

# PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

MAPAM — WORLD UNION — KIBBUTZ ARTZI — HASHOMER HATZAIR

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## One Man's View

By Dov Barnir

### A Warning and a Demand

The convention of the Israel Labor Party will take place in December, and it is there that the Party's Chairman will be elected, to serve also as Head of the Government if the labor movement triumphs in the elections to the 10th Knesset in 1981. Theoretically, everything is fine and democratic. Still, Mapam has found it necessary to call the Labor Party to order and to warn it against the results of its actions. Why?

For months now the Labor Party has been divided into two camps. Not only divided but in bitter dispute. Most of its energy is going into the domestic battles even though the decisive front is outside. The important thing is to overthrow the Likud government and not the opposing candidate within the Labor Party itself! The Party has not yet established its election staff for the Histadrut Labor Federation and the Knesset and has even been putting off the composition of a joint Alignment staff together with Mapam. Within it, however, two election headquarters are working at full steam. Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin stand facing each other, each (and especially Rabin) doing his best to criticize the other, to the delight of the Likudites, whose own internal disputes have been in the headlines for three years.

There is, however, an even more serious aspect. If the battle between the two were over ideological or political issues their contest would be justified and one political or social policy would triumph over the other. There is, however, no trace of an ideological or social contest here; the battle is between two personal ambitions. The question is whether this is what must occupy the Labor Party and our people as a whole, now, and whether this personal desire to climb the political ladder does not have a corrupting effect of its own.

What is more, it is becoming increas-

### The Hostility Front and the Peace Treaty

This year too the recently opened UN Assembly will be marked by its offensive against Israel. The anti-Israel front is planning to outlaw our state even before it is expelled or suspended from the Assembly. They want to place us together with racist South Africa and to entrench the idea in the world's consciousness that Israel is "beyond the pale."

In this Assembly the heads of the hostility front, relying on their automatic majority, are planning as a first step to suspend Israel's participation in the Assembly. In addition, the time is drawing close, in the middle of November, when, according to the recent resolution following the Jerusalem Law, Israel must begin "withdrawing from all the territories" and annul the Jerusalem Law. The General Secretary will have to report on this to the session. This will be after the U.S. elections and the new president, Carter or his competitor, will have to deal with the Middle East in another, more practical and pragmatic fashion.

The campaign in the Assembly will thus be the most difficult ever and the United States and Egypt face an important test. The United States will have to do its utmost to frustrate the plans to suspend Israel's membership and thus prove that its words and deeds are the same after the election as before.

Egypt must prove that it is not "howling with the wolves." After all, the anti-Israel front is directed to some extent against Egypt as well, for signing the peace agreement. This obligation devolves upon it especially now, two years after the historic agreement between Israel and the largest of the Arab countries.

The main task, the chief test, however, is Israel's own. If this Likud government continues to follow its inflexible, unrealistic and sometimes provocative path, it will encourage its enemies and embarrass its friends. This path has contributed to Israel's growing isolation; it has made our enemies' task easier; it has and is continuing to alienate friends who are torn between the moral validity of our cause and our evasion of and insensitivity to the cause of another people and their interests in this part of the world.

Never before, since Israel's establishment, have the international skies been as dark as they are now. Never before has the balance of forces turned so strongly against us. Never before, too, has there been such a pressing and vital need to re-examine and re-evaluate our own direction. Is this government capable of drawing up new policies more in keeping with the needs of the hour and the demands of the situation?

18.9.80

ingly evident that this formation of two camps (Peres' versus Rabin's) is serving other interests as well. Not only personal ambitions serve as the fuel, but also the ambitions of whole pressure groups. According to the results of the elections in the coming convention for each of the candidates, each of the groups will demand its proportion of representation in the Party's internal and external offices for its members. Behind each of the candidates for party leadership there is a long queue of candidates for all the levels of the hierarchy, and these will demand their pounds of flesh.

It might be asked: Isn't this politics? It very well may be, but Israel does not need such "politics" in the ordinary sense of the word, but a spiritual leader-

ship, personal example, the close link between morals and politics. Zionism is not "politics"; it is a people's liberation movement. Israel is not just another country, it is the banner of the Jewish people as a whole. Pioneering is not an "interest" but devotion to the general needs. The decline in morale in Israel, now a saddening fact bringing on phenomena of crude materialism and criminality, emigration and so on and so on, cries out for a public leadership able to give us back the spirit and morals that created the miracle of Zionism and the state's establishment.

