

# קולנו

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## SUPPLEMENT

### ALIYA - A CASE IN QUESTION?

No, the staple hasn't come out, or the binding fallen apart! ... In the luxury style of Sunday Newspapers, koleinu has launched an extra section to its magazine. The koleinu Supplement aims to provide a forum for debate on issues of importance within the Movement today.

... Stories from Shnat, the Israel Campers' return flight home, Barr's Irn Bru, and the increasing number of inter-Movement marriages, all rank as contenders for the title of the Supplement.

Yet, for a Movement whose ultimate aim is for Chaverim to settle in Israel, the subject of Aliya must be confronted and given more than mere "lip service" within Movement circles.

The Supplement contains a number of articles on the issue - undoubtedly there is a conflict of opinion. The Question of Aliya and its relevance to our Movement is a debate the outcome of which may shape the future direction of the Movement.

The case has been opened ...

### NEXT ISSUE SUPPLEMENT

Three Years of the Intifada - IN PURSUIT OF PEACE?



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## THE A TO Z OF THE MOVEMENT

No, I'm not trying to make a cheap pun about the Movement having lost its way - although now I come to think about it ...

In fact, I'm talking about Aliyah and Zionism, and the extent to which they are connected within the Movement. It's pretty obvious to say that making Aliyah is a Zionist thing to do, but there seem to be levels of Zionism laid out in the Fundamentals. For those making Kibbutz Aliyah, a place is reserved in heaven (for those who want it, that is). A close second, but still second, come other forms of Aliyah. Recently, I heard an ex-Movement Worker talking, who very much gave the impression that people making non-Kibbutz Aliyah represent a failure of the Movement - "Yes, it's good that they're making Aliyah, but it's a shame it's not to Kibbutz!"

North American Habo-Dror are big on this subject. They are leading a "crusade" against this obsession with Kibbutz Aliyah, and have created a name for their goal - Social Chalutziyut. Basically, it means making Aliyah to anywhere you want in Israel, and then doing something ideologically sound when you get there.

The example they kept repeating was working in a battered women's shelter, but they assured me they could think of others (if pushed).

I have to say that, for once, I think they're quite right. Kibbutz Aliyah is still an excellent way of working with the Socialists in Israel, but it is far from the only way. Indeed, it would seem to be a fairly indirect route to go through if you want to have any impact on wider Israeli society. Working in special projects around the country would seem to be equally valid, and far more direct.

Actually, though, what I want to do is question something far more central to the Pillar of Zionism. That is, the extent to which Zionism and Aliyah are equated. In other words, the view that if you're not going to make Aliyah, you're not a proper Zionist. I don't know how much you believe that this is the Movement's position, but it was presented to me that way about a year ago. I was in a Workshop on Kibbutz Aliyah, and the Mancheh opened up by saying, "Of course, we all agree that Zionism means making Aliyah, don't we?". I disagreed, and five minutes later, a friend of mine from Australia told me I should leave the Movement - Dugma Ishit and all that.

Well, I ignored her, but it raises a question for Ma'apilim.



If, like me, you have no intention of making Aliyah, in any form of Movement framework, or even in the next ten years, should you stay on as a Madrich/a in an Aliyah-orientated Movement? If you do stay on, what view of Zionism and Aliyah do you present in your Hadracha?

I have to reject the Zionism = Aliyah formula, simply because I cannot tell those people in Britain, who work for Israel but don't want to live there, that they are not good Zionists. Even the Fundamentals make a grudging acceptance of that point.

In essence, I can see no problem in being a Madrich/a and not wanting to make Aliyah. It is surely a question of priorities, and I see the Movement's most important rôle being the building of a strong Jewish identity for our Chanichim, here in Britain. Part of that identity must surely be a positive attitude to Israel. In fact, getting people to make Aliyah is some way off the top of my list of priorities.

In terms of Dugma Ishit, I also see no problem. Aliyah must be a personal decision, made on the basis of the wants and needs of the individual. The only Dugma we need to show is that we take the question of Aliyah seriously. It would be worse Dugma to go on Aliyah simply because it is Movement ideology, than it would be to not go for very well thought-out reasons. As educators, and not indoctrinators, we must present choices and arguments, not decisions and dogma.

Andrew Arwas.

30/9/90.

Dear Andrew,

I'd like to relate to your article in the last edition of Koleinu. I am very pleased that you chose to write about the issue of Aliyah, a subject unspoken of for almost a year. Unfortunately I disagree with most of the elements in your argument. I'd like to start from the end.

