsch--voices from the kibbutzim today; Lova Eliav, Gadi Yatziv, Meir Pa'il--from the socialist left in Israel; Meir Yaari, Berl Katznelson, A.D. Gordon, and other pioneers of the socialist and kibbutz movements, and world-renowned writers and thinkers such as S.Y. Agnon and Gerschom Schocken...

These names from the past and the present are names which should attract your attention. Are you listening? Every Progressive Israel reader should be SHDEMOT subscriber, should pass the journal around, order bundles of copies, put it into bookstores and libraries. We dare not let this powerful voice of the kibbutz movement remain a secret forever.

Four issues cost \$12, student rate is \$8 and single issues cost \$3. Send your orders to SHDEMOT (English) Beit Takam, 10 Dubnov St., Tel Aviv, Israel. Mention Progressive Israel when you send in your subscription.

No third force arose to exploit the barren ground between the two major camps, which simply eroded. And the Alignment learned that you cannot rely on the force of gravity to attract voters -- without on-going political work or resolute struggle, the Labour Party's historic decline will continue.

True, the wave which the Likud rode to power in 1977 finally broke, but on the other hand it firmed its grasp on a large segment of the public, despite the Lebanon War, 400% inflation and Menachem Begin's self-imposed political exile. No doubt, the Likud has a secure social base and a faithful public because for years it succeeded in imparting a sense of belonging and identity.

RULE OF THE SMALL PARTIES

Neither major party received a mandate to form a government to its own liking -- on the contrary, whoever forms a government will have to pay dearly to its many junior partners. Despite the fact that the Alignment became the largest Knesset faction, the political stalemate resulting from the election is liable to discredit the democratic system and intensify the desire for a "strong man."

In any event, a national unity government is a false magic which can only prolong the political deadlock. Those who expect to obtain legitimacy by virtue of their connection with the Likud only bear witness to the disintegration process at work within the Labour Party, which seeks power to justify its existence rather than as a goal. It is incumbent upon Mapam -- in the event of a national unity government -- to leave the Alignment and become a battling opposition which draws to it the dovish and socialist forces.

THE ETHNIC FACTOR WEAKENED BUT DIDN'T DISAPPEAR

Thirty-one Jews of Oriental origin will serve in the 11th Knesset (see Table), 82 of Ashkenazy origin and 7 Arabs. Most of the Sephardim in the Knesset are from the two major parties. Also, Sephardi representation has constantly risen -- 22 Sephardi members in the 9th Knesset and 27 in the 10th Knesset.

	<u>Ashkenazy</u>	<u>Sephardi</u>	<u>Arabs</u>
ALIGNMENT	32	10	2
LIKUD	30	10	1
NAT'L RELIGIOUS	2	2	
SEPHARDI TORAH			
GUARDIANS (SHASS)		4	
TAMI		1	
TEHIYA	4	1	
YAHAD (WEIZMAN)	1	2	
COMMUNISTS	1	1	2
PROGRESSIVES	1		1
SHINUI	2		1

Despite these statistics the Alignment has not rid itself of the "Ashkenazy establishment" stigma which has haunted it since 1977. The general impression is that the Likud offers a better deal to the Sephardim. And, in fact, the socio-economic profile of voters for both major parties has not changed since 1981. Alignment voters remain more educated, at higher income levels, older and primarily Ashkenazy. The picture for Likud voters is the opposite, they tend to be educated only to the high school level, at lower income levels, younger and of Oriental origin.

More than 70 per cent of Alignment voters were of European origin, while about 60 per cent of Likud voters were Oriental Jews (compared to 70 per cent in 1981). Forty per cent of the registered voters are native-born Israelis -- 60 per cent of the Sabras from European background voted for the Alignment, while 60 per cent of the Sabras from Sephardi origins gave their vote to the Likud.

The ethnic polarization, which reached its peak in 1981, weakened somewhat but the social status factor remained. While two-thirds of Sabras from Oriental families, who only have a high school education, voted Likud in 1984, support for the Likud among Oriental Sabras with a university education fell to one-third!