For the time being we are a voice in the desert. We have asked the Labor Party to organize itself and to distribute

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# Mapam Delegation to Europe

## Jordanian-Palestinian Option Winning Support

By Uri Paz

### Support for PLO but not as sole spokesman of Palestinians — Jerusalem law harms city's status as Israel's capital

The Jordanian-Palestinian option is becoming more realistic and more acceptable to Europeans who until recently doubted its existence. That is the impression brought back by Mapam's delegation to Austria, Germany and England.

The mission that spent eight days in Europe, was composed of party General Secretary Victor Shemtov, Political Secretary Elazar Granot and Foreign Relations Department head Dov Zakin. Most of its meetings were with the heads of the Socialist parties and especially with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, German Social Democratic Party head Willy Brandt, who is also the Chairman of the Socialist International, and British MP Ian Mikardo.

#### Appreciation of Hussein

At a press conference on their return Victor Shemtov reported that these political leaders were impressed by Jordanian King Hussein's stature and his ability to contribute to the peace process. They still viewed the establishment of a Palestinian state as one of the solutions to the dispute but they also spoke of some Jordanian link to this solution.

The members of the mission felt that there was support for the PLO but also some doubts concerning the PLO as the sole leader of the Palestinian world. However they believed that the PLO must be made a partner to the peace negotiations.

Victor Shemtov spoke of some change in Chancellor Kreisky's views: "He was not as militant in his remarks as he had been in the past. He repeatedly expressed his reservations concerning the PLO's Damascus resolutions and said that he would oppose a PLO representative participating in the forthcoming meeting of the International in Madrid. Kreisky seems to see things today in a slightly different light."

#### Damage Done by Jerusalem Law

The Jerusalem Law, the delegation felt, had hurt Jerusalem's status as Israel's capital and had increased Israel's isolation. Secretary Shemtov raised the

## Alignment Heads Meet Arab Party Workers

"Jews and Arabs in the State share a common fate and in our partnership in this fate all of us must strive to achieve a just and lasting peace in the region, based upon the recognition of the sovereignty of the states of the region and the finding of a solution for the Palestinian problem in a link with Jordan", said Mapam General-Secretary Victor Shemtov to a first meeting of Arab Alignment party workers and the heads of the Labor Party and Mapam at Givat Haviva.

Shemtov voiced criticism of a some of the Alignment's positions in the Arab sector but noted that the Likud government had intensified the problems in almost all fields: education, housing, industrialization and development. He warned against succumbing to the temptations of extremists in the Arab street who trade in empty slogans with no basis in fact.

Labor Party Secretary Chaim Barlev stressed that his party's position was founded upon a territorial compromise in all sectors and added that the existing situation on the West Bank would not last forever. "The fact that Jordan does not join the negotiations should not keep us from striving to fulfill the Jordanian option. Jordan will have to take into consideration that no side will obtain 100 percent of what it demands".

## Token Burial for Hatred and Prejudice

A token funeral ceremony for hatred, mutual prejudices and evil acts was held recently at Nave Shalom, the joint Jewish-Arab community near Latrun. It was conducted by Rabbi Mitchell Smith and Moslem educator A'bad, of the community. This was the culmination of a two-day meeting of the participants in the three Jewish-Arab summer camps held there this year. Upper-class high school students from the cities, kibbutzim and Arab villages participated.

## Gal-on Americans Celebrate 30th Anniversary

The American members of kibbutz Gal-on in the Lachish area, will be celebrating the 30th anniversary of their **aliya** and settlement in December. A large group of friends from the United States and Canada are expected to participate in the celebration.

## World Ignores Dangers of New Antisemitism

Professor Yehuda Bauer of Kibbutz Shulav and the Hebrew University, told Mapam's Secretariat at a special session that both in Israel and in the world as a whole there is a dangerous tendency to ignore the threats of a new anti-semitism.

Historian Yehuda Bauer told the members of the Secretariat that "the ends are beginning to come together; neo-nazism is similar to Soviet propaganda that is similar to Arab propaganda". He affirmed that Russian anti-semitism was anti-Jewish in character and that it had all the elements of the Nazi propaganda. He also quoted statements to prove his point.

Neo-nazism, he said, held a great danger since it attracted active intellectuals. He emphasized that there was ignorance and even rejection about studying and following the processes of the new anti-semitism. He reminded his listeners that there was no Jewish center doing research on the new developments. He criticized the Israel Government because its information was based, in his view, on two dangerous lines: A. All the world is our scaffold ("If that is so" Bauer said, "then everything is lost"); B. It concentrated on the neo-nazi phenomenon alone.

