

From the Editor

A question we often ask ourselves is: "Is there anybody out there?" We bring out regularly (at least we try) Daf Keshet, and send to all the tnuot. We write articles, and cover many topics, but never get any feedback. Are the Dapei Keshet read, are they relevant, interesting? Until we hear from you, we can only continue guessing what is wanted. How about letting us have your comments, or perhaps even articles for the Daf Keshet. A two-way dialogue can only improve things!

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A LETTER FROM ISRAEL:

British Habonim now sends chaverim on Shnat Hachshara with the choice of either ten months on kibbutz or five months at the Machon le Madrichei Chutz le Aretz and five months on the kibbutz. I decided on following the latter course hoping to gain the best possible preparation for work in the movement and to perceive a wider perspective on kibbutz, Judaism, Jewish History, Zionism, Israel today and Aliyah. I was accepted for the Machon and began the course with high hopes of improving my Hadracha skills and building up on my previous Movement experiences and education.

As a madrich I was unquestionably supplied with many new ideas and Hadracha techniques. In terms of my Jewish and Zionist knowledge I certainly learnt a great deal. Consequently, I must come to the conclusion that in these spheres the Machon succeeded in providing me with the necessary equipment to return to the Movement and hopefully, to become a benefit to Habonim.

However, I have several reservations about the Machon from a movement perspective. For example, most of the other non-religious Zionist youth organisations were represented and were receiving everything that we did. So what makes British Habonim different from Young Judea or Hanoar Hatzioni?

Having come into contact with Australian chaverim from the movement, it quickly became apparent that they had stronger and more clearly defined left wing sympathies. Furthermore, they were nearly all committed to kibbutz as their choice of Aliyah. We, on the other hand, appeared far less radical in comparison and more concerned with Judaism and more open-minded on the subject of Aliyah. So again we face the challenge of whether British Habonim has a clear cut identity and can be considered a separate ideological entity?

Movement ideology becomes a coherent formulation as a direct result of the views, beliefs, morals and values of the chaverim concerned at any given time. I believe British Habonim has emerged from a transitional stage of a re-evaluation of its role in the community of British Jewry. The outcome is a less radical stance compensated for by a positive attitude towards Jewish tradition, social consciousness and, I believe, more individuals are now evolving their own original

Cont. Page 7....

AN INTERVIEW WITH ARYEH "LEIBL" BERNFELD.

Leibl (Aryeh Bernfeld), has just finished four years as Maskir of Ichud Habonim. Before he returned home, to Kibbutz Or HaNer in the Negev, I caught him for an interview.....

Q. Do you think the Movement has grown stronger in the last four years?



Leibl: It's hard to talk about the movement as a whole, and you have to be very careful. I'm sorry to say that today, I feel that we are in a process of decline - a process that is affecting all the youth movements. I must add though that there are a number of encouraging signs. Here and there you see that the movement is managing to function independently and even to bring olim to Israel sometimes without even the help of a shaliach. In the end, we have stayed at a sort of standstill. The present situation abroad does not help the activities of a chalutzic youth movement. Israel's image has paled, and the non-zionist trend is gaining strength in the Jewish community, and yet we have managed to maintain the movements and the standard of our

activities, including the numbers of olim. But I am not unaware of the trend against the chalutzic movement.

Here there is a danger of creating a vicious circle. The movements are thought of as weakening, and so the authorities put less resources at their disposal. The movements then have to fight not only for ideological existence, but also for physical survival. In the end this could cause the extinction of the youth movements.

Not all our movements have been aware of the changes in the Jewish world. Apart from South Africa where there was a very swift effort to adjust our methods to the modern world, most of the movements react slowly. In the U.S.A., they are now willing to try sending chaverim to the Machon, after many years of refusal by the movement's leadership. Maybe this is an example of conservatism among the chaverim, an unwillingness to look for solutions to educational problems in the movement. Today, the Jewish and Zionist role of the youth movements is very important, and we must be very firm in our striving to develop and strengthen the movement.