The relationship between ethnic identity and voting patterns was particularly noticeable in 1981 in the development towns, which are primarily populated by Sephardim. Alignment support there was 29.5 per cent, whereas 49 per cent of the residents voted Likud. In the current campaign this trend continued, even if there was a slight increase in the Alignment vote.

It is evident, therefore, that in this campaign the Alignment reached its natural electoral potential among Ashkenazy voters, but needs to expand its appeal to the Sephardim if it ever wants to obtain an electoral majority.

#### THE YOUNG LEAN TO THE RIGHT

Young people voting for the first time in their lives divided their vote almost evenly between the major parties -- 39 per cent to the Likud and 36 per cent to the Alignment. However, 9 per cent voted Tehiya -- which received 4 per cent of the overall vote and won 5 Knesset seats as compared to 3 seats in 1981. Therefore, the right-wing continues to be more attractive to the Jewish youth. This should not be surprising. A new generation has come of age in "the Greater Israel," and under a Likud government, its settlement policies and national chauvinism. For this generation, governing a foreign people has become matter-of-fact.

No wonder, then, that young, poorly educated Israelis are prone to embrace extreme nationalism. Only a prolonged educational/ideological effort will enable the Labour movement to approach the youth. Lacking this, expected demographic developments -- more Sephardi youth -- will be a stumbling block to the Alignment's return to power.

Evidence to this affect can be seen in the soldiers' vote, where Meir Kahane's "Kach" -- the racist demon which sprang from the well of this election -- received 2.5 per cent of the vote (as compared to 1.2 per cent of the overall vote.) Among soldiers serving in Lebanon Kahane's vote rises to 5 per cent. Moreover, 50 per cent of the soldiers supported right-wing parties, while only 40 per cent voted Alignment, Citizens Rights or Shinui.

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#### FOUR MKs ROUGHED-UP AT TEL MOND PRISON IN AUGUST

According to various reports from eye-witnesses, followers of extremist Rabbi Meir Kahane punched, shoved and jeered four Members of Knesset who tried to visit Tel Mond Prison - north of Tel Aviv - to determine whether or not Jewish terrorist suspects were getting preferential treatment.

On Sunday, August 26th, Kahane - himself a Member of Knesset representing the Kach party - addressed 500 supporters at a rally in the port city of Acco, declaring: "Two months after I become defense minister (sic), there won't be one Arab remaining in this country." That same day, about 29 Kach members attacked four MKs who went to Tel Mond Prison to investigate newspaper reports that Jewish terrorist suspects were receiving preferential treatment, and, according to one press account, "... living in hotel-like conditions."

For about 40 minutes, "we were exposed to threats to 'break our bones,' to pushing and shoving and punches from Kach people," said Mapam MK Ya'ir Tsaban. Journalists on the scene confirmed Tsaban's account.

Tsaban and deputies from the Likud and centrist Shinui faction were refused entry to the jail by then Interior Minister Yosef Burg, but were told that they could visit the prison in a couple of days.

## ELECTIONS '84: KAHANE: A NATIONAL DISGRACE

The problem is not merely Meir Kahane, the main problem is the reaction to Kahane and Kahanism. From within the entire Likud bloc only a lone voice is heard against Kahane -- the coarse voice of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who discounts the possibility of including Kahane in any governing coalition. But where is Yitzhak Shamir? Where are such Likud luminaries as Yigal Cohen-Orgad, Yoram Aridor or Roni Milo? Why are they silent? The silence of the moderate right paved the way for the victory of Nazism. The silence of "the national camp" today grants legitimacy to Kahane.

Kahane and his thugs run amok in Jerusalem and no one stands up to them. His "brigades" number a few hundred, and there should be no problem stopping them by force -- brute force. Today, Kahane is still not a Knesset member, so there is no immunity on his violent and vicious acts. He seeks to provoke, but his provocations can be a boomerang if armed and vigorous "defenders of democracy" stand up against him. There must not be a public mood which allows Kahane to demonstrate without fear, without immediate reaction and without defense of every place to which he turns. He must fear, just as the neo-Nazis are afraid in Germany or the U.S.