".. We must present choices and arguments .." In my opinion, a young person who defines himself as a Jew doesn't have any choice. Living in the Diaspora cannot be a choice for someone who studied material relating to Machaneh Etgar, Machaneh Mahapacha, and Machaneh Sayarim.

Almost two years ago George Steiner said to Yonah Hadari, "I hate Jewish people sitting by Lake Windermere and talking about Zionism." I try to make a very clear distinction between Zionists who make Aliyah and others who contribute to and support the Zionist cause. On the one hand, you believe in free choice for Jews who live in the West, but on the other hand, will you deep in your heart accept free choice made by Israelis? I think I know the answer: that we Israelis should keep the country, give shelter to all those who are not able to choose (Soviet and Ethiopian Jews for example), give inspiration to Jews the world over, and take upon ourselves the responsibility for the security of all the Jews throughout the world.

My personal belief is that I have no choice but to live in Israel. And as long as I believe all the Jews share the same destiny I will continue in my belief that all Jews haven't any choice. All the other options, other than Aliyah, that contribute to Zionism, used by former generations, can hardly be called alternatives to Aliyah. And this in turn should be unacceptable to you as well as to your Chanichim.



Yes, Aliyah is a personal issue, but during our lives we must make a lot of personal decisions within varying social frameworks, be it family, friends or others. So why should the Movement be unable to promote the ultimate goal of Zionism, Aliyah, by Dugmah Ishit of the Madrichim and the Movement Workers?

I believe that your article, Andrew, will be the starting point of honest, clear and mature debate within the Movement. I hope you will be able to define the meaning of Garin and Kvutzat Aliyah. I hope you will dare to relate to the phenomenon of Yordim from the Movement who returned to Britain.

Lots of Love,

Chazak Ve'Ematz,

Odi Arbel.

Ex-Habonim-Dror Shaliach.

ALIYA = ZIONISM OR  
ALIYA N (SUBSET) ZIONISM?

The big question: What is Zionism? Is it a way of life, a hobby? A personal aim? Or making Aliya? Everybody has their own answer, which suits their set of ideas about Zionism. Aliya, on the other hand, is a conscious decision to leave family, friends and a way of life you are used to - and then begin again. To make Aliya is to make a personal change. To become akin with the new society one must "become Israeli" - let's face it, even if you don't, your kids definitely will be. It's not easy to "be Israeli", and this often puts people off from the start.

Kibbutz Aliya is even more daunting - Which Kibbutz? Garin Aliya? - In short, it's a decision which Bogrei Tnuah are finding harder and harder to make. The phasing out of the last Garin and Kvutzat Aliya, and the fact that we still have no Kvutzah - does this mean less Bogrim want to make Aliya?

Can Madrichim teach about Zionism/Aliya even if it is not their own personal aim? We must lead by Dugma Ishit, but at the same time we must be truthful. It is the role of the Movement to educate Chanichim to a level whereby they are ABLE to make the decision to go/not go on Aliya. At the end of the day, Aliya is a personal choice.

I see our generation as lucky to have the choice to make Aliya. Very few Jews have had the opportunity to live a Jewish life with Jewish people in a Jewish Country.

Even if not an immediate aim, Aliya should still be seen as the ultimate expression of one's Zionism - to devote so much of our life to a cause, surely we must aspire to taste the fruit of our labour? Zionism = Aliya, but Zionism N (Subset) Aliya.

It would be a shame to have lived and not taken part in the building of OUR country.

Dani M.



## ZIONISM NOW.

By Jonatan Gefen, from "Maariv"

Throughout the sessions of the Zionist General Council that convened (recently) in Jerusalem, I reflected again about this incredible absurdity: people of prominence and power come here once a year and deliberate about Zionism for a week, and certainly spend a lot of money, because every Congress means spending money. But since they say that there is Zionism in the World, what is Zionism?

They talk about settlements, the economy and security; they drink tea and eat a lot of little sandwiches; they hear a little Likud and a little Alignment; they drink more tea and eat another sandwich. And then they go back to their own countries until the next Congress. In their countries of origin they are called "Zionist Leaders", but to me that's ridiculous, mainly because there is no such thing.

Therefore, I want to state once and for all, for the benefit of "Zionist Leaders" in the Diaspora: There is no such thing as - Zionism in the Diaspora.

'Zionism' and "Diaspora" are two antithetical words that can't even be stuck together with carpenter's glue.