Q. What are the problems arising from the "political revolution" of 1977?

Leibl: I will divide this into two. The first aspect is our relations with the authorities. We have reached a hard period. The youth movements do not get the positive relationship of previous years. But this did not begin with the "revolution": that just strengthened the phenomenon, that is felt in a less encouraging attitude to the youth movements and of course in funds. I maintain, along with the maskirim of the other youth movements, that the only Zionist bodies abroad today are the youth movements. Accordingly, the Zionist Organisation should have seen the youth movements as its faithful representatives, but this is not the case.

The other aspect is the movement's work with Jewish youth abroad. Here we have a phenomenon that I approach with mixed feelings. My estimation was that a section of Jewish youth is inclined to the left, and, unable to identify with the present government, was likely to leave the Zionist camp. It now seems that this occurred less than I expected, but it is still too early to be sure. Today's 13 year olds, maturing whilst the right rule Israel,

are likely to reach the age of 16 with political opinions that will interfere with their identification with the State of Israel. The socialist youth movements should form a barrier. We must offer an alternative to that youth. I am not sure that this is understood in all the countries or that the right steps are being taken.

Obviously this situation brings us into delicate problems in our dealings with the local communities. Any criticism is likely to be misconstrued as anti-Zionist. I am not in favour of criticism for its own sake, and our role abroad is to educate Jews to come to Israel and to kibbutz and not to be an opposition to the government. It is very hard for people abroad to differentiate between the government and the State.

The way is not to emphasise the faults in other people's ideologies but to stress the positive aspects of our own.

Q. Do you believe the movement is ready to face the problems of the 80's?

Leibl: That's a hard question. Let's not speak about the "movement". There are places where I see some attempt to look to the future and plan for it, and other places where there is none. In this respect the movement is not uniform. There must be a serious effort in the different countries to create an ideological tension. Maybe it will be interpreted as artificial, but there is no choice. Our bogrim, living in a kibbutz framework in Israel, may live in political tension, but not ideological tension. We must begin to renew our ideology here in Israel and to achieve new formulations.

Our entry to this struggle is likely to bring in our bogrim in Israel, who, till now, have not been in direct contact with us and have not been involved in our ideas and our work.

One of the things that disturbs me is the problem of recruiting manpower for our work both in Israel and abroad. Today very few of our shlichim are bogrim of the movement, especially in the English-speaking countries.

Q. Is the kibbutz still a solution for the movement? If so, how do we educate towards it?

Leibl: The kibbutz is not a "solution" for the movement. The kibbutz should be the centre of the movement ideal - even if only because to this day there is no alternative. The kibbutz is certainly a synthesis of many parts of our ideals.

The difference between a youth movement and a party is that a youth movement demands from its members to fulfil their ideals in their lives - "Hagshama Atzmit". On the other hand I do not think that an oleh who does not go to kibbutz is a 'traitor' to the ideals of the movement, but in its demands from its members, the movement has to be maximalist. Otherwise, maybe the number of chanichim in our moadonim may grow, but the number realising the movement's ideals not, and the movement's demands will be further reduced.

How to educate to kibbutz? There can be no new recipes. I discount sociological research of all sorts, as an educational device. We have to educate towards values. Not all those values are to be found in today's kibbutzim, but there is an ideological tendency towards the concepts of co-operation, equality, brotherhood, creation of community, and an attempt to deal with the problems of the modern world.

We must develop social awareness in our chanichim. Until now, I haven't spoken about socialism, which is definitely an integral part of the whole process.

A chanich who has been educated towards values, will try to cope with problems in accordance with those values when he comes to Israel.

At some stage, we must also have to speak to our chanichim about the real situation - and there is a gap between this and our values. By the way, it's not always the madrich who encourages the chanich to think that everything on kibbutz is perfect - the chanich is likely to create a false picture for himself. We must guard the chanich from shock when he is shown the gap between reality and theory.

Q. What is the place of the halutzic youth movements in the Jewish world today? Is their time past?

Leibl: The Jewish world will be much more boring without the youth movements and much weaker both ideologically and practically. Sometimes I wonder if it's just that the establishment doesn't understand this, or if there are some amongst ourselves who do not understand.

Being in a youth movement gives an ideological foundation, and a feeling for Zionism, that, even if not expressed in aliyah at an early age, sometimes remains with the person until some external factor pushes him to leave his country, and will then turn him to think of aliyah rather than emigration to any other country.