Contrary to the silence from the Likud and the withering of democracy, Kahane receives wide coverage in the news media. This coverage only encourages him, and causes inconsequential persons in our society to seek him out. The editors committee must decide that his words, deeds and countenance will not be reported in the media, that there will be total media blackout of Meir Kahane until he is put where he belongs -- in a courtroom.

"Not a single word on Kahane" is the way a free press can defend against the threat of fascism, which also threatens the principles of liberty. Firebreathing editorials will not help, a boycott will. Kahane's "news value" will be damaged, but this "so-called" damage pales in comparison to the damage caused by all the attention heaped upon him. Such a decision must be common to all, and must be strictly enforced.

The destructiveness of Kahanism demands total cooperation. All the democratic parties must commit themselves to immediate passage of a law against racism, which removes Kahane from the Knesset and guarantees that racism is no immunity. The defense minister must declare Kahane's movement illegal -- an early declaration to this effect will block Kahane's entering the Knesset, for he will immediately be arrested for criminal activity. National unity for this purpose is of the highest moral order, especially considering the soldiers' vote, which gave Kahane shocking support.

Democratic Zionism must use all the means at its disposal, which are numerous, to suppress Kahanism at its infancy. Otherwise, it will rear its head, and tomorrow may be too late.

(Al HaMishmar editorial -- July 27, 1984)

"We will see to it that the 11th Knesset will expeditiously pass the Law Against Racism proposed by MK Muhammad Watad (in the previous Knesset), and we will constantly demand the lifting of (Knesset) immunity for this racist, nationalist (Kahane), after every one of his illegal acts."

-- M.K. Victor Shemtov, general-secretary, Mapam

"We have learned from the experience of developments in the West Bank which led to a tearing down of all limitations to law and order. The activities of the (Jewish) underground, the disaster which could have occurred had it not been aborted at birth, compels a responsible position, both aggressive and forthright, against the phenomenon of the racist incitement and chauvinism of the Rabbi Kahane type."

-- secretariat, Kibbutz Artzi Federation



ELECTIONS '84: AN INTERVIEW WITH AMIRA SARTANI  
By Aaron Alpern

One of the freshest faces in Israeli politics this election year is that of Amira Sartani. Sartani, No. 4 on Mapam's list of candidates and No. 26 on the overall Alignment list is one of Mapam's six members of the 11th Knesset elected on July 23rd. She was born on Kibbutz Merhaviva where she lives today with her husband, Aryeh--one of the outstanding artists in the Kibbutz Artzi Federation--their three children and a granddaughter.

Sartani traveled a long road in her journey into politics, having worked in education on the kibbutz for 20 years. "During the time that I was an educator," she says, "I was occupied only with education--it was my entire life."

In 1970 she was elected secretary of Kibbutz Merhaviva, a position which brought her into contact with a new world. "By virtue of my position I became a member of the kibbutz movement's executive committee," she explains. "I expanded my horizons and also the manner in which I viewed the world."

