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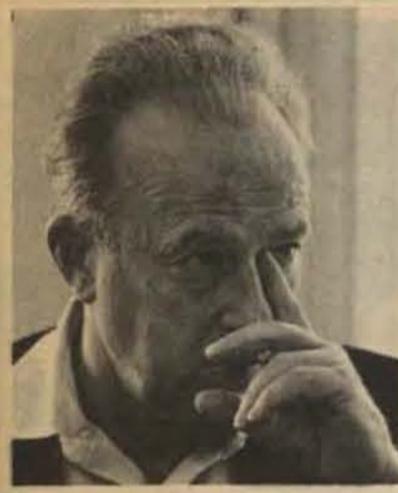
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Jaffe, Eliezer. 1975-1976.

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24.10.76



Yitzhak Rabin

UNFORTUNATELY, Israel, like most industrializing, Western-oriented countries, has not escaped the relentless "discovery" of modern social problems.

Many of the early pioneers thought we could avoid these plagues by developing a strong labour federation and a special sense of national mission in the Ingathering of the Exiles. But the intense nation-building that has taken place during the past three decades has not immunized us against the social ills of the countries on which we patterned ourselves.

In the past decade alone we have "discovered" poverty in Israel, white-collar crime, prostitution, drug-addiction, and probably next in line, alcoholism.

Each "discovery" was preceded by sensational cases-in-point or public disturbances which threatened the middle class as well as lower income groups. Inevitably, after the first shock faded away we moved on to routine business, leaving a blanket of "inter-ministerial committees," coordinating bodies, and other high-sounding entities that gave the impression that serious efforts were being made to do something.

But we have been occupied with the trappings of deliberation and policy-making regarding these social problems and have consistently reacted to them on an *ad hoc* basis as they arose, without seriously attempting to define the roots of the problems, avenues of attack, resources needed, and the responsibility for waging war against them.

The conclusion is not that we lack the talent or even the material means to attack our social problems, but that we are divided among ourselves, are unable to set priorities, and, worst of all, that there seems to be no one at the helm who grasps how disastrous these problems may be for our social fabric.

There is a glaring absence of political leadership and imagination in coping with the social issues confronting our society. In the crush of defence problems and other "big issues" the quality of Israeli life is going down the drain. Moreover, it seems that the present government coalition is so busy holding itself together that this is really "not the right time" to talk about welfare. No one has the time nor the mind for it, and the middle class, in particular, now relatively hard-pressed economically, is not in a mood for it.

In this area the government and the Prime Minister seem to be content with the status quo. The establishment of committee after committee to ponder social issues tends to bear out this hypothesis. It is indeed a fact that the government already knows more about what ought to be done than it is willing or able to do.

The fate of the report of the Prime Minister's Commission on Disadvantaged Youth (the Katz Report) is proof enough that these assertions are no exaggeration.

No time for policy

The Rabin Government has produced no significant welfare strategy, and even the much-touted "new policy" of "special services to special problems" is simply the same earlier policy of plugging holes in the dam, writes ELIEZER JAFFE.



Golda Meir

MRS. GOLDA MEIR set up the commission in the wake of the volatile appearance of the Black Panthers in Jerusalem in March 1971. In 1972, after nearly two years of study, the 11 sub-committees, with over 120 participants, produced a three-volume report on Israel's social ills, together with some recommendations as to what should be done.

However, since there was no list of priorities among the competing recommendations, and especially since some of the recommendations were politically impractical for the fragile government coalition to implement, the Cabinet established five new forums for social strategy and threw the entire package into their lap.

The first new body was a "Ministerial Committee for Social Welfare," composed of over half a dozen Cabinet members responsible for "social" portfolios (e.g., education, finance, social welfare, police, health, housing), headed by Shlomo Hillel, Minister of Police.

The committee's aim is to set policy priorities and coordinate programmes and budgets involving broad social welfare issues, and to get the various Ministries to view the total picture instead of just their own piece of the puzzle. Unfortunately, the committee has come up with relatively little master-planning and policy, although it has, on occasion, served as watchdog in tempering Finance Ministry schemes that were insensitive to the problems of the poor.

The watchdog has sometimes dozed, however: when subsidies on basic staples were drastically reduced, without any compensation to low-income groups, it was a long time before the committee intervened. Each Ministry still seems to be running its own show, much as before.

The second group established after publication of the Katz Report was the "Inter-Ministry Committee on Welfare" composed of senior personnel of the above ministries as well as representatives of the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, and the local authorities. It is supposed to coordinate government policy and plan together at the operational level. Unfortunately, the same problem of vested interests sabotaging action by the ministers is being experienced by their representatives on the Inter-Ministry Committee. As time goes on, more and more junior representatives are being sent to these meetings.

The third forum created was a rather poor imitation of the earlier Prime Ministers' Committee format: 10 separate professional and lay advisory committees called "task forces" or "teams" dealing with selected social "areas" — including education, health, income maintenance, the Arab sector, the aged, the family, housing and development towns.

Indicative of the poor conception and organization of these teams is the fact that at least in one area, development towns, a Committee of Ministers already existed, making

duplication inevitable from the start. Each task force consists of about 12 lay and professional members, with innumerable sub-committees each of which co-opts additional members as desired.

One senior official has dubbed these task forces and their subcommittees, *Am Yisrael* — "the entire people of Israel." And to make sure that "all of Israel" is really represented, a large portion of task force members are dismissed after a tour of duty and a new crew is appointed in their place.

THE MANDATES of the task forces are so global as to allow for inclusion of almost any area of deliberation. The chairman of one team presented it with a list of over 70 possible topics and sub-topics for discussion! No one had any idea of how to avoid overlapping between task forces, which may indicate that no one really cares. These forums are mere showcases, all but useless as tools for serious work. Many committee members do not show up at meetings (in one committee some members have yet to make an appearance), and at least one committee has considered discontinuing its meetings because none of its recommendations has been implemented.

The chairman of the teams or task forces make up yet a fourth committee, the "Executive of the Public Advisory Council to the Prime Minister for Welfare Matters." This group, headed by the Prime Minister, considers the recommendations made by the various teams. Attached to this group is a salaried "director-general," who also visits the teams from time to time and "coordinates" their work.

To add to the general mess, another body has been created which serves as the headquarters for the above forums and is located in the Prime Ministers' Office. This fifth new government staff position is called "The Adviser to the Prime Minister on Welfare Matters and the Chairman of the Executive of the Public Advisory Council to the Prime Minister for Welfare Matters."