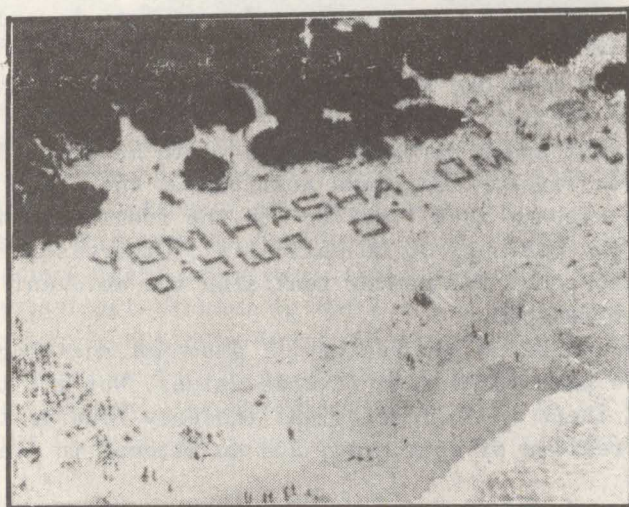
In my opinion, we are more important than we think. We have a very low self-image that acts as a boomerang. We must try to break this image, and to be proud of ourselves - a chalutzic youth movement.

Ed- Leibl has been succeeded by David Mittelberg, who came on aliyah to Kibbutz Yisrael 7 years ago. In the next Daf Keshet, we'll give a fuller introduction to the new Maskir.

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ZIONIST RECORD and S.A. JEWISH CHRONICLE, FRIDAY, JANUARY 12, 1979



HUNDREDS OF children at the Habonim camp at Onrust stood in formation, spelling Yom Hashalom in Hebrew and English on a special day devoted to peace at the camp. This picture was taken from the air as a light plane flew over dropping leaflets calling for peace in the Middle East. More than 900 campers — aged between 10 and 18 — gathered on the beach for the ceremony, following an educational programme on aspects of peace in the Middle East.

*Spotlight
On.....*

GROFIT

I'd like to take a few minutes (or probably more like hours) to fill people in on the happenings at Grofit. I'll begin with boring facts and figures to bring you up to date and then I have an editorial comment!

Grofit, after many years of social stagnation, non-progress, economic instability and near collapse, is showing signs of becoming a kibbutz. To those of us who came here for the challenge of building a new kibbutz from the ground up, it was almost a disappointment in the beginning until, as time went on and we had a chance to look around, we realised that it's still "a long way to Tiperary" (wherever that is). Yet Grofit is beginning to show signs of stabilization in what I see as a positive direction.

In terms of the physical kibbutz, the place is growing by leaps and bounds and continues to look more green and more beautiful. The new chader ochel is due to be finished by next Pesach and looks to be something special with a three-sided view of mountains through large picture windows and a comfortable amount of space with room to facilitate expansion of the kibbutz. There is a lot of new family housing and a new gan yeladim which is large and well suited for flexibility.

There are now over 60 chaverim with a realistic hope to reach 100 in the near future (1980). There are over 30 children from kitah gimmel down with more on the way. Families on the kibbutz are a stabilizing factor and chaverim aren't leaving as often as they once did; almost not at all.

In terms of attitude, there are negative and positive aspects. In this area, I think that our garin and future garinim from the movement can and must have an impact.

I find lack of organisation, coordination and experience to be major problems as can be expected on a young kibbutz. The problem is that few people now bother to make an effort to do anything about it. There exists (here where building a sound economic base is still a major concern) a lacsidasicle attitude about work, at least during the off-season, which seems inconsistent with the needs of Grofit. (On the other hand, during large winter harvests many people work 12 hour days for weeks on end).

On the positive end, there is an emphasis on making the kibbutz physically a pleasant place to live - meaning: cleanliness, greenery, planning before building, availability and variety of activities.

There is a certain degree of political awareness among the Israelis, not just us imports, and a desire, with a great deal of success to develop good relations with neighboring kibbutzim. All this could improve of course. There is an openness to grow and accept new people, ideas, talents (and to use them) and to change. Many of the traditional sex roles have begun to break down on Grofit in and out of work. There is also a tremendous variety in the interests of the people here.