Prof. Bauer said that it was imperative to find allies to prove that anti-semitism was a cancer in the bodies of nations and that it was a cultural phenomenon of the West that could lead the world to new wars.

Secretariat member Nahum Solan complained during the ensuing discussion that there was a conspiracy of silence over the fact that 2,500 Jews had been among the 50,000 persons "liquidated in Argentina".

## A Warning and a Demand

(Continued from page 1)

its tasks in a comradely fashion, without providing us with "primaries" on the American style. Our appeal, so far, has fallen on deaf ears. Our plea now is to moderate the contest, to make it as short and as discrete as possible. What has been distorted cannot be made right but the damage can at least be diminished. 40 percent of Israel's citizens have not yet decided how they are going to vote!

There are, indeed, great prospects that the Alignment will return to power. It will, however, do this only if it guards its steps and does not harm its hopes and our hopes, by its own hands.

החשמה

Editorials from the daily Al-Hamishmar

## Flashes of Sanity

Even though the Prime Minister has been preparing us for a heroic and Maccabean war for Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Law is liable to bring us closer to that "vision", there are still many in this country who are convinced that it is better to live in peace in Israel's capital than to wage splendid wars for it. This is the reason for the growing opposition to the Likud government's next heroic effort — moving the Prime Minister's office to East Jerusalem.

Matters have reached the point where even Minister of Education and Culture Zevulun Hammer, with his party's support, or at least without any protest on its part, has declared his opposition to moving the office. Other ministers from other parties are also asking the Prime Minister not to be in a hurry to move. Too bad that these flashes of sanity have appeared after the UN resolution and its implementation by the foreign embassies in Jerusalem. True, better late than never, but it may be that for the head of Herut, whose government is becoming daily more hawkish, it is already too late.

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## The Amnesty Report

"Amnesty International" is an organization with no real authority which has nonetheless won very respectable status throughout the world. This testifies to the fact that the defense of human rights is a necessary and vital task and that the organization has maintained a serious position. The fact that the Israeli Legal Counsel thought it right to add his comments to Amnesty's extensive report on Israel is proof that Israel's legal and government circles must consider the organization's status and influence.

Experience has shown that in the effective battle against terrorists (and even ordinary criminals) it is very hard to succeed without applying heavy pressure on suspects in order to bring them to justice. Totalitarian regimes overcome these difficulties by not bringing their opponents to trial. Democracies must wrestle with the problem of what is permitted and forbidden during the investigation. It is very hard to draw the exact line between the two. The answer lies in closely following activities in this field and in immediately reacting to mistakes both because they conflict with law and justice and because they deprave those committing them as much as they harm the suspects themselves.

From this standpoint the publication of the Amnesty report is a good occasion for the always needed house-cleaning. The Government's Legal Counsel however did well, especially because of the international repercussions, in drawing attention to the special difficulties faced by the investigatory and legal bodies in a country like Israel where the battle against terrorists is an integral part of its struggle for existence. As we know, terror neither recognizes nor respects international law or humane principles and war against it is a kind of permanent "emergency."

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## Crisis in Integration

Ever since the establishment of the Likud government there has been talk of the need to "coordinate" the absorption activities of the two bodies — government and Jewish Agency. In practice, however, we have witnessed disputes and authority wrangles with the result being that the immigrant needing treatment fell "between the offices" and there was no single clear address for the immigrant from his arrival up until his integration into employment and housing.

It is no secret that we do not enjoy an immigration of large dimensions. To our great sorrow most of the emigrants from the USSR drop out in Vienna; the temptations of an easy life in the USA rob us of thousands of immigrants who apparently had fought for their right to come to their homeland. Now, when even the few who have come here have reached the point of striking because of their despair with the bureaucratic treatment at the hands of the Absorption Ministry and the Jewish Agency, there is growing danger that the number of those coming to Israel will decline even further.

(Continued on page 5)



# In the Movement

## North American Desk

By Meir Jaffe

### Kibbutz Volunteers in Development Towns

150 members of various kibbutzim are going to work full time in neighboring development towns settled by immigrants from North Africa and Eastern Europe. 70 kibbutz youths are active in "Oded", an organization working with young people in distressed areas. In addition, larger number of kibbutz young people have been volunteering, before their army service and after completing high school, to work as youth leaders in the Hashomer Hatzair and Hanoar Ha'Oved youth movements. To these numbers may be added about 1,800 kibbutz members of all ages who have been giving their afternoon and evening time to neighborhood cultural, educational and recreational activities. In this way, without too much fanfare, kibbutzim are providing concrete aid in helping new immigrant communities and distressed areas integrate into the country's life. Children have been helped in their studies, uneducated women taught reading and writing, sewing and other aspects of home economics, and people in general given their first inklings of cooperative activity.