Baruch Levy, present occupant of the post, officially appoints members to the task forces, serves as staff person to Mr. Hillel's Ministerial Committee, and is unofficial trouble-shooter and facilitator for clearing paths to various ministries and occasionally putting pressure on them to cut red tape.

He also serves as spokesman for the Prime Minister on welfare subjects, mostly describing and explaining the cumbersome machinery he has been saddled with. He is a valiant, sympathetic public servant, but he is certainly unable to make policy and apparently has very little impact on the Prime Minister.

WHILE GOLDA MEIR would sit seven hours at a stretch in 1972 to

hear the Katz Committee's verbal presentation and testimony, Mr. Rabin has invested very little time in contact with any of the forums noted above. He inherited this bureaucratic monstrosity which was set up by the Cabinet on July 8, 1974, and he has not taken the time to look at it carefully, change it — or abolish it.

If he takes it seriously, he is guilty both of poor administrative savvy and of obtaining very poor counsel. Some say the problem is "simply" a matter of poor implementation. My guess is that Mr. Rabin has not really concerned himself with welfare issues and that he has therefore invested only minimal energy in this area. He may even think that the showcase parliament created by Mrs. Meir's government may look good for his government, while not drawing significantly on resources.

The fact is, however, that no significant welfare strategy has emerged from the Rabin government, and even the highly touted "new policy" of "special services to special problems" proclaimed by Mr. Rabin in October 1975 is simply the same earlier policy of plugging holes in the dam.

Even hopes for bold programmatic long-term objectives — e.g., national health insurance, free school lunches, and free high school education — have not been offered to the public. Welfare is being run very much from hand-to-mouth, which hardly instills a sense of direction or of light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel for the disadvantaged, the near-poor, or the average citizen.

IN THIS vacuum, no great ray of light has emerged from the Ministry of Social Welfare either. Zevulun Hammer, now Minister for almost a

year, has launched no broad campaign for reorganization of social welfare in Israel. He has made too many early pronouncements, and proposed off-the-cuff remedies to complex problems.

A substantial part of the Ministry's "major reorganization of 14 welfare offices" — involving separation of staff functions, with social workers engaged in treatment and brokerage, and administrative workers giving financial aid — was implemented in the Jerusalem municipality by the present writer nearly four years ago, and is just now being undertaken by the Ministry nationally.

The irony is that in the meantime the Katz Committee, the Hausner Committee on Government Reorganization, and nearly everyone else has recommended shifting financial aid from the Ministry of Social Welfare to the National Insurance Institute, or even to the Finance Ministry as part of a "negative income-tax" programme. So the major "reorganization" of welfare offices, which the Ministry is now bent on implementing, is both obsolete and at odds with a series of recommendations submitted to the Government. All it really accomplished is to preserve "territory" for the Ministry of Social Welfare.

If Mr. Hammer pushes as hard for the establishment of a "Super-Ministry for Social Betterment" as he has done for Jewish settlement, including resort to threatening a Cabinet crisis, we may witness some interesting developments.

Dr. Jaffe is a Senior Lecturer in Social Work at the Hebrew University and a former Director of the Department of Family and Community Services of the Jerusalem Municipality.

POSTSCRIPTS

A LESSER-known American bicentennial is being celebrated, ironically enough, by Britain's Royal Navy. Two hundred years ago a sergeant in the American Revolutionary Army named Ezra Lee, set off in what looked like a wooden beer-barrel to make the first submarine attack in history.

The British Admiralty, which is this month celebrating 75 years of the Royal Navy's submarine service, recalls that Lee's target was HMS *Eagle*, the flag-ship of the British fleet blockading New York harbour. Lee's "submarine," named *Turtle*, was powered by two foot-operated propellers and contained enough air to remain submerged for 30 minutes.

When Lee reached the *Eagle*, he dived. His plan was to bore a screw device into the flag-ship's hull, leaving it to support a package of explosives triggered by a clockwork mechanism. The screw, however,

could not penetrate the copper-bottomed hull and he was forced to surface.

The next milestone in submarine history was also American — Robert Fulton's construction of the three-man *Nautilus* in 1795. He offered the design to France who turned it down as "a dishonorable form of warfare." Britain was also not interested on the grounds that the submarine offered "a mode of war which those who command the sea do not want, and if successful deprive them of it."

Today, 200 years after Sgt. Lee set out to sea in his beer-barrel, as the Ofns report comments, the Soviet Union has 78 strategic missile launching submarines, 40 nuclear powered submarines and 44 nuclear powered hunter-killers plus 41 Polaris or Poseidon boats and Britain has four Polaris boats.

WELCOME

11.3.76

VIEWPOINT

FOR NEARLY FIVE months debate has continued on both the amount of the minimum wage and the criteria used to determine it. Discussion started last year when Knesset members Jack Amir and Meir Cohen submitted a Parliamentary query, asking why there were so many wage-earners among welfare recipients.

MKs Amir and Cohen had pinpointed a major fault in Israel's economic and social policy: Thousands of hard-working wage earners are forced to become welfare cases, because the monthly minimum wage in many industries is lower than monthly public assistance payments. Over 26 per cent of Israel's 36,969 welfare grant recipients in 1974/75 were working poor, mostly breadwinners with large families.

How did this situation arise? What led to the utilization of welfare payments as a government subsidy to low-paying industries, to the artificial swelling of welfare roles, and the stigmatization of thousands of hard-working Israelis?

The minimum wage in Israel has generally been negotiated between the Histadrut and the Manufacturers Association. Unlike welfare payments — which are tied by law to a level of 40 per cent of the average wage — the minimum wage is unlinked to any index, is not defined by law, is fixed only during wage agreements held every few years, and thus does not increase automatically in-between.

The size of the minimum wage depends upon the social consciousness of the Histadrut, public pressure, and the bargaining ability of Histadrut officials vis à vis the Manufacturers. It is a sad comment that in the area of determining basic wages for low income groups, the

Thousands of hard-working wage earners have gone on the dole because the minimum wage is often lower than monthly welfare grants. This has been caused by the Histadrut's failure to negotiate a linked minimum wage, writes Eliezer Jaffe.

Defeat of the minimum wage

Histadrut has been an exceptionally poor advocate. While the Histadrut insists on being the sole bargaining agent for workers' salaries (and indeed, it established the first minimum wage in 1972), the Histadrut has neglected to tie the minimum wage to any economic index. This results in a mockery of minimum wage "bargaining" because of the rate of inflation.