The garin is making its in-roads into Grofit, mostly as individuals through work, friends, performances, va'adot and kibbutz families. People have their ups and downs, as they encounter and adjust to new things, deal with frustrations caused by new customs, new surroundings, physical and emotional strains. We have moved into many places of responsibility and the kibbutz feels our presence (and our absence when we're gone).

Twenty of our original twenty-five (shlavim aleph and bet) are here with one more due to come. As time goes on more may decide that this is not the place for them. We need more people and new people with ideas, energy, patience and a high threshold of frustration.

This reminds me, I said that I planned to editorialize. As far back as I remember in the movement up until now, we have been accusing Habonim of failure to prepare us for

the "Reality of Kibbutz". At one point I was among the accusers. This is a problem since in Israel today there are well over 200 Realities of Kibbutz.

Internalising these points will prepare you for the reality. Shnat Hachshara or Workshop will help.

1) Kibbutz is not America of London. Divorce yourself from everything you have ever known. Don't expect to find it. You can add it later when you live on kibbutz if you want it.

2) Kibbutz has Problems!!! lots of them of every sort: social, work, marital, economic (down to managing your own personal pocket money), educational, governmental..... It is not utopia or close to it. Each place is a little better or a little worse in each area. It has the potential of being very good. That takes personal effort and sacrifice.

3) You must work your way into a kibbutz and that means learning language, making a good impression and sometimes being very aggressive and outgoing to meet people.

4) Kibbutz is flexible. It's democracy. In the end, you've just got to settle, call that place your home, decide you're not leaving and make it what you can. The advantage and the disadvantage is that it depends on you. The "Reality of Kibbutz" depends on you.

Now that you're prepared, I suggest that you come with high standards and high expectations. Prepare for big disappointments and lots of frustration but keep your standards high and keep fighting to achieve them and then the reality of kibbutz can be very pleasant and challenging. That is true of Grofit, and I'm sure of every other kibbutz.

Muki, Kibbutz Grofit.



ROUND

AND

ABOUT.....

FRANCE

This year there were 4 chanichim on the Machon, and they are now at Kibbutz Hanita seeing what kibbutz is all about. The movement in France is considering for the first time the possibility of holding a Shnat Hachshara, and there will next year probably be a group of about 15-20 chanichim.

The Movement has just held very successful winter camps attended by 250 chanichim. The camps were held in Switzerland. New kinim are being opened around the main centres, in the hope to find new members. Next year, there will be a group of 15 olim from the french movement to Kibbutz Hanita.

SOUTH AMERICA

Habonim can be found in 4 of the south american countries, Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Mexico, combining together about 1200 members. In Israel at the moment, we have.....

A Shnat hachshara at Kibbutz Ein Gev with 17 chanichim from Mexico.

4 chanichim on 'Tapuz' (a 2 month kibbutz based programme) from Chile.

From Brazil there are 8 machonikim, and 14 on Shnat Hachshara.

Unfortunately, the movement in Argentina, due to the political situation, could not send any chanichim to Israel.

During the last year, 40 olim from South America have arrived, to Hatzerim, Or Ha'ner, Ein Gev and Bror Chail.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The deteriorating situation in South Africa and Rhodesia during the past few years, has had two major influences on the movement there - one positive, one negative.

First the good news: Aliyah consciousness is at a peak, and many chevrei tnuva are coming on aliyah in all sorts of frameworks. Besides the 'normal' aliyah of university graduates, increasing numbers are coming in order to complete their studies in Israel, both at a university level and even at the high school level.

Now the bad news: The movement has suffered considerably as regards its leadership, both locally and nationally. Compulsory army service for two years has meant the demise of all year programmes (e.g. the Machon) for the South African movement. The chrystallized groups with a deep understanding and personal identification with Israel which we knew in years gone by, are virtually non-existent today.

For this reason the winter courses have taken on an even greater importance. Three such courses came this year.

1) Hadracha Tzeirah Course.