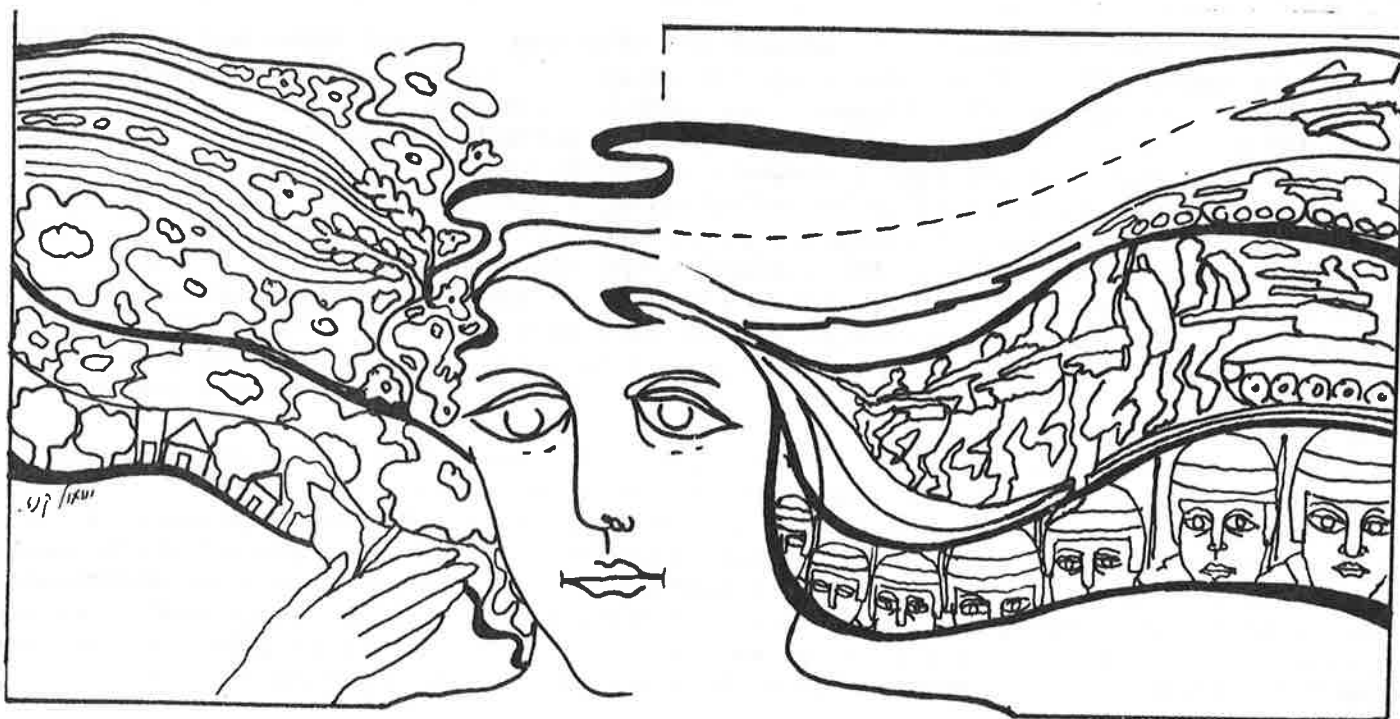
When she finished her term as kibbutz secretary, Sartani became deeply involved in the problem of sexual equality in kibbutz life, and she worked in conjunction with the social department of Kibbutz Artzi in preparation for a kibbutz movement council which dealt with this issue. Her work plunged her into the world of movement activism, and in 1976 Sartani was chosen to head Mapam's Womens Department, a post she held until 1982.

Despite her broadened horizons, Sartani retains a special interest in education, and she expects to play a significant role in this area as a member of the Knesset Education Committee. When asked to elaborate, she says:

"I think that universal principles of humanism are sadly lacking in our society and its education--principles of justice, honesty, mutual aid, concern for the overall good and how we relate to others. All these are lacking in adult society, and perhaps this can be remedied through educating the young."

She is also particularly concerned about education in the Arab sector, availability of day care centers for working mothers, and pre-school education.

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Following is a brief interview:

Q. First of all, who is Amira Sartani and why did she run for the 11th Knesset?

A. When I started movement work the thought of being in the Knesset never crossed my mind. The image I had before me was of the people I would be working with. If it can be said that I have a guiding motto, it would be "people"--the equal value of each individual, which leads me to the philosophy of equality between the sexes, of equal rights for the Arab minority of Israel, and the dovish viewpoint which seeks to bring peace to this region.

All in all, from a political point of view, I am considered a dove. I think the fact that I have been chosen to be a member of Knesset expresses the way others relate to me, to my work and to my political stands.

I also have a world view as a member of kibbutz. I see kibbutz not only as a way of life, but also as fulfilling a role in society. Other than being a pleasant place to live, the kibbutz has taken upon itself social and political responsibilities from its inception. I think a kibbutz member must contribute to the society in which he or she lives, both within the kibbutz, and, whoever is capable, outside the kibbutz. A lot needs to be done in Israeli society, and as kibbutz members we can make a special contribution. At least that is what I am trying to do in my own little corner of the world.