The plight of the working poor has become so serious in the past few months that Mrs. Shoshana Arbeli-Almozino, Chairman of the Knesset Labour Committee, and several other committee members began pressing for legislation to tie the minimum wage to a level of about 60 per cent of the average wage. This would mean an automatic, floating increase pegged nearly 20 per cent above welfare payments, so that no full-time worker would have to rely on welfare payments.

Mrs. Almozino's plan, of course, would remove bargaining power and caretaker status over the working poor from the Histadrut for the first

time. This concept was taken as an insult and threat to the Histadrut, and heavy pressure was brought to bear against legislating an automatic, self-revising minimum wage.

THE POWER STRUGGLE to save Histadrut prestige and to preserve its bargaining territory persisted, despite evidence presented to the Knesset by the National Insurance Institute showing the minimum wage in 1975 actually fell below that of welfare payments. The "price" of Histadrut prestige was paid for by the working poor, who were forced into the stigma of supplementing their income by requests for welfare payments.

Without an automatic, legislated minimum wage, the result is that inflation inevitably causes the poverty line (i.e. the automatically increasing welfare rates) to become, in effect, the minimum wage. For example, in April 1974 the negotiated minimum wage stood at 46 per cent of the average wage that year. While other wages climbed, the pre-fixed

minimum wage in November, 1975 had dropped because of inflation to 39 per cent of the average wage — a drop of seven per cent with no retroactive corrections or changes until the next round of wage negotiations.

It should be noted that many families whose income from salaries falls just a few percentage points below the welfare rates (i.e., 40 per cent of the average wage, or IL1,150 for a family of four in April 1976) usually do not apply to the welfare office for supplementary assistance; because of the bureaucratic red tape, social implications and loss of pride involved in such applications.

The Knesset decision last month not to legislate a guaranteed minimum wage, and to leave the issue to the Histadrut was a terrible error and a poor showing for those Knesset members who backed down from their social responsibility in favour of political expediency. It is a shame we do not yet have direct elections in Israel, and that working poor are not yet organized into a viable lobby. If either of these elements had existed, we would not have witnessed the travesty just perpetrated on thousands of hard-working Israelis.

The next time someone gets excited and incited when reading about the increase in welfare rolls (which are sure to come), let him think twice about who put them there. For these hard-working poor, social work "rehabilitation" is a cynical joke. And all this in a society which exalts and exhorts the sanctity of labour and the "rights" of the worker.

Dr. Jaffe is on the faculty of the School of Social Work of the Hebrew University, was Director of the Welfare Department of the Jerusalem Municipality, and is a co-founder of ZAHAVI, the Association of Large Families in Israel.

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

PAUL BAERWALD SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

בית הספר לעבודה סוציאלית ע"ש פאול ברוולד



2-11-75

Dear Herb,

Thanks very much for your note! It's not so much the battle for change that frustrates me, as the timidity and fear of many "colleagues" in the social work establishment and social work education that opt out of active responsibility for change. That really angers me. They gripe under their teeth and speak like lions in private gatherings - but shut up in public and go right on servicing the same junk, and call me Don Quixote.

That's why notes like yours help my morale.

Be well,

Eliezer (Zee)

ANY ATTEMPT to redesign the network of social services in Israel, or in any country, must be prefaced with the understanding that these are political rather than professional decisions. Thus many of the best suggestions of welfare consultants and social policy specialists have not, and cannot be implemented without endangering the political balance of power. The classic example of this situation on the Israeli scene is the moratorium operating on the implementation of the most significant recommendations of the Prime Minister's Commission on Disadvantaged Youth issued in 1972.

The Commission recommended to the Government that all income-maintenance functions be housed under "one roof," that there should be uniform criteria for programme eligibility, one administrative staff, and national, rather than local implementation. As a member of the Commission I would not be wrong in saying that the large majority viewed the National Insurance Institute of the Ministry of Labour as the most appropriate roof for the income maintenance function, rather than the Ministry of Social Welfare. The political reality, however, would not allow transferring public welfare payments from the Ministry of Welfare, run by the National Religious Party, a crucial coalition partner in the government, to the Ministry of Labour, run by the Alignment Party, the largest partner to the government coalition.

Improvised basis

What has been neglected throughout the years of political accommodation in Israeli welfare, has been any serious attempt to reconceptualize the welfare network. Without a set, or opposing sets, of conceptual views our welfare programmes will continue to develop on an ad-hoc, improvised basis, with intermittent inter- and intra-ministerial struggles for new territory and control over old turf. This alternative is costly for a small country with meagre resources, and the cost in terms of human as well as financial waste can carry over several generations.

THE SOCIAL SERVICES are mobilized and called into operation only when problems occur, when a hole appears in the dyke, when the major, "normal" social institutions do not succeed in handling certain individuals and groups. At that point social welfare services were created to care for the residual cases. The result of this conceptualization was the creation, over 40 years ago, during the British Mandate, of the Welfare Department of the Vaad Leumi, as a general social agency for Jews who could not function without help from the rest of the Yishuv.

Over the years the Ministry of Social Welfare, as successor and inheritor to the Welfare Department of the Vaad Haleumi, was traditionally apportioned to smaller, usually religious or left-of-centre coalition parties with a presumed inherent affinity for the unfortunate and disadvantaged. The larger political parties never viewed "welfare" as a

Perhaps, of all these changes, that related to income maintenance is the most discussed and controversial. For one thing, transferring public welfare grants from the

New role for the Ministry of Social Welfare

Prime Minister Rabin promised on Israel Television on Tuesday night to turn his attention to internal social problems. DR. ELIEZER JAFFE advocates in this article the transformation of the Ministry of Social Welfare into a universal, highly professional, family counselling, treatment-oriented and brokerage agency, operating in each city, and providing individualized, face-to-face help to all families and individuals in difficulty.

significant economic portfolio and fully embraced the residual concept of social service. Also, welfare recipients never coalesced into a significant voting block or pressure groups, and for the most part citizens were embarrassed to have to receive "charity." In the Jewish Israeli culture it is a blessing to give to the needy, but a curse to have to receive public assistance.