25 participants between the ages of 15-16 came to Israel for a month. Three weeks were spent in tiyulim and the odd lecture and one week was spent on Kibbutz Nir Eliahu. These chaverim have returned to become madrichim of the younger shichavot.

2) Hadracha Course.

24 participants, all post high school. The course could be defined as a mini-machon, being divided into one month based in Jerusalem and one month on Kibbutz Yizrael. The course dealt with most of the topics covered by the Machon, obviously in an abbreviated form. The group comprised of many strong personalities, and the expectations of them are high.

3) Seminar Idkun.

This was a new, probably on time course comprising of 10 chaverim who hold the central tafkidim this year in South African Habonim. The course was aimed at updating the top leadership, on the current situation in Israel particularly in the fields of political developments and settlement. The course went with university lecturers, chevrei Knesset, members of the Jewish Agency and leaders of the kibbutz movement. They also visited some eight kibbutzim, both new and established. The course was a great success.

We hope that with the input Habonim will receive this year from the 60 chaverim who have just returned from Israel, the movement will be in a position to cope with its present difficulties and contrive to be one of the premier youth movements in the world, as it faces up to the challenges of the day.

A Letter from Israel continued.....

opinions rather than blindly swallowing a production-line ideology.

But most importantly, Habonim will maintain its unique identity in Britain. We will still be sending substantial numbers on aliyah (which only one other organisation can claim), we will still produce much of the future leadership of the Diaspora as well as obviously sending dedicated and progressive chaverim to Erez Yisrael; we will still maintain a movement culture providing Jewish Youth with an alternative to the steadily declining, complacent decadence of British Diaspora Jewry.

Roy Graham, member of the Machon/Shnat Hachshara group at
Kibbutz Bet Ha'emek.

THE SETTLEMENT ISSUE

no 2

Who settled here? by Stanley Meron,

translated from Igeret, 1188, 26/12/78.

The proposed peace agreement between Israel and the Arab states is based on a daring breakthrough by shattering accepted conventions. In fact, both sides are asked to implement the "impossible". The State of Israel needs to withdraw to the May 1967 borders (with minor adjustments) and to help solve the Palestinian problem, and the Arab States need to recognise the State of Israel and accept its existence. Whose task is harder? Surely that of the Arab states.

The Israeli policy of settlement and dispersal of the Jewish population in a wide settlement framework has not stood the test of reality. Whatever the reasons, the fact is that most of the population is concentrated on the coastal plain and in Jerusalem. Neither the pioneering ideology of "conquest of the land" nor the mysticism of Gush Emunim could change the prevailing trend of preference for city life. This attitude is characteristic of Jews throughout the world in recent generations and has not escaped the Land of Israel.

At the time of the dispute over the suggested partition 40 years ago, there was a point in claiming that the land needed for proposed Jewish settlement was all the Mandate area west of the Jordan river. Today, in the light of reality, there is no justification in demanding more than the 1967 borders for Jewish settlement. The only basis for claiming additional land is the security element.

The present settlement policy of the Ichud Kibbutz Movement was fixed after the 6 - day War; the Government took the initiative, and we participated through the party and accepted it, as we saw ourselves as the implementing arm of the party and of the government in the Settlement issue. We did not delve deeply into the policy of settling beyond the "Green Line", and preferred to rely on our representatives in the decision making forum. For those of us who hesitated, the Allon Plan came with the theory of security borders, together with the slogan "No alternative". Certainly in the political debates of 10 years ago there were elements of Greater Israel, but these were not strongly expressed in our movement. The persuasive factor was the security element, that is, the settlement policy of the Ichud Kibbutz Movement was not and is not essentially geo-political nor ideological, but purely military.

The military aims of secure borders are:

1. to give a military advantage to Israel in the event of an Arab attack.
2. to prevent or to neutralise the danger of the strengthening of hostile military forces on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.
3. to remove possible future warfare from the centres of Jewish settlement.

These aims were reasonable 10 years ago, and suited existing conditions. But the situation in 1979 is not the same as 1969. There have been very significant changes, both in the military and political sphere.