"Zionism in the Diaspora" could be - at the most - a good name for a Jazz Band maybe. But, the way I see it, Zionism means, in two words, "being here". Whoever lives in Israel is a Zionist. Whoever lives in the Diaspora isn't.

According to what I've learned in various schools, Zionism was born in order to find a homeland of their own for the Jewish People. Now, whichever way you look at it, the Jewish People have a homeland of their own. It may be that the State of Israel doesn't have a people of its own, but that's another subject.

When I visited New York, I met one of "them". My kind hosts said, "Let's go see a likeable American Jew, a big Zionist".

Since I never turn down a whisky when I'm in a strange land, and it was January, and my nose was freezing up from the awful Manhattan cold, I agreed. Indeed, he is a very likeable Jew, and he knows how to drink when necessary, but he isn't a Zionist. He might even have paid for the planting of a forest in the Holy Land, or given money to help a failing factory, Kol Hakavod. But he isn't here, and therefore he is no Zionist.

Zionism has fulfilled itself - and more: and for better or for worse we have a State. You can't sit in Manhattan and be a Zionist just because you like oranges and Falafel, and come here once a year to argue in Jerusalem about "Where is Zionism going?". There is only one answer: "Zionism is going on here".



A real Zionist, if there is such a thing, is a person who lives here day and night, with the honey and the onion, with the depressed mood and the Prime Minister, with the inflation and with the kidnapping, with the heat-wave and the blessed Winter. Zionism, as I see it, exists only in its practical form. And as a person who likes shoes isn't a shoemaker, an American Jew who loves Israel isn't a Zionist.

Zionism, my dear "Zionist Leaders" in the Diaspora, isn't a hobby. Zionism is being here, and it may not be easy to be here. But that's the way it is. You are very welcome to visit us here whenever you like, and go to the beach and eat sandwiches and sip cold drinks and see Masada and break your legs and contribute as much as you can ... But without "Zionism". I hope that I speak in the name of the General Council of Practical Zionism. And if so, I am not a prominent member of its Executive. I'm not even its Treasurer. I am just a Zionist, and I'm really here all the time. Don't envy me.

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Mevo Chama.  
16.9.60.

As I sit here in my garden, outside my house, on my Kibbutz, in my country, I am pondering my two years in the Movement and am coming to the realisation that I failed in the very well-defined job that I was sent to do, namely, to bring young Jewish people, struggling to find their identity, to the understanding that Israel is a very real alternative.

The name of the game is Aliya. That's what I was sent to educate about, that's what I was sent to encourage, that's what I was sent to support, and that's what I failed to do. One of the main reasons for that failure is that the Movement of today is not ready for the message, and that's a shame. This message is the reason why the Movement came into existence, why it still exists, and why it will continue to exist, hopefully for many years to come.

The Movement seems to have lost its way with regard to Aliya; our commitment has to be much more than the annual J.I.A. Appeal - a real commitment to these ideas and values has to be made even if that means losing people, even good strong people, who cannot make this commitment. In the long run, with a real target to aim for and not just an excuse, we may become stronger and healthier, something that will filter through to the Chanichim.

We have to believe and be proud and strong in our belief. Although Israel is not what it was twenty, thirty, or forty years ago, it is all we Jews have, and not just in times of Jewish persecution. We have to do our utmost to make Israel a strong and better place to live in, and only by being here can we have an influence on its direction.



In November there is the Aliya Weekend. We have to make sure that Aliya with a capital A is put firmly back on the Movement agenda. For those who have already made their decision about Aliya, don't be scared to fly the flag and shout "I am going on Aliya". Don't be scared to stand up and be counted, and you may be pleasantly surprised by the person who stands up next to you, and by the person who stands up after you. It is most important to help and support each other, and to fight to bring Aliya back to its rightful place in the centre of the Movement's activity.

This has not been much of a Sikum to my two years in the Movement, but that's history now. What's important is the future, and in the words of a Top Ten hit, recently played by Gary Davies on Radio One, "We can build the future", but only if we each lay a brick and build our future together.

I want to finish this article and take this opportunity of wishing everyone Chag Sameach and Happy New Year.

Finally, if anyone is ever up this way, Yael and I and the kids really do want to see you, so please do drop in any time.

Howard.

Dear Koleinu,

I have just read this month's issue of Koleinu. I would like to state that I am absolutely appalled by Andrew Arwas's article.

It seems to me that being uncertain of plans for Aliyah is one thing. However, to state categorically that he has no intention to make Aliyah in the next decade, is as such stating openly that debate on the subject is not relevant as far as he is concerned.