### Aid Arab Neighbors

An interesting relationship has developed between the young people of kibbutz Ein Dor in Lower Galilee and the neighboring Arab village, Kfar Masr. The village, which has begun to modernize only recently, now has running water and electricity. Among the various joint activities we find Ein Dor high school seniors helping their peers in the study of English, young kibbutz women, including some recent immigrants from the United States, meeting with some 15—20 young Arab women once a week and helping in craft activities and just talking and exchanging views about their own communities and their neighbors, and finally a joint soccer team for the young people from Kfar Masr and the neighboring kibbutzim Ein Dor and Gazit.

### Interns for Peace in Barkai

The Interns for Peace program has agreed with kibbutz Barkai that its second

## The World Union

By Secretary Aryeh Shapir

The onset of the New Year finds the World Union and Mapam's affiliates throughout the world in the midst of intensive activity, new projects, conferences, meetings, seminars and visits by the heads of Mapam and the Kibbutz Artzi federation.

### Europe

Representatives of Mapam's younger circles from the English "Young Mapam" the "New Outlook" circle in Denmark, the "Mishmar" groups in France and Italy, and also observers from Belgium Switzerland, Holland and others, will be participating in the Sixth European Congress of the Young Leadership section of the World Zionist Organization to be held in Antwerp on October 23 to 26. The Congress will be devoted to the problems of relations between Israel and the European Community and to the problem of Jerusalem.

Members of the Zionist Left (students and younger generation) will meet alongside the Young Leadership Congress, also in Antwerp, to take up the issues discussed at the Congress, activities within Jewish community, Zionist and student organizations, as well as preparations for their general European conference to be held in the spring of 1981.

Mapam and Kibbutz Artzi emissaries from all European countries will convene in Paris in the beginning of November, with the participation of Kibbutz Artzi Secretary Aliza Amir.

Aliza Amir will also visit Switzerland, Italy, England and Austria, during the second half of October.

group will also come for preliminary training in that kibbutz before being assigned to activities within an Arab village. The program is open to young people from the United States who have previous experience living or studying in Israel and have some knowledge of Hebrew, and Israelis. The first group of Interns, now working in the villages of Kara, Arara and Tamra, fulfill such community functions as educational and social workers, youth guidance and handicraft instruction.

### United States of America

Kibbutz Artzi and Mapam representatives will meet at the beginning of November, together with Aliza Amir. The meeting will be chaired by Avri Fisher, head of the Mapam and Kibbutz Artzi delegations to the United States. Aliza Amir will also visit Hashomer Hatzair branches and meet with the heads of the Mordecai Anielewicz Circle and the new aliya groups.

### South America

Avraham Schenker and Amiram Mazan, editor of "Reencuentro", Mapam's and Kibbutz Artzi's Spanish-language journal for progressive Zionism (parallel to "Progressive Israel") will be taking part in the conference of the Younger Leadership and heads of the Zionist Federations in Latin-American countries in Sao Paulo, Brazil on November 9—11. They will also participate in the meeting of the heads of the Jewish communities and the World Jewish Congress which will follow, also in Sao Paulo, from the 11th to 14th of November.

Schenker and Mazan will be also visiting other cities; Schenker in Argentina and Brazil, and Mazan in Argentina, Brazil, and perhaps also Uruguay, Chile and Mexico.

### Changes in Personnel

Dov Puder of kibbutz Hatzor, the head of the Kibbutz Artzi delegation and Mapam Representative to Europe, is completing three intensive years and is being replaced by Shimon Dror of Ein Hahores.

Shmuel Engelmeyer (kibbutz Bet Kah) will complete his three years mission for Kibbutz Artzi and Mapam to the "Mishmar" circle in France and the Coordinating Office for Younger Generation and Students in Europe.

Israel Schirman of kibbutz Revadim had already arrived to relieve him and will participate in the October meetings and conferences.

### Guests in Israel

Welcome to Dr. Wilfrid Yaphe from Canada, who has come to spend his sabbatical at Tel Aviv University. Our comrades Israel and Florence Nachshen from Montreal have come for a two-week family visit to kibbutz Shomrat. This will provide an occasion to discuss continued and expanding activities in the two veteran branches of the "Friends of Progressive Israel" in Montreal and Toronto, as well as among the growing French-speaking Sephardic community in Canada.