In recent years, primarily since the appearance of the Israeli Black Panthers in March, 1971, the whole issue of welfare and the disadvantaged has been linked to the fabric of the State, to the gap between Jews of Oriental and Western origin and to a battle for reallocation of resources and power to influence social policy. There is a strong current in favour of bolstering the larger social institutions serving the disadvantaged and to widen their services, in order to make them more universally available, rather than strengthen and create even more ad-hoc, selective welfare services.

Now that the Prime Minister has indicated his hope that the government will have time to turn its attention inward, it may be appropriate to look at some of the alternative models for restructuring the public welfare network.

IT IS ESSENTIAL in my view to move towards the universal concept of social service provision. In other words, functions related to provision of housing for the poor (rentals, mortgages, moving costs, etc.) should not be lodged in the public welfare offices. The same is true for basic health services to the poor and aged; these should be provided by the Health Ministry. Basic educational needs such as tuition subsidies, school books, uniforms, and even school social work should be provided by the Ministry of Education. Rehabilitation services to the poor and the handicapped should be provided directly by the Ministry of Labour. And finally, the basic income maintenance function should be housed in the National Insurance Institute, or with the Income Tax Section of the Finance Ministry as part of a negative income tax programme.

Above all, the organizational changes suggested here are necessary to undo the consistent removal of the low-income, disadvantaged populations from the major institutions of our society. Without malice aforethought, for over 40 years we have allowed various Ministries to shunt the most needy among us into a Welfare Ministry that has never been

Ministry of Welfare would mean an end to the nearly sacred bond between financial assistance and treatment. Several generations of social workers in Israel have been schooled to turn their clients toward treatment and behavioural change by the awarding or withholding of financial assistance, or at best, by the sophisticated use of supplementary support. However, such concepts have long been attacked by clients' rights groups, and social work educators in the major Western countries, and, in fact, assistance payments have been separated from social service for several years in parts of Israel and the U.S., and for even longer in Great Britain.

But in Israel, the myth still widely persists that everyone needing money also needs "treatment." The concept is hard to eliminate. It is accepted particularly with regard to "special assistance" where the social worker can utilize "professional judgment" to provide or purchase concrete services over and beyond that included in the basic welfare grant. However, it is entirely possible to define clear criteria for supplementary assistance and to provide these grants via the National Insurance Institute.

A client's need

The irony is that since social worker judgment is now used as the primary method for determining a client's need for special assistance (mainly to stretch inadequate budgets among equally needy clients), the removal of supplementary assistance from public welfare offices threatens to eliminate a major area of professional judgment. Perhaps a compromise is needed where the National Insurance Institute would establish a team of social workers in each of its district offices to review requests for Supplementary Benefits. But, whichever agency or procedure, there is no escaping the imperative for defining clearly the eligibility criteria for Supplementary Benefits.

ABOVE ALL, the organizational changes suggested here are necessary to undo the consistent removal of the low-income, disadvantaged populations from the major institutions of our society. Without malice aforethought, for over 40 years we have allowed various Ministries to shunt the most needy among us into a Welfare Ministry that has never been

able to compete with the facilities of other ministries, despite all of the efforts and dedication of Welfare Ministry employees.

The original conceptualization of service delivery was wrong. Instead of linking the disadvantaged into the larger, specialized Ministries we deliberately excluded them and transferred them to a residual, relatively ill-equipped welfare system, and out of the mainstream of Israeli society. And unless we correct this situation soon, we will be paying the price for generations to come by perpetuating their "separate" status.

Several concrete steps must be taken to implement the above transfers. For one thing, we will have to spell out the boundaries and obligations of each of the Ministries regarding the poor and disadvantaged. And this will mean anchoring these criteria in law, rather than in present administrative regulations. The inextricable link between legislating eligibility for service and the funding of those services, must not be a deterrent to legislation. Benefits, while uniform and universal, can be realistically in line with resources, and "claw-back" and other progressive features can be implemented to tie benefits to income levels.

We must also accept the reality that "social work" and social workers have, during the past 10 years, ceased being the exclusive domain of the Ministry of Social Welfare. Social workers are now employed in large numbers by industry, the Army, and the Ministries of Health, Housing, and Education. There is every possibility of helping these organizations to operate even larger social work programmes, such as school social work, street corner programmes, and other services. There is no reason why institutions for juvenile delinquents could not be operated by the Ministry of Education in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour, with a strong contingent of social work staff employed by these two Ministries.

WHAT WOULD BE left of the Ministry of Social Welfare if things are parcelled out? There are several possibilities.

The political struggle of the National Religious Party (NRP) to preserve the Ministry of Social Welfare could be diverted to efforts over control of another Ministry such as Health, Education, or perhaps Agriculture, or even Labour, although the latter course seems politically unrealistic. In this event, indeed, the present Ministry of Welfare might be abolished or merged with another Ministry.

Another, perhaps more feasible alternative, would involve retention of the Ministry of Welfare as a universal, highly professional, family counselling, treatment-oriented, and

brokerage agency, operating in each city, and providing highly individualized, face-to-face help to all families and individuals in difficulty. The social workers employed by this "Ministry of Family and Community Services" would not be providing financial aid, but would be offering counselling, advice, and linking people to a wide variety of appropriate services in the country. It would also work with neighbourhoods and communities to develop citizen action and participation, including the funding of pilot projects for potential adoption by other Ministries and agencies.

Most important of all, it could provide basic child welfare services to the entire population such as adoptions, foster care, day care programmes, rest homes for non-working mothers of large families, group-homes for adolescents, and other arrangements in-home and for out-of-the-home care of children and young adults, as well as licensing and services to neglected and abused children. I would also include here probation services, services to unmarried parents and their children, homemaker services, and especially the coordination of voluntary organizations now providing social welfare services to families and children in distress.

Legal aid

The new Ministry might possibly embark on provision of legal aid and advice to the disadvantaged, as well as advocacy, although past experience in lodging these functions in government agencies has been discouraging, to say the least.

In other words, the type of Ministry proposed here would involve a highly prestigious, professional network of personalized services to all citizens, not only the poor, but to anyone who might need to use them.

This Ministry might also be the central government agency for welfare and human resources data collection, research, and programme evaluation, although this function would almost certainly be contested by other government units, such as the Central Bureau of Statistics and various Ministries.

AS TO THE relationship of the reorganized Ministry described above to the municipalities, I would urge that welfare funding be located with the national government entirely. This has been the basic trend over the years. Municipalities have been unable to carry the burden of welfare expenditure, and have difficulty conceptualizing the importance of professional, personal and family counselling. The social needs of the various towns and cities are totally beyond their economic capacity at this time, and will be so for a long time to come.