Aliyah is the central focus of Movement ideology in all its forms. To sit in a senior position, where it is normal to point to Israel as the future of the Jewish people, at best seems to be hypocrisy and at worst seeks to condone Diaspora life as something to strive for.

My immediate reaction, and I'm sure the reaction that Andrew would expect, is to say, why are you in the Movement and seriously considering Movement Work? However, this is purely a gut reaction, and after greater thought my reaction is to be questioning.

(1) Firstly, what is your aim for "Bogrim"? Before I continue, I'd like to point out that I'm talking about ideals. Along every ideological path, there are always people who find a place, but if the path doesn't go in a given direction, then any action taken may be fun, but leads nowhere.



(2) Is support of a State Zionism? What can your aims be? If we accept now that Ma'apilim at present do not fulfil all our aims, will the status quo then end up with people being non-Zionist?

Irrespective of how preceding questions are answered, Andrew's final statement fundamentally questions our reason for being.

To state that we should aim towards strengthening our Chanichim's Jewish identity is acceptable, if not great, but to add "here in Britain" implies we must radically alter our education and our aims.

I don't want to be insulting, and hopefully I won't. However, yet again I hear the cry: I want to change the ideology of the Movement, because I don't feel comfortable or even confident with it.

I'm sure people will want to say to me that I'm not willing to change with the times, but it really is not true. Any approach leading to the same goals is fine, and I know I may oppose it, but that's just because I hate to see bits of my memory wiped off the face of the Movement.

The Movement is unique. It is also always going to be a minority organisation. It asks too much of its membership for it to be any other way. However, it does have a loud voice, and we are highly respected because aims and goals are not just faceless words put across by Madrichim who hold no conviction in their arguments.

I have no problem with someone like Andy being in the Movement, but at some point he must accept that the Movement itself has a logic behind its aims that really leads to every member to find Hagshama at their own level.

Take away the ideal and then what is there left to strive for? Change in fundamental direction, and then try and answer the question why we don't call ourselves F.Z.Y. or Hanoar Hatzioni, or even B.B.Y.O. We don't exist just because sixty years ago some guy said this was a good idea, and nobody ever thought that the work we put in was too much. I think we have because we aim to hold an alternative youth culture, one that actually strives for youth that takes responsibility for their actions and act on their words.

Andy still has a place after all of this, though, because within any self-selecting society we have an obligation to accept his belonging - maybe to challenge his premise, but at least to let him try the process, even if it leads to rejection. This seems to me a far more acceptable solution than that proposed by Andy, where if we follow his line, eventually a secular Zionist ideal will be a thing of the past, where the only goal to strive for will be to endorse the Anglo-Jewish norm of giving to the J.I.A. and listening to Natan Sharansky or whoever saying how "somebody else" must go and live in Israel.

I hope I'm not the only one to write on this issue. If I am, hopefully it will at least have stirred a thought in people's minds.

Love,

Richard.



## ALIYA MORE VITAL THAN EVER

To the Editor of  
The Jerusalem Post.

Sir, - Aliya, like almost every other long and difficult endeavour, engenders moments of self-doubt for those involved. Amid the difficulties of absorption to this country, the Oleh questions his resolve to continue the process, or the possibility of returning. There are a multiplicity of reasons for staying and unfortunately for leaving also.

The problem is that the recent disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza have affected the way I, as a recent Oleh, feel about myself in Israel. As a citizen of the state, I share in the collective responsibility for the lives taken and the bones broken. It is a responsibility that I find hard to bear, irrespective of whether this violence is justified or not, or whether the entire situation is in any way our fault. Israel has become hard-hearted, too ready for the fight. By my choice to live here, I have become part of that Israel; I too have been brutalised. So I consider leaving, to run away from the responsibility I share.

Yet, because I love Israel, I still strive for that ideal Israel and my ideal self within it. I do not wish to abandon Israel and by leaving, weaken it, if only in the slightest way. There is a chance I can make a difference here. The hurt I feel is bearable, the self-hate can be rationalised away, and if I stay, maybe I can heal the situation. It is a confusing time to be an Oleh now, for while I like Israel less than I did a year ago, I feel it more necessary that I stay.

In order for things to change, I need the help of the people back home. Instead of contemplating joining them, I want them to join me. Together in Israel we might accomplish what I cannot do alone, and you cannot do from over there. Aliya may be less attractive now than in the past, but it has become much more vital to Israel's future.

Martin Herskovitz.

Petah Tikva.