Q. What most motivated you to enter the world of electoral politics?

A. I was first elected to Mapam's central committee in 1973, and my political senses were fine-tuned. They had always existed, but now I became more aware of them. During this process, the thought of becoming a movement activist was ripening within

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#### ELECTIONS '84: THE KIBBUTZ ARTZI FEDERATION SPEAKS

-- This brief interview with "Jumas" (Haim Oron), secretary of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, appeared in the July 29 issue of "HaShavua" ("This Week"), the weekly bulletin of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation. In the interview he analyzed the vote within the kibbutzim and its implications for the movement.

Jumas: It is significant that within the Kibbutz Artzi Federation some 12 per cent of the members voted for parties outside the Alignment. My analysis is composed of several elements:

This was no doubt a protest vote against the Alignment, against Mapam and against the composition of Mapam's list of candidates (to the Knesset). And kibbutz members protested their inability to blend into the Alignment's propaganda campaign through this vote.

It did not express a rejection of any particular activity of the Alignment or Mapam, but of the general course of the labour movement in recent years.

Considering the pre-election polls and optimism, a situation arose in which it appeared to people that despite the fateful character of the whole campaign, we could afford to take risks in our own backyard. In fact, the assumption was that there was really no danger at all.

An additional component was the issue of collective ideology in the political framework of Kibbutz Artzi. This concept is seen by some members as being of lessening importance, and they were prepared, in this instance, to disregard it in favor of fulfilling their "right" to strengthen a political position which they perceived as clearer, more forthright and more expressive of their views.

Q. Can you place this solely within the political/ideological field, or is it part of an overall challenge to the spirit of collectivism among members of Kibbutz Artzi?

A. It is, without doubt, a component in a broader story. Without relating this personally to members who voted one way or another, I see this as part of a process which accepts things as they are, or more so of a desire to mold a new reality which allows for maintaining the Kibbutz Artzi Federation at a reduced level of collectivity. On the other hand, such a strong protest component in this vote lends an aspect to the problem which allows a continued struggle for collectivism in Kibbutz Artzi without dwelling on the election results.

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me, although I had no clear direction as to in what area. I certainly wasn't thinking of the womens department, because I was never one for waving the banner of feminism. But I was pressured and finally agreed on a trial basis. Through my movement work the importance of this field became clear to me. I did all I could in the womens area, both within Mapam and in society in general. It was time to move on.

Q. Women who chose careers which take them away from their family are often accused of causing harm to their family or children. What is your opinion?

A. There's no doubt that the absence of one of the parents takes away from daily family life, but I think I've found the middle road between activism--doing what I think needs to be done in society, what fulfills me and advances me--and my family role as a wife and mother. I believe that partial absence is preferable to having a frustrated woman at home, who wants to be active, is capable, but sacrifices everything for the sake of being physically present everyday in her family.

Q. And finally, what is special about Amira Sartani?

A. First of all, every individual is unique in his or her own way, and that uniqueness is manifested in the way that he or she fulfills a given role in society. It is difficult forme to objectively judge how others see me, that's not my way. I can't extol my own virtues.

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One must remember that this voting pattern has already been seen in Kibbutz Artzi, in the 1977 elections. This is a minute difference in percentages and then there was definitely an element of party rejection. I don't mean to suggest that there is no problem here, but the fact that such a protest vote already occurred in the past allows us to view it in relation to what happened in the whole election campaign. We would be making a mistake if we took this out of context. Before the campaign the Kibbutz Artzi was not neutral and we thought that there is significance to the way one votes, but most of our efforts were in the external struggle to bring down the Likud. We were not concerned with the vote inside the kibbutzim. Now, as well, we must remember this and see things in their proper perspective.

On our agenda today are all the national, ideological and political implications of what happened on July 23, and we should not distort the importance of different issues, their urgency or how we deal with them.

HOW THEY VOTED IN KIBBUTZ ARTZI

<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>%</u>
ALIGNMENT	19,557	85.2%
RATZ	2,251	9.8%
LOVA ELIAV*	502	2.2%
SHINUI	168	0.7%
OTHERS	-	2.1%

\*Eliav is a former general-secretary of the Labour Party who ran in these elections on an independent list. He was not elected to the Knesset.