### Mapam Young People to Europe

A delegation from Mapam's "Younger Generation" will be leaving for Europe on October 26. They will be the guests of the YUZOs, the younger generation of the West German Social Democratic Party. The delegation will survey the present election campaign to the West German Bundestag, and participation of young people in this campaign. They will conduct discussions with the younger SDP leaders and present Young Mapam's views on regional issues. They will stress the fact that a large section of the Israeli public rejects the extremist stands of the government and is prepared for compromises and to recognize the right of all the peoples of the region to self-determination, security and peace.

The delegation will also visit Belgium and Holland, where it will meet with Jewish students and other young people sympathetic to Mapam.

### Mapam and "Peace Now" Set Programs

The leaderships of the United Workers Party (Mapam) and "Peace Now" met recently in Tel Aviv and decided to formulate principles and programs of action for a joint peace program.

Mapam was represented by General Secretary Victor Shemtov, Yaakov Hazan, MK Haiké Grossman, and Secretaries Elazar Granot and Aryeh Yaffe. "Peace Now" was represented by Dr. Yitzhak Gelnor, Avshalom Vilan, Naftali Raz and Yossi Ben-Artzi. A "Peace Now" delegation also met recently with the Labor Party's Political Committee and is also planning to meet with all the dovish political groups. In preparation for these talks the movement has formulated an eight-point working paper on the subjects of foreign affairs and security.

Young "Peace Now" members are organizing a week-long bicycle tour from Metulla in the north to Eilat, all within the "Green Line". In the cities, villages and development towns they pass, the riders will distribute informational material.

### A "Doves' Platform"

"Peace Now" is holding a "Doves' Platform for a Responsible Peace Policy" in the Maccabia Village on October 4. MK Yossi Sarid (Labor), Mapam leader Victor Shemtov, MK Shulamit Aloni ("Ratz"), MK Amnon Rubinstein ("Shinu'i"), Shelli leader Meir Pa'il, and others will take part.

## AL-HAMISHMAR (Continued from page 3)

The Minister of Absorption who should have been the new immigrants' chief advocate, in comparing the embittered immigrants with the weak sections of the Israeli population is trying to blur the failures of the institutions responsible for integration by inciting against the immigrants themselves.

Integration is one of those subjects that cannot be dealt with from a party standpoint. Harm to immigration and integration is damage to the security of the state. It is therefore obligatory to give up the formalistic discussions and to provide one clear address to deal with the absorption centers and to guide the immigrants from there to permanent housing and to employment in keeping with their qualifications.

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### A Solution for the Arab Village

The demolition of two houses in the Arab village of Musmus and the ensuing stormy demonstration by young men of neighboring Um-al-Fahm, once again spotlighted a serious problem that has been waiting for a solution for years. Illegal building in the Arab villages has become widespread. This is not only breaking the law; such construction, crowded together and without any consideration for community planning and development, will eventually lead to catastrophe for the villagers themselves. There are already Arab villages today that have no room for public buildings, for the development of an internal road network, not to mention overcrowding and its effect upon the quality of life. From this standpoint there can certainly be no agreement for illegal building matter whether by Jews or Arabs.

We cannot, however, avoid the fact that the Ministry for the Interior has not done anything to make possible legal and permitted construction. For years many villages have been waiting for their zoning plans to be ratified while these lie ignored in the Ministry files.

We must defend the law but at the same time make it possible for the growing families in the Arab villages to build their homes. We must also express our opposition to the use of violence and the attempt to turn a just struggle into a source of incitement and a dispute between Jews and Arabs. We are all citizens of the State of Israel.

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### The Madness of "Holy War"

The Arab offensive against Israel has entered a new and very dangerous stage. The Foreign Ministers of 43 Moslem states have met in Fez, Morocco, and accepted a series of resolutions: to work for Israel's expulsion from the United Nations, to grant legitimacy to the PLO and to prepare a "Holy War" against Israel. Arab hatred of Israel has thus reached new peaks.

The world, accustomed to such virulent offensives, may this time too let it pass in silence, the silence of indifference, in order to maintain good relations with the oil-millionaires. However, if there is still a remnant of conscience in the world, if there is still the slightest iota of sensitivity in a nation, then it must stand up, must point its finger at this hypocrisy.

Two Moslem countries, Iran and Iraq, are on the verge of a total war. Both are spilling the blood of the faithful. What was the reaction of the 43 Moslem states? With what have they occupied themselves: with a wild campaign of hostility against Israel, Israel's expulsion from the United Nations, threats to punish any country interfering with Israel's expulsion, the declaration of a holy war.

If the world's enlightened countries do not stand up, if the United States does not stand up, if Egypt, too, does not raise its voice, the wave of madness will grow and engulf other countries as well.