A policy guided by the conception of "secure borders" today implies preparation for the last war and not the coming war. The main lesson of the Yom Kippur War has not been lost to the Arabs, and it is vital that it is not lost on us. The fighting ability of the State of Israel is strong even in the face of a considerable Arab advantage. But the State of Israel

is exhibiting increasing weakness and is vulnerable politically, economically and socially. Despite their military weakness, the Arab states are making considerable economic gains, and in a lesser fashion consolidating politically and socially.

Our internal weakness has been shown to the whole world, not just to the Arabs. Our political, economical and social frameworks are not strong, and are not guided by clear and recognized conceptions. The next war will be fought on these battlegrounds and not in a military one, and this war has in fact started. President Sadat opened with an attack no less daring than his military initiative in October 1973. His gains are already more impressive, and more real.

The true secure borders of the State of Israel today are not the Rafiah Salient nor the Jordan Rift Valley, but inside ourselves. Our main weakness stems from our inability to recognize this fact and prepare ourselves accordingly, just as we deceived ourselves in another area prior to the Yom Kippur War. The first necessary step is to understand the reality as it is. The second stage is to act quickly and wisely to strengthen our political, economical and social situation. The best military force in the world cannot defend us if these frameworks collapse. There is also no possibility of maintaining a superb fighting force when social, political and economic conditions are at a low ebb.

The reality is that the demand to settle in all areas of the Land of Israel is an empty one, following the refusal of the Jewish population to realise this right in the past 10 years. 40 years ago, the supporters of the concept of settling everywhere were more honest than today's supporters. Then, they understood that the situation dictated a choice between the right to settle in the whole land or a Jewish state and settlement solely inside her borders, and there were those who chose consciously to postpone partition in order to preserve the right of settlement.

Today, the supporters of the "Greater Israel Movement" want both settlement in the whole land and a Jewish state in the whole land, but this combination is impossible and unrealistic. In fact, the only way to obtain settlement throughout the Land of Israel, is in the framework of a P.L.O. state in the whole of Israel, and who supports that?

The agreement to establish a Jewish state in a limited area was based on considerations of a concentration of our efforts to accomplish the Zionist programme of saving Jews, reviving the Jewish people and the renovation of our special way of life in accordance to the best elements of our heritage. That is why Jewish Labour in a Jewish economy was seen as a necessary precondition for the creation of a Jewish society and Hebrew culture. That is the Zionist vision which needs to form the basis of our policy in all fields. But we left this behind, and went in the opposite direction and to a continuing assimilation as in the Diaspora. The true argument today is not about the details of the proposed peace treaty, and not about demonstrative settlement attempts to put one more Jewish settlement on the map. Our future, and the future of Zionism lies in the balance. Settlement in the Rafiah salient and in the Jordan Rift Valley is not in itself fulfillment of the Zionist dream, and secure borders are also not related to the main issue. Zionism demands settlement in the Land of Israel, and not anywhere else; however the test is not in the physical extent of the area of settlement, but in the quality of life that is created there. It seems that there is little argument on this issue between members of Ichud kibbutzim, yet we have strayed from this concept. We have invested too many resources in the last decade on designing an impressive settlement map, and we have neglected the content. In fact, in too many cases, we have built farms not kibbutzim. The population of most of the new settlements is not stable and the future is in doubt because of the lack of a strong basis of values, which should stem from an identification with the Zionist dream.

This lack is leading to a weakness of the youth movements, is destroying the Nachal framework, and prevents a healthy absorption programme in the new settlements. First of all, we need "secure borders" to defend Zionism. The time has come to change the Ichud's policy - to cease the "showpiece" settlement programme and to return to Zionist settlement.

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Editorial comment.....

In this article, a number of challenging assertions are made:

First, the assertion that we are creating in Israel a reflection of the Jewish situation in the Diaspora, and not the antithesis to it.
Second, the assertion that the new settlements were established for "purely military" reasons.
Third, that we have proved by our inability to attract many people to new settlements that there is a great difference between what the leaders of the settlement movement want, and what the members are able to achieve.
Fourth, the assertion that the kibbutz movement has set up an impressive list of new settlements but their future as kibbutzim is in danger.
And fifth, that we should be more preoccupied with what we are, and less about the physical borders in which we live.

We would be interested in hearing the responses of chaverim, both from abroad, and in Israel, to these assertions.