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 Religious Voices of Peace

by David Holzel

"What do you do to get news coverage when you're non-violent?" Yehezkel Landau wonders aloud. Landau is the information secretary of Oz V'Shalom (Strength and Peace) and an activist in the affiliated Netivot Shalom (Paths of Peace) movements.

Both groups draw their members from Israel's Religious Zionist community. Their message is that the occupation and 'creeping annexation' of Judea, Samaria (West Bank -- ed.) and Gaza, and the eventual absorption of the 1.2 million Palestinians who live there, is leading the State of Israel and the Jewish People into a political and moral quicksand.

Oz V'Shalom was formed in 1975, predominantly by religious intellectuals. The group has since attempted to influence public opinion through lectures and low-key leafletting.

Netivot Shalom is predominantly younger in make-up. Many of its leaders are Hesder Yeshiva students and graduates (a combined program of army service and yeshiva study), who, following the massacre of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatilla, changed their philosophical course from a pro-Gush Emunim orientation. This group is seeking to gain public visibility.

Since the two groups are philosophically close, they share some leadership and often co-sponsor activities. Landau admits that they are fighting an uphill battle against the 'Greater Israel' philosophy espoused by Gush Emunim and other 'ultra-nationalists'. Both Oz V'Shalom and Netivot Shalom find themselves in a difficult dilemma. In order to make their views more widely known, they need media coverage. But the media are more concerned with big events, says Landau, and the work of Oz V'Shalom and Netivot Shalom is 'mainly educational', aimed at gradually changing public opinion.

Their primary target audience is the Religious-Zionist world: "We argue against Gush Emunim on Halachic (Jewish legal) grounds", Landau explains. But the two groups also direct their message to non-Orthodox Jews and to the Palestinian community.

In this regard, supporters of Oz V'Shalom and Netivot Shalom passed out leaflets in Arabic, Hebrew and English in Jerusalem's Arab Market this past summer, condemning Meir Kahane's "victory march" through those same streets, following the latter's election to the Knesset. The leaflet stated that "Meir Kahane does not represent the majority of the Jewish People, nor does he represent our Torah and the Jewish religion." After stating their intent to fight all schemes against Israeli Arabs and those who live in the territories, the group calls upon all Arabs "... not to give way to hate, but to try and rein in extremist elements among your people, as we will try among ours."

Says Landau: "With Kahane and Gush Emunim Rabbi Moshe Levinger among the most visible Jewish leaders today, we feel that we need to show that there is another side to the Torah, Judaism and Zionism. This side demands that we search unceasingly for peace and justice."

For Landau, this means that Israel must disengage itself from the occupation of the Palestinians in the territories. To do this, he says, some sort of territorial compromise with Jordan and the Palestinians must be reached.

Returning to the question of morality Landau says, "Military occupation is, by definition, corrupting and demoralizing. We must try to open avenues for peace so that we can get out of the business of occupying another people against its will." He regards the exchange of territory for peace as an expression of Judaism's supreme value: pikuah nefesh -- the saving of life.

He dismisses the concept of a 'Greater Israel' within its Biblical borders as a messianic notion in a pre-messianic age: "It is dangerous to build state policy based on messianic expectations." And, more significantly, "We can't use messianism to justify immorality."

Landau doesn't take an eventual Israeli withdrawal from the Jewish heartland lightly: "We acknowledge that this is a very great sacrifice. But it's like amputating

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an arm to save a body." This doesn't imply, he continues, the renunciation of the Jewish right of sovereignty over the Land of Israel, or that Jewish settlements in the territories should be uprooted. It is an acknowledgement, however, that the Palestinians believe they also have a claim to the land. "The core of the conflict is that each people refuses to accept the self-definition of the other. Compromise is the only way to end the conflict."

Have Oz V'Shalom and Netivot Shalom found many adherents? Landau says that membership is small, but growing. Ironically, it is non-Orthodox Jews who can more easily identify with Landau's religious message of peace. The bulk of Religious Zionists are firmly in the pocket of Gush Emunim and the ultra-nationalists.

Yehezkel Landau is aware that, because they offer no easy answers and call for painful sacrifice, Oz V'Shalom and Netivot Shalom's ideology is "difficult to catch on to. Simple solutions attract people more easily," he says.