Of the two basic patterns for administrative responsibility, i.e., municipal responsibility for administration programmes and State supervision, or total State responsibility and administration and supervision via State district offices, I would suggest the latter pattern. Total State responsibility would be in tune with the national funding arrangement suggested above, the above all, it would eliminate the relatively ineffectual entrepreneur role which municipal leaders now exercise between the citizen and the State regarding welfare services.

Dr. Jaffe spent his recent sabbatical leave from the Hebrew University's School of Social Work as Associate Professor of Social Welfare at Cleveland State University.

Editor: Lea Ben Dor

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Brave words on welfare

THE PRIME MINISTER on Tuesday came out clearly in favour of the selective, rather than the universal, approach to the solution of social problems. At the same time he put an end to discussions about reorganizations of Ministries and the establishment of a Super-Ministry for Social Betterment.

In his decision he followed the recommendation of his adviser on social welfare matters, Baruch Levy, worked out over a year with the Public Council for Social Betterment. The report says in essence that the meagre resources available for social welfare must be focused on the underprivileged through the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Social Betterment and through the Welfare Ministry.

The universal approach stresses the provision, through Government subsidies, of equal services in health, education, transport and social insurance for the entire population, incidentally benefitting also the weaker sections. The selective approach prefers to let the stronger parts of the population fend for themselves and to concentrate on resolving the problems of the poor.

While impressive results can be credited to the universal approach, leading social scientists, including the late, renowned Prof. Richard Titmus, of Britain, have in recent years tended to swing back to the selective approach.

The report on the underprivileged commissioned in 1972 by Premier Golda Meir was a diagnosis of most of the ills afflicting our poor. It tended to favour the universal approach as a long-range remedy. There are those who say it failed to lead to a narrowing of the social gap. Others say that it had no chance to become effective because of the Yom Kippur War. Cynics say that it was not much more than a sop thrown to the Black Panthers following their agitations in 1971.

The present decision by the Government is not the result of rioting in the streets, nor is it a pre-election gimmick. It seems to be based on a sober appraisal of what can be done under the present, post-interim agreement economic circumstances.

The big question is how the Government will implement its decision. Mr. Rabin warned the Public Council that no additional funds for welfare will be available. This warning could be interpreted as an exculpation in advance of why nothing much will change in the welfare picture. The upcoming discussions on the 1976/77 budget will show whether the Government has the strength to fight vested interests and divert additional funds from other programmes into welfare. Brave talk about greater efficiency and a return to the labour morality of pioneer days will not be enough.

The shouts of the Black Panthers have died down. The poor have not coalesced into a coherent pressure group. It is the realization that the needs of defence, economic health and the people's natural feeling for social justice, all combine to make imperative a determined effort at helping the underprivileged that now motivates the authorities.

The coming months will show a jaded public whether just another report has been written and the Government has once more gone through the motions of "doing something" about the underprivileged. Alternatively, it is possible that, with vigorous leadership and personal example, the public can be guided to accept cuts in services hitherto taken for granted, so that real measures to narrow the social gap can be taken.

But not all the responsibility for progress can be thrown on the Government, and failure blamed automatically on the "lack of leadership." Mr. Public, who himself struggles under economic hardships but who is not a candidate for welfare, has much to contribute in creating the climate of economic restraint and higher work morality, which alone will enable the Government to carry out the plans it has so bravely announced.

By Eliezer D. Jaffe

What You Should Know About Welfare in Israel

IN November 1974, the late Pinchas Sapir, then Chairman of the Jewish Agency, visited Cleveland, Ohio to speak with the Jewish community. The Sapir lecture was set up in a question-and-answer format, where four members of the community representing a large Jewish educational institution, the community relations committee, the local Zionist federation, and the Jewish students coalition, were to ask questions of Mr. Sapir. Additional questions could be submitted in writing from the audience to the program chairman who screened them for Mr. Sapir.

The night before Sapir's lecture I received a phone call from a member of the students' coalition. I had given a talk in Jerusalem the previous summer on Israeli welfare issues to a large group of visiting Ohio college students and my caller was one of these students who had heard that I was in Cleveland on sabbatical leave from the Hebrew University. He told me bitterly that the organizers of the meeting had "suggested" a series of innocuous questions for the student panelist to ask Mr. Sapir. The students had summarily refused to do this and requested my advice in formulating "real" questions.

This seemingly insignificant incident is a sad commentary on an unhealthy relationship that has been nurtured for decades, consciously or otherwise, between Israel and American Jewry. How does it happen that representatives of a large Jewish community "starving" for information about developments in postwar Israel (Yom Kippur, this time), and favored with a visit by one of the most controversial, influential figures in Israeli politics and finance, find it necessary to plant questions and defuse the discussion?

During my sabbatical year here in the U.S. I have had many occasions to talk with American Jews from all walks of life, religious and non-religious, rich and

Eliezer D. Jaffe served recently as visiting associate professor of social welfare at Cleveland State University, on sabbatical leave from the School of Social Work of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He was director of the Department of Family and Community Services of the Jerusalem Municipality, and a member of the Prime Minister's Committee on Disadvantaged Youth.

poor, students and professors. The overwhelming impression gleaned from these encounters is the unbelievable ignorance and lack of accurate information about life and social problems in Israel. The mass of American Jews, and not a small number of Jewish welfare federation people, rabbis, and the educated Jewish leadership, have been bred for a quarter of a century on slogans, press releases, and official commentaries by well-meaning Israeli government, Jewish Agency, and public relations staffers.

Appeals to American Jews have consistently been more to the heart than to the head, to stereotypes rather than to details, and to emotion rather than information and education. I believe that this is, inevitably, a poor way to raise funds and a sure way to sterilize relationships between Israel and diaspora Jews. The approach is shallow and must surely boomerang in future years.

The one area where facts are presented to American Jews more extensively and openly concerns Israel's military situation. U.J.A. missions have always been given frank, first-hand briefings by military personnel on the defense situation. They were taken by helicopter to the Canal, to the air bases and front-lines, and sometimes flown directly from New York to military bases in Israel. No effort was spared to explain the defense situation—indeed, this focus on survival has been the major theme which fundraisers could present effectively, honestly, and unequivocally.