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"TOWER AND STOCKADE" '79 STYLE IN THE GALIL . Article was taken from Ha'aretz 26.2.79.

'Mitzpim' (outposts) in the galil are keeping all the settlement agencies fully occupied, and great hopes are being placed in them, both as an impetus to new settlement and population dispersal, and to settling the Galil and saving state lands from the villagers who have in recent years taken control of thousands of dunam of public land.

The 'outpost' project began in complete secrecy. Now, when the evidence is there to see, the settlement agencies are still unwilling to explain everything, but one thing is clear, as Ariel Sharon, the Minister of Agriculture and S. Ravid, head of the Jewish Agency's settlement dept., said in the dedication ceremony of Moshav Atzmon (in fact a temporary camp on the way to becoming a settlement) "The map of the Galil is changing". The outposts are being set up. Six of them will stand on the hills and be populated by March 1979, and by July, 29 outposts will be founded in the Galil, in positions vital to preserving the land and forestry.

The establishment of the outposts requires a very good effort - financial, operational and mobilisation of man-power. There is no doubt that their establishment harms to a certain extent the establishment of permanent settlements in the Galil, although here they are not ceasing the efforts but increasing them too

-according to Ariel Sharon.

How can these outposts be held? Today the traveller in the Galil can find many places where the beginnings of roads have been blasted in the mountains and the rocky ground, in places where one wouldn't imagine a road ever being built. Areas for housing are being prepared, and water pipes laid. The buildings will be the final stage, and so it is difficult to know where the first outposts will be established. The officials of the settlement agencies are in no hurry to disclose anything.

I was present at one of the meetings of one of the kibbutz movements (the Ichud - ed.), in which the meaning of the outposts were discussed. The kibbutzim concerned are from the Haifa Bay area and Western Galil. Everyone saw the urgent need for establishing the outposts, but they cannot manage to take on outposts, along side new settlements. Where can the manpower come from? This is especially an important question for this movement, as they are planning the establishment of Kibbutz Tuval, in the Tefen area, this summer. They are wondering about how to man the outposts, how they will run, and who, on the kibbutzim, will replace those who are sent to the mitzpim.

The words spoken were mystifying. We are speaking of a drive equal to the 'Tower and Stockade' period of the 1930's. Many groups settled on the land without knowing how much land was available for their settlement, or on what they would live, where the water was coming

from or when the roads would be built.

Yehuda, one of the veterans of Kibbutz Matzuba, said to me: "When we went to 'tower and stockade' and to volunteer we were single and got married later. Today, the children of the kibbutzim who return from the army and from volunteering service in the kibbutz movement are very often married. Today, it is hard for a young couple to move from place to place.

Why only kibbutzim?

The question should be asked: "Why are they only approaching kibbutzniks for these outposts? Why only settlers? Are there not others willing to work and live in these outposts?" From the beginning there has been great reluctance to consider city-dwellers for the outposts. There was also the reluctance of kibbutzim to have the outpost adjoining them. They wanted to prevent the road to the outpost from cutting across their grazing lands, so that they need not reference their areas.

The purpose of the outposts is to guard the land so that it won't be stolen by those waiting to 'acquire' land, to preserve the forests, and to prevent the spread of illegal buildings similar to that in the area next to Carmiel and on the slopes leading to Tefen.

Above Nachal Achsiv, at a place called Chardalit (Rapids), a permanent settlement is going to be established. But this will become a reality only in a few years' time, as the preference for new settlements is going to the Tefen, Segev and Tzalmon regions. In these open areas, the plan is to set up 26 permanent settlements, most of them industrialised villages.

It seems to me that it won't be hard to find professionals in certain fields who would inhabit the outposts. There are painters and artists who want to move far from the madding crowd. The State needs a large number of dogs and horses - these could be reared in the outposts. Planners and engineers who are not connected to an urban centre, scientists who don't have to spend the whole week in a university - they could man the outposts.

Nobody is approaching the public with requests for candidates to the outposts because of the fear of the settlement bodies that among the city-dwellers who

apply, there would be some negative elements. It is clear that the outposts need trustworthy people of high calibre, but there are many with these qualities outside the kibbutz movement.

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