(Courtesy World Zionist Press Service -WZPS - 1984)

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**ELECTIONS '84: A SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS**

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These right-wing tendencies among the youth are a clarion call to the Alignment demanding a re-evaluation of purposes and suggesting the pumping of financial and human resources into education, youth study groups, etc.

We have now come to realize that in certain circumstances fanaticism does not frighten or deter, particularly in our present situation with fundamentalist, religious fanatics striving to "liberate" all of the land of Israel. This mission can serve as a focal point for those who adore power and charismatic leadership.

**SUPRISE IN THE ARAB SECTOR**

The Progressive Peace List, headed by Arab lawyer Muhammad Mirari and Mati Peled (formerly of Sheli), made an impressive first showing in the Arab sector, garnering 18 per cent of the vote and winning two Knesset seats. This occurred because:

a) The Arab voting percentage rose from 68 per cent in 1981 to 76 per cent in 1984 -- in essence, meaning greater participation by the Arabs in the political process.

b) Some 20,000 votes which went in 1981 to two independent Arab lists affiliated with the Alignment transformed the Progressive List into the third strongest force in the Arab sector in 1984 -- after the Communists and the Alignment. This, of course, was at the expense of the Alignment's electoral potential in the Arab sector.

This is perhaps only a "half" failure for the Alignment, which increased its electoral strength among Arabs by only 6-7,000 votes, rather than the anticipated 30,000; and actually fell in its percentage of the Arab vote from 27 to 23 per cent. The bitter truth is that the failure is much greater when the votes of the independent lists from 1981 are added to the equation -- the Alignment's decline among Arab voters now reaches 17 per cent from 1981 to 1984.

Israeli Arabs gave a clear signal to the Alignment that they will no longer blindly vote Labour so long as the Alignment continues to drift to the right in search of the "undecided vote."

And for the first time in the history of the State, the Arab vote for the Zionist parties was a minority -- 52 per cent of the Arabs voted for the Communists and the Progressive Peace List. It seems, that a solution to the Palestinian problem and the overall Middle East conflict has become their top priority.

## ISRAEL'S UNRESTRAINED EXPORT OF WEAPONS ENDANGERS OUR FUTURE

By Avraham Rozenkier

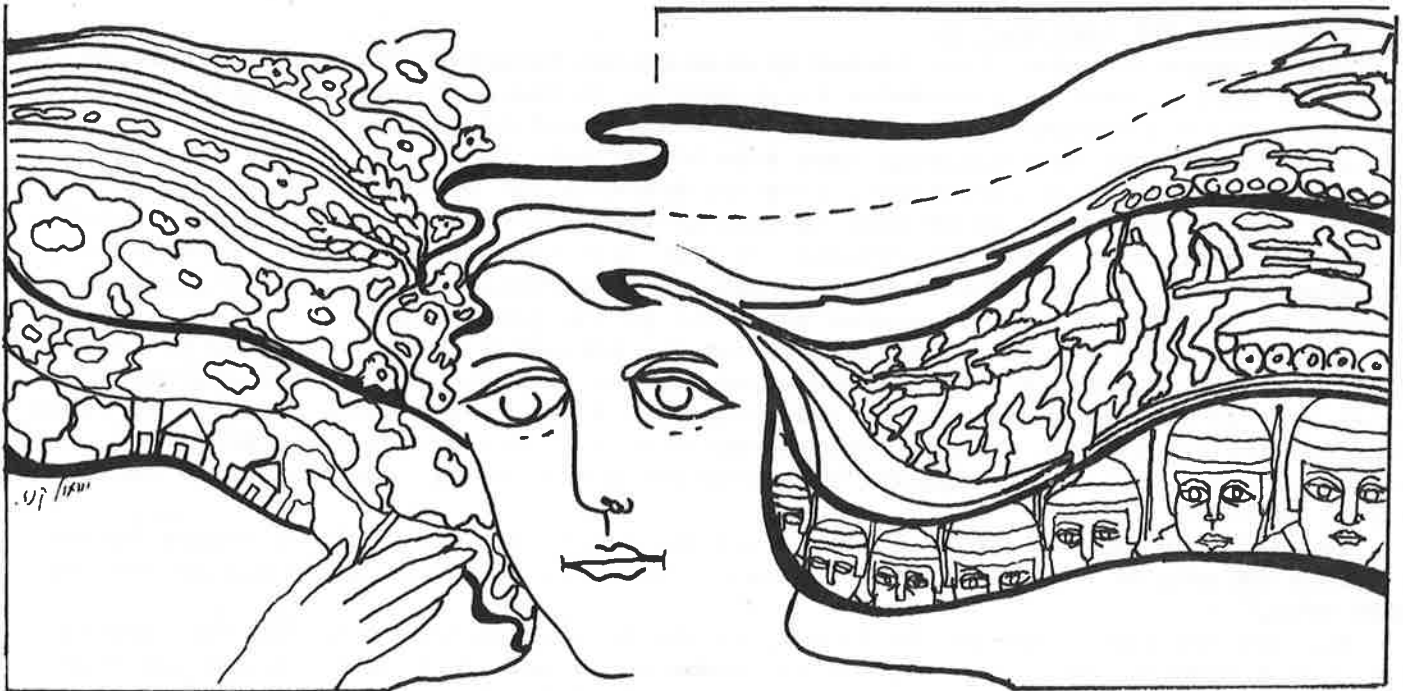
In an era of galloping inflation, Israeli arms sales are also on the rise. In fact, weapons exports are virtually the only export which has constantly grown.