Social problems in Israel, however, are another kettle of fish. The appeal for "social welfare" funds has traditionally been framed around the "saleable-non-pathological" social problems of Israel such as immigration, absorption, dependent children, refugees, orphans, health services, and day care centers. All of these areas are seen by the public relations spokesmen and fundraisers, and perhaps by potential givers—at least so the fundraisers believe—as exogenous ills, that is, things that happen to people by virtue of fate or circumstance and are capable of showing positive results when treated. This, in turn, has led to repeated appeals for additional funds based on "success stories" attesting to the successful use of funds from past campaigns. The search for success

push the PLO measure, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sidestepped the thrust of the Arab extremists, as members sought a higher price for their votes. The final OAU resolution "merely" mentioned "the possibility of eventually depriving" Israel of its membership. The poor nations finally had something valuable to sell—Israel.

In the meanwhile, the following related developments in 1975 have virtually destroyed the non-political nature of the two UN systems that had been doing a meaningful job—the specialized agencies and functional programs: The UNESCO Executive Board, far from making mute the sanctions voted by the UNESCO General Conference in November 1974 itself voted to exclude Israel from conferences on education in the Mediterranean area. The World Health Organization (WHO) censured Israel for not permitting a hostile political investigatory committee access to Israel administered territories after a WHO expert medical team had already investigated health conditions in these territories, reported favorably upon them, and had its report rejected. The International Labor Organization (ILO) admitted the PLO to observer status in violation of its constitution and tripartite structure of representation from government, management, and labor. The UN International Women's Year Conference voted to condemn and fight against Zionism. And the Asian and African regional preparatory meetings on the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat) voted to exclude Israel from the Conference, which is scheduled to take place in Vancouver, British Columbia (Canada) in May-June 1976.

IN SPITE of serious setbacks over the last few years, United States policy-makers have apparently reached the conclusion that the national interest in UN membership remains high and basically unaltered. This was the tenor of outgoing Ambassador John Scali's testimony before Congress in early February 1975 and the rationale behind incoming Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan's policy of engagement.

The State Department is apparently taking the long view. The UN for the last several years has been concerned with relatively few political items discussed ad nauseum. As Lady Gaitskell of Britain observed about speeches at the UN: "The constant repetition of the words 'colonialism', 'imperialism', 'neo-colonialism', and 'racism' had become an incantation and seemed to have a narcotic effect on some delegations."

The demise of Portugal's African empire should just about end serious concern with colonialism. South Africa, for the same reason, has initiated moves to improve relations with its black neighbors. And peace in the Middle East may yet come to a generation fed up with war. If it does not, the Arabs' overwhelming financial and political power, which dates back only a few years, may decline in another decade as other energy sources are discovered. World political forces have a habit of realigning themselves.

In the meantime the United States must respond to the shifting balance of forces by mobilizing its vast resources and demonstrating its continuing primacy and vigor. The threat to the UN Charter must not go unchallenged. If the Arabs oust Israel at the PLO's behest, then the U.S. must react by withdrawing its own General Assembly delegation. Undoubtedly, Congress will also want to cut back America's contribution to the UN, perhaps using the money instead for programs that will be appreciated by those states genuinely committed to the purposes and principles of the UN. If the General Assembly is going to abandon the Charter for a while and support violence and terror, there is no reason why it should do so on a U.S. allowance. As U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has warned in a major foreign policy address: "Those who seek to manipulate UN membership by procedural abuse may well inherit an empty shell." □

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stories became, over the years, transformed into an institutionalized, selective process of not telling about the failures, or the reasons for failures, whether conceptual, programmatic, political or bureaucratic.

The more grueling, hard-core social problems such as poverty, large-scale slum-housing, delinquency, juvenile prostitution, retardation, large families in trouble, and drug addiction were never viewed by Israeli government spokesmen and fundraising image-makers for Israeli as themes suitable for campaigns abroad. These were seen as endogenous social problems, inherent in the failures of the individuals involved. It was hard to find success stories to tell about them and they were non-saleable, pathological ills which most American Jews would be shocked to hear existed in Israel, in view of their utopian image of the young, socialistic Zionist State. For over 25 years this dark side of Israeli life was rarely shown to the American Jewish leadership and was considered taboo as "campaign material."

Another extremely important factor in this half-honest relationship with diaspora Jews was the premeditated inaccessibility of diaspora leadership to other than "official" governmental or Histadrut sources of information. For two decades the same director-generals of the Ministries of Health, Welfare, Education, Housing, and Finance and their assistants were the sole sources of information to outsiders for evaluation of *their own programs!* Very few of these officials were prepared to give other than rather rosy pictures of their Ministries' work, and by implication, of the political party responsible for their Ministry. Anyone closely involved in welfare work who has listened to some Ministry officials talk with foreign guests is impressed more with the foreign-relations effort, than the willingness to tell the whole truth. It is amazing to me that American Jews on their "fact-finding" visits never wondered about the pervasive lack of controversy inherent in the speeches. Without trying to sound too extreme, one might suggest that the careful lack of access to views controversial to the "official" human services establishment in Israel approaches conspiratorial dimensions. This is a tragic state of affairs, particularly because of the richness of the competing ideas in Israeli welfare work. The consistent screening of information sources, stemmed, of course, from fear that competing and controversial ideas regarding conceptualization of human services policy and programs might result in loss of power for government bureaucrats as a result of pressure from American donors.

When I was director of the Jerusalem Municipal Welfare Department I made a pact with Rabbi Herbert Friedman, then head of the Israel end of the U.J.A. operation, and one of the most creative figures

I've ever met among the fundraisers. Friedman and I arranged for Jerusalem social workers to take U.J.A. missions for personal visits into the homes of Jerusalem slum-dwellers, to talk with them and to see and get a sense of their troubles. I think that was one of the most honest, impressive things ever done for those leaders who participated, and the "welfare" story came through without any official trimmings and apologetics. Those bus trips organized by Friedman and myself were ended after a few months, and long afterwards, in an eye-to-eye chat with one of those responsible for stopping them, I learned why. Some of the Israelis were embarrassed at showing the Americans too much of the underside. The person I talked to recalled that in the early 1950's when nearly everybody in Israel lived in tents and tin-hut camps, it was O.K. for the Americans to see it, but in the 1970's? How could we show such contrast now?

I think that another reason for stopping those tours, other than Israeli embarrassment, was the fact that many Israelis in 1971 (and many even now) still do not appreciate the extensive nature of poverty in Israel and of the Ashkenazi-Sephardi gap, and they tend to play it down or relate it to the failings of the poor themselves.