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# The Danger of the West Bank

By Raffel Barkan

[To the Editor of "Progressive Israel",

*As a Jew and Zionist I have for a long time been interested in the future of the State of Israel. One of the great dangers to Israel's security is, as I see it, its ruling over 1.2 million Arabs on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Now I wonder: If Israel decided to annex these territories would there be a danger of the Arabs eventually becoming the majority in this 'Greater Israel'?*

*That is what I have heard from several different sources. However, an article was recently shown me, written by MK Yosef Rom, which confused me a little. Since I believe this problem to be one of the most important I would like you to explain the situation.*

*Mathias Sylwan, Sweden]*

The question Mr. Sylwan has raised is a serious one that has been troubling the minds of many persons in Israel and abroad and deserves a serious reply, which I shall try to supply. Limitations of space do not allow me to reproduce MK Rom's elaborate table which purported to prove that there was no danger of the Arabs in "Whole Israel" becoming a majority in the near future. We shall mention that danger in the course of this reply, but the problems involved are more complex than simply of majority vs. minority and we shall attempt to point them out.

Demographic trends everywhere and in our country, too, have similar curves, directly related to improvement in health standards and inversely related to levels of standard of living and education. In a first stage the level is very low, almost without any growth because of low health standards and low social levels. In a second stage there is a sharp turn upwards in natural increase: high birth rate as in the first stage and falling death rate because of improving health standards. In a third stage there is a high plateau as levels of social development rise without health improving appreciably. Finally, a fourth stage with a sharp fall in natural increase because of birth control, with still low standards of living. Finally, stage five, with some growth in natural increase because of rising living standards and tendencies to have a third and fourth child.

## Levels in Israel

The Jewish population in Israel is situated in the middle of stage four: the lower social strata are drastically cutting their birthrate while the richer strata are tending to increase the number of children. General natural increase, though still rising, is tending to level off to the zero point. Continuing immigration from abroad, almost all of it Jewish, modifies this situation and increases the rate of increase of the Jewish population.

The natural increase of Israel's non-Jewish population has, since the state's establishment, been constantly rising. Rising standards of living and education work together with improved health standards (almost at the level of the Jewish population). The Israeli Arab natural increase curve has begun to taper off

but it is still at the very high level of more than 3.5 percent annually. It thus finds itself approximately at the level of the lower Jewish social strata, at the start of stage four.

The rate of natural increase of the population of the Occupied Territories, on the other hand, almost completely Arab in composition, is a tremendous one, especially in the Gaza Strip. Even though health standards have not yet reached the levels of Israel within the Green Line, improvement has been very great, with improvement in living standards lagging far behind. The population is thus in the second stage, though a part, at least on the West Bank, have already attained the third stage and are similar to Israel's Arabs. The Gaza Strip has not reached this level but its rate continues to rise swiftly.

## Changes in External Factors

Israel is a land of immigration. At least, it was created for that purpose: to serve as a refuge for the Jews of the world. Because of that, Zionism essentially means immigration, the largest possible territorial concentration of the Jewish diaspora in a country of its own.

Because of the country's difficult conditions, like that of all developing countries, with its own special problems as a land in a permanent state of emergency, be it because of the danger of attack from without or the economic difficulties of development and immigration integration, there has always also been emigration from Israel. The rates of emigration were always a function of the difficulties within the country. Ever since the middle of the previous decade and especially since the conclusion of the peace treaty, it has actually been the comparative tranquility that has made emigration possible. That is because most of the emigrants were born or educated in the country and could not allow themselves, psychologically, to desert the front. The security relaxation (accompanied by greater economic problems) tended towards increasing the rate of emigration.

The Jewish population's lower natural increase and the trend towards emigration have always been made up by immigration. These waves of immigration have always helped overcome Israel's no. 1 demographic problem: the tremendous Arab natural increase as compared to the more moderate Jewish one. From 1970 to 1975 (but also afterwards) there was a large wave of immigration from the USSR, whose emigration, unlike its drop-out rate in Vienna, is very small. This wave, however, could only help fill the demographic gap and could not raise the Jewish rate of increase. On the contrary, in recent years, as this stream has slowed down, it no longer suffices to meet the first task. The situation today is that the Arabs in Israel and the Occupied territories form 35.5 percent of the total population and would have gone higher if not for northern Sinai's transfer to Egypt. The Arab population within the Green Line has increased since 1976 from 10.5 to 12.4 percent and is approaching the 13 percent mark.