A recent study conducted at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University revealed that Israel's annual arms sales reached \$2.5 billion in 1982--more than total industrial exports for that year! By any standard this is an outrageous sum for such a small country.

Moreover, if this trend continues arms sales will become an independent factor in Israeli diplomacy. According to the university study: "If in the past we first arranged diplomatic relations and only afterwards began assistance plans, often including arms sales, today we sell arms first and only afterwards attempt to arrange diplomatic relations." The re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Zaire is a prime example of this dangerous process.

It seems, then, that we are facing a situation in which Israel's economic base is becoming overly dependent on the sale and export of military wares. And because this is an unstable, ever-changing market, its expansion on the one hand, and the lack of governmental or parliamentary supervision on the other, endangers our delicate economic balance.

More troubling, however, are the political and moral consequences of arms sales to the highest bidder and often to the darkest dictators. We see, for example, that supplying Israeli weapons to the Nicaraguan rebels began in the wake of Ariel Sharon's visit to Honduras in December 1982, when he was still serving as defense minister. The American Congress had refused to accede to the administration's request for additional funds to finance the Nicaraguan underground, so the Reagan administration pressured Israel into assuming its role as the Contras' benefactor. In addition, the involvement of Israeli agents in Guatemala and El Salvador contradicts the principles of justice and freedom upon which the State of Israel is grounded.



Mapam Opposes

Israel ranks "only" seventh in the world in arms sales, according to international sources, far behind the U.S., the Soviet Union, France, England, Italy and Brazil. Still, there is little doubt that supplying arms to military dictatorships which use these weapons to oppress their citizens and to battle liberation movements fighting for their country's freedom awakens political and moral problems of a serious nature.

Mapam has always opposed the sale of Israeli armaments to governments which employ torture and murder their political opponents. Such a policy contradicts all the values of Judaism and Zionism. It is not surprising, then, that Mapam has condemned the support given by Israel to the Contras, who are striving to destabilize the Sandinista government.

There is no justification for pursuing short-term profits--economic or diplomatic--which imperil future diplomatic ties. The long-term blindness which characterizes Likud policy in Central America negates Israel's own interests. The Central American military dictatorships are not eternal, but the people of the region will long remember the key role which Israeli arms have played in prolonging the lives of these dictatorships and deepening the suffering of the oppressed.

Mapam is struggling against this short-sighted policy for three reasons:

1. Morally it contradicts both the principles of our Declaration of Independence and our Jewish values.
2. The involvement of Israeli arms merchants in controversial areas creates "political facts" without prior parliamentary approval or constant supervision.
3. Increasing arms exports to such unstable areas may endanger Israel's economic base.

(The author is director of Mapam's Department of International Relations)

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