WHEN the Israeli Black Panthers appeared on the scene in February 1971 and the international media projected them into the American Jewish home, the Americans, not totally convinced of Golda Meir's initial reaction that they were just bad Jewish boys, wanted to know more. The Panthers' claims of unequal access to full participation in Israeli life and the growing seriousness of the gap between Sephardim and Ashkenazim were supported by independent-minded welfare analysts such as Israel Katz, this writer, and other university people. The final acknowledgement of the critical social state of the nation came in the three-volume 1972 report of the Prime Minister's Committee on Disadvantaged Youth. Over 130 top Israeli professionals, including representatives of the various Ministries, sketched an alarming picture of the country's social problems and attempted a rather unsophisticated, undifferentiated, cook-book review of what to do about them.

For a long time (up to September, 1974) the Prime Minister's Report was not circulated to the general public, and it still has not been circulated in English. But the basic story was out, and the confidence gap between the Americans and the Israelis grew by leaps and bounds. The reconstituted Jewish Agency, which now included representatives from non-political and non-Zionist groups outside of Israel, became more

hard-nosed about the use of American and foreign funds raised for Israel, and the Israelis, still represented overwhelmingly by defensive government officials, have become more and more hard pressed to tell the whole story. On occasion, some independent Israeli academics and non-government professionals have been invited to meetings to share their views, but this is rare. At the last two annual meetings of the Agency's committees, I could still see the persistent trend towards "success stories," and lip-service to the basic issues of poverty, large families, and child and family welfare. But there is a change apparent, and many of the new leaders in the Jewish Agency want more facts and less propaganda on which to base decisions. Moreover, the public-relations and professional image-makers, who held a seminar of their own in the summer of 1974, were disgruntled and keenly unhappy over the superficiality of some of the deliberations. This development could be significant.

I have spoken at seminars in Israel for U.J.A. fund-raisers, to American college students, to U.J.A. missions from Europe and America, and it is my impression that they want to be informed about Israeli problems. One mission member told me after a lecture and tour that he had seen tanks and planes on every mission he participated in for the past five years, but this was the first time someone had talked to him about "the people and their problems."

I suspect, too, that the pattern of over-selling Israel's apparent ability to handle all problems, and the notion of "give-us-the-money-we'll-do-the-job" is only partially to blame for the lack of information and the consequent skepticism now felt towards Israel by many American Jews. I believe that many American Jews, and the Jewish community "federation" people in particular, made things too easy for themselves. They really did not want to know too much or get too involved in the welfare problems and programs of Israel. It is especially ironic that while federation people regulate and examine their own local welfare programs and expenditures with the utmost care, they have blindly funnelled millions of dollars into the Israeli welfare network without so much as checking with independent colleagues and professionals for any meaningful evaluative feed-back, or even making the effort to understand the specific issues, dynamics, or politics of the Israeli welfare scene. They have been dependent on national federation policies concerning local quotas for fundraising for Israel, and have been naively dependent on limited, often biased, Israeli sources of information as to how and why the funds are spent. The American Jewish welfare federation professionals have become

victims of their own fundraising slogans, often as uninformed as laymen concerning the guts of welfare in Israel.

They have not developed professionally reliable information resources in Israel, have no mechanism for evaluating or relating to local inquiries about special projects in Israel, and from what I can tell, they are not too happy about getting information second-hand from the traditional Israeli welfare and fundraising establishment. Many of us in Israel would like to see more welfare federation people visiting in our offices, a rare phenomenon thus far.

My guess is that such gross lack of involvement by American Jewish welfare professionals is partly due to years of conditioning, but also to a wish not to get involved in Israeli affairs. After all, they have their own Jewish communities to worry about. What has been tapped thus far is the emotional, kinship involvement of American Jewry for Israel, which always reaches its pinnacle during Israel's wars. What bothers me is what happens *between the wars*: the absence of sharing the content, the dynamics, and the fascinating conflicts of Israeli life, and especially the potential partnership and involvement which could result from a more honest relationship.

I am struck over and over again by how much American Jews seem to take things for granted, from life itself to the existence of the State of Israel. In my fifteen years in Israel one of the main things I have learned is not to take anything in life for granted. In all of our relationship with American Jews, I think we, the Israelis, have helped them take Israel too much for granted. This is the price we are now paying for not being entirely honest about our problems, about our failures, and about our human shortcomings.

THERE will probably be a lot of people reading this article who believe that there is really no information gap, that Jaffe is naive about how fundraising for Israel and how the American Jewish community really tick. Perhaps. But after attending Mr. Sapir's lecture in Cleveland, I am even more convinced that the issue is still very relevant, and that little has changed.

Sapir appeared more subdued than usual, somewhat defensive but decisive and knew what he wanted to say. Asked about Israel's social problems, the discontent of some Russian immigrants, and housing problems of young couples, Sapir stated that the (then) recent riots in Tel Aviv's Hatikva slum quarter began due to a cancelled football match and unrest simply continued due to the sharp price increases that oc-

curred almost simultaneously due to a devaluation. He stressed that things in Israel were better than they were twenty years ago with more compulsory junior and senior high school education, 26% of the students at the University of the Negev were from Sephardi origin, there were more day care centers, and better social security benefits.

Sapir stated that young couples without apartments blamed their situation on benefits going to new immigrants. Suggesting that the young couples were against more immigration, he said "Israel never closed its doors to immigrants even during the riots over 'bread-and work' of the late 1950's. Everyone benefits from aliyah and doubling Israel's present population is the best assurance for peace in the area."

Recent complaints and discontent, Sapir felt, come from a very small minority of Israelis—and it was like claiming funds for welfare over funds for guns, "one has nothing to do with the other." As for the Russians who are now leaving Israel, this is not a problem of conditions in Israel, but mostly because "some Russians understandably fear for their physical security; some really didn't want to come to Israel, but simply wanted to get out of Russia, or they just can't handle the normal problems of adjustment." He believed that ninety-five percent of the Russians do adjust, and those who leave represent a normal phenomena along with other "yordim" who have left Israel over the years.

"The people from Katamon (a largely Sephardi, low-income neighborhood in Jerusalem) were moved to small apartments from their transient camps, and now 90,000 apartments have been started to relieve substandard conditions. The problem is how to melt the various populations into one Israeli population," he concluded.