## The Demographic Dangers

The drastic change occurred in 1967. Instead of the 10.5 percent Arab minority within the State of Israel the Jewish state suddenly found itself ruling over a national minority of 35 percent. This was not only a quantitative change but had qualitative implications as well.

## "Peace Now" Conference

Jerusalem's Mayor, Teddy Kollek, told a "Peace Now" symposium on Jerusalem, held in Jerusalem's Bet Ha'am at the beginning of September, that the municipality's plan to settle Arabs in the western part of the city had failed because no government had ever adopted it. In his view, Jerusalem's Arabs were not interested in terror but in a more stable economy, something they had not had during the period of Jordanian rule and that had led to intellectuals leaving the city. However, he said, "Let us not delude ourselves, the Arabs feel themselves to be occupied".

Veteran Mapam leader Yaakov Hazan told the meeting that Israel had to remember that the other side also had interests and we must know what the other side could not yield in order not to compel it to fight to the bitter end. "A solution can be found", he said, "if the

Jews will be prepared to make very far-reaching concessions, up to the point of harming Jerusalem as Israel's capital".

Myron Benvenisti, one-time Jerusalem Vice-Mayor, said that in his view the dispute was a national one and not religious or over civil rights. The proof of that, he said, was that in contrast to the Machpelah Cave affair, in Jerusalem there had never been any argument over the Holy Sites. "This is a dispute over sovereignty and the matter of Jerusalem cannot be isolated from the dispute as a whole", he said.

Mr. Benvenisti also said that we must immediately cease expropriating Arab-owned land in East Jerusalem, that the arrangements existing in Jerusalem, like the Supreme Moslem Council, should be institutionalized, and we must deal only with subjects that are relevant to peace.

First of all, social and occupational changes: the economic slowdown before the Six-Day-War drove many Jews out of many manual labor occupations (especially building and agriculture) into services. This vacuum was filled after the war by workers from the territories. In one blow a new social stratification was created matching national divisions, a very explosive situation in itself.

This fact also had very serious "Zionist" implications. Israel was suddenly put back 50—60 years, to the time when the pioneers of the Second Aliya ended a similar situation among the members of the First Aliya: Jews as employers, Arabs as workers. The Second Aliya pioneers enhanced the value of labor; the results of the 1967 war damaged it critically. Jews once again returned to the service occupations.

This phenomenon also has heavy economic and security implications. Whole branches of the economy are in the hands of Arab workers, mostly from the Territories. Among these are the building trades, agriculture, restaurants and hotels, a considerable section of less-sophisticated industries like food-processing. These can be instruments of great pressure when these workers become more intensely nationalistic and are more effectively organized.

In a paradoxical fashion, the tremendous victory actually led to the intensification of the security burden, especially in dealing with problems of current security. The Israeli reserve soldier is called to service more often and is occupied more in police activities. A situation of oppressor and oppressed has been created and, even worse, the situation of a people living by its sword, with all the attendant violent criminality and the declining value of human life.

A whole new, even if small, class has come into being, of mediators between the two segments of the population, with their chief weapons their forcefulness, cunning, deceit and corruption, turning over huge sums of money without any moral restraints, with tacit government assent. And at its side, the cancer of flourishing drug smuggling.

## First Bedouin Local Council

The first Bedouin municipal council in Israel (one of the villagers said — in the world) will be established at the end of September in the al-Huzeil tribe's village of Rahat opposite kibbutz Shuval near Beersheba. The appointed council will number eleven members; four government ministry officials (Housing, Education, Health and Interior) and seven local inhabitants, most of them heads of clans. The municipal council's jurisdiction will cover 9,000 dunams with 22 neighborhoods. Twenty of these neighborhoods already have running water, nine — paved roads, and eight — electricity and street lights.

Baruch Hakim of kibbutz Shuval who has been caring for the village's municipal affairs for the area's regional council, says that municipal elections will be held in the village when the Minister of the Interior decides the time is ripe.

The direct meeting with the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories has had its inevitable deleterious cultural effects on veteran Israel's cultural levels.

All these problems and others unmentioned here have been the symptoms of one nation's domination over another. To these we should add the new link between the Arabs of Israel and their brothers on the side of the Green Line. Up until 1967 they were Arab citizens of Israel; from now on they have more and more become Palestinian Arabs with all the irridentist aspirations deriving from that.

The rule over another people plus the last phenomenon are creating a new set of attitudes on Israel's political map, one that will become more evident as the elections come closer. The tendency of the larger blocs is always to line up towards the right, towards the more nationalistic and extremist wing, for fear of being labeled as traitors. As examples we can see the recent voting on the "Jerusalem Law" and the prospective issue of applying Israeli law to the Golan Heights. All these go together with ugly political maneuvering, of conflicts between words and thoughts, further damaging the already shaken public credibility of Israel's political system.

Last but not least, Israel was established as a Jewish state, a state with a Jewish character that would absorb immigrants from abroad. The situation is completely different now and the forecast even darker. A national minority of 35 percent or more will give the Jewish state a completely different character. The true forecast, in contrast to MK Yosef Rom's statistics, is that by the year 2000 the Arabs will form a majority within the State of Israel if we do not speedily give up the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. We may then be able to continue to exist as a kind of South Africa but we will not be a Jewish State.

The first results can already be seen. Emigration has increased, there are fewer immigrants, our way of life has been hurt, social and cultural values are changing and are no longer either particularly Jewish or Zionist. That is the real demographic problem and these are its results.



## 70th Anniversary of Kibbutz Movement

The 70th anniversary of the founding of Degania is the holiday of the whole kibbutz movement, stated Union of Kibbutz Movements Secretary Avraham Brome at a press conference in Tel Aviv.

Secretary Brome said that the 254 kibbutzim throughout the country, with their population of 115,000, were an unexampled phenomenon throughout the world of equality and creativity. Grandchildren and great-grandchildren were continuing their fathers' ways in the kibbutz. This proved the truth of Buber's definition of the Israeli kibbutz movement as an experiment that had not failed.

The kibbutz movement today produces 40 percent of Israel's agricultural produce and a similar proportion of its agricultural exports. The 337 kibbutz industrial enterprises produced goods worth 15 billion liras in the Jewish year ending September 1979, of which 150 million dollars worth was for export.

### Problems to Be Solved

Among the kibbutz movement's outstanding achievements Secretary Brome listed its educational, cultural and artistic undertakings, the integration of new immigrants and the absorption of youth groups from distressed areas in Israel.

However, he went on to say, the kibbutz movement is troubled by a number of problems. Among these is the phenomenon of hired labor which forms about 38 percent of kibbutz manpower, and the distressing problem of kibbutz children leaving the kibbutz, "a phenome-

## Greetings to a Good Friend

"Progressive Israel" adds its warm greetings to those sent by Mapam General Secretary Victor Shemtov, Kibbutz Artzi Secretary Aliza Amir and World Union head Aryeh Shapir, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of SVEKIV, the Swedish Friends of the Kibbutz. During its 10 years of existence the organization has sent more than 1,000 volunteers to Israeli kibbutzim, established close ties with all the parts of the kibbutz movement and conducted broad informational activities on behalf of progressive Israel.

## Israel's Population — 3,885,000

Israel's population at the start of the new year was 3,885,000; 3,254,000 Jews and 631,000 non-Jews. During the past year the State's population increased by 82,000 (2.2 percent as compared to 2.5 the year before).

The Jewish population grew by 61,000. Natural increase was estimated at 45,000 and immigration at 16,000.

non we are trying to prevent. We will do everything we can to bring them back to their kibbutzim".

The kibbutz' goals for the coming decade, he said, were continued growth and expansion in all fields, absorbing new immigrants (today about six percent of the total), integrating families from the cities and absorbing youth groups.

In the near future, he said, 10 new kibbutzim will be founded, though lack of housing was holding up settlement.

## Calls for Negotiations with Jordan

Vienna: Israel should negotiate a peace treaty with Jordan and with "any Palestinian element" recognizing Israel and avoiding terrorist activities. That is what Mapam's General Secretary, Victor Shemtov, said in an interview published recently in the Viennese "Arbeiter Zeitung".

Mr. Shemtov added that his remarks included the PLO if that organization accepted these conditions.

Secretary Shemtov also said that in order to solve the Palestinian problem in all its aspects Israel must be prepared to return the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. However, before that could be done negotiations would have to take place to draw up new borders providing Israel with the security it needed. "We are not interested in annexing the West Bank", Shemtov said. He added that Mapam would prefer the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian federation.

"There are Palestinians on both sides of the Jordan and it would be desirable for them to live in one country", Shemtov said. "A preliminary condition for this would be the demilitarization of the West Bank. All the refugees and exiles should find their places within the Jordanian-Palestinian space. At a later time Jerusalem could become the capital of a possible confederation between the Jordanian-Palestinian state and Israel".

In Victor Shemtov's view the city's status should to some extent be like that of the Vatican. The Holy Sites should be granted extraterritorial status, with token military forces composed of Jews, Moslems and Christians.