These were the remarks of the former Minister of Finance and the present Chairman of the agency receiving the bulk of American Jewish philanthropy for Israel. At best, Sapir's remarks were only half the story; at worst, they were conceptually oversimplified, chauvinistic, and misleading. Worst of all, many in the Cleveland audience came away feeling that things could not possibly be as rosy as they were led to believe, judging from media news reports, eyewitness stories, and other sources of information. There was a credibility gap, and despite the evident goodwill, very few in the audience were educated by Sapir's visit.

It is sad to note the obvious: that high level Israeli spokesmen cannot converse honestly and candidly with American Jews. To claim that the fervor of a cancelled football game in the Hatikva quarter

set off three nights of rioting is to deceive. Hatikva has been a showcase for poverty and overcrowded slum housing. The devaluation of Israeli currency which occurred on Saturday night came immediately after the Friday night's demonstrations over the football game and threw the neighborhood into a frenzy when grocery stores closed to mark up prices to outrageous levels, sometimes 30 to 50% higher than before. Taking into account that Hatikva is a "stronghold" of the Israeli Black Panthers, it is no wonder that things blew up there. They also blew up in Jerusalem and Haifa neighborhoods for much the same reasons.

There can be no doubt that great strides were made over the past twenty years in housing, education, and health services. Now, however, we need to stop looking back smugly at past achievements, and turn to the disparities that have developed over the years. Moreover, the eclectic methods for alleviating social problems in the past must now give way to social policy, planning, and welfare technology that has developed during the past decades in Western countries.

If Sapir had made his remarks to a group of Israeli young couples, I think he probably would not have been able to leave the room on his own steam. None of the young couples groups in Israel have stated their problem of lack of housing in "either-or" terms, i.e. young couples vs. new immigrants. On the contrary, they only want a more reasonable proportion of public housing set aside for them, mortgages that make housing accessible to them, and that the government keep its past promises to them. The Prime Minister's Report on Disadvantaged Youth pointed out that salaries between 1967 and 1970 rose by 20%, while public housing costs rose by over 40%, eliminating most poor young couples from the housing market. Pitting young couples against new immigrants is unnecessary and misleading.

The remark about the Russians who are leaving Israel was especially symptomatic. Instead of telling the truth about the unnecessary splitting of immigration and absorption functions for reasons of political power and expediency, and the resulting Israeli bureaucratic swamp which has resulted, Mr. Sapir chose to defame the Russian immigrants for their personal failures. To say such a thing after what the Russians went through to get to Israel is incomprehensible and indefensible. We, the Israelis, are more to blame for Russian immigrants' discontent by our bungling of the absorption process, despite decades of experience with wave after wave of immigrants. At present, over 25% of those leaving Russia choose not to come to Israel, and unless we Israelis pull things together the number will greatly increase, to say nothing of those

who will leave Israel. If I were an American Jew giving money for absorption of Russians in Israel, I would want to know what exactly is going wrong, and then make sure something gets done about it.

Finally, Sapir's goals for melting down the immigrants into some mystical Israeli prototype is right out of First Aliya and pre-World War I history. The Sephardim have repudiated the idea, the Israel Ministry of Education has abandoned it formally, and only the old-timers refuse to give up the myth. None of the members of the audience raised an eyebrow when Sapir mentioned the melting-pot, cultural assimilation concept.

I could not end this (admittedly cathartic) essay without wondering about the questions that were *not* asked of Mr. Sapir from the audience of 2,000 who attended his talk.

No one dared or knew enough to ask Mr. Sapir about the financial losses and scandals which took place in Israel during his tenure as Finance Minister. No one asked why the Prime Minister's Report on Disadvantaged Youth has not been implemented, or why the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Absorption must compete and thereby cripple the absorption process. No one asked why the Israeli poor have not been properly and quickly compensated after the lifting of subsidies on food and the devaluation, or why there still is no national health insurance program for over 20% of Israel's, mostly poor, population.

The Yom Kippur War has provoked a healthy skepticism of Israel for many American Jews, as it has for many Israelis concerning their life-style and expectations of political leadership. It could also mean the end of a relationship based on slogans, and the beginning of a more honest partnership and innovative mutual involvement between Israelis and Jews elsewhere.

So I would say to the public relations people—if you care to keep the promise, that we are one, then EDUCATE, EDUCATE, EDUCATE!

AS FOR American Jews, I believe the time has come to require higher standards of *accountability* from themselves and from us, the Israelis, concerning the use of welfare donations. One Jewish businessman who had participated in several Young Leadership missions to Israel agreed with me that accountability was important, but recounted that from the moment he stepped off the plane at Lydda, he was so emotionally involved that he could not possibly question anything he was shown. He noted that if he ran his own business that way in Baltimore, he would no doubt be in great trouble. But I believe that

it is important to "think Israeli," and not to relinquish intelligent reasoning and evaluation based on accurate information and feedback.

In order to "think Israeli" one has to assume that there is no such thing anymore as "free-money," and that welfare spending for housing, education, medical care, absorption, and public welfare are investments in Israel's economy no less important than industrial investments. People who give gifts rarely look beyond the act of giving; people who invest are committed to an ongoing interest and to partnership. What is now needed is a reassessment of the gift-relationship orientation and development of a morally imperative, guilt-free, accountability orientation. How can this be done?

In concrete terms, it is imperative that the mechanisms for delegating representation on policy-making bodies, such as the re-constituted Jewish Agency, be carefully understood and reviewed. How many American Jews know, for example, the names and backgrounds of "their" delegates to the Jewish Agency, and how one who is interested in being a delegate gets elected? To what constituency and in what forum do the delegates report? What are the procedures whereby the budget of the Jewish Agency is determined, and what materials are submitted to assess expenditure of funds?

The U.J.A. could establish, within the Jewish Agency or preferably in an academic institution in Israel, a special research unit for monitoring welfare services in Israel. This unit could be an independent fact-finding, evaluative and advisory arm of the U.J.A., composed of top American and Israeli professionals from a variety of fields (and perhaps retired Jewish Welfare Federation executives among them) who could, in very close cooperation with Israeli government, laymen, and University personalities, provide information and advice for welfare programs, fund-raising and U.J.A. policy decisions. This development would open up channels of information, and, I am convinced, have a sobering impact on the rational planning of the human services network in Israel.

On another plane, but no less important in the long run, is the need for in-depth encounters between participants in U.J.A. missions (and representatives of other groups) with Israelis who are intimately involved in the various welfare programs, including recipients. It is not enough to take buses to Beit Shean or Hatikva with briefings by official guides who have learned the "poverty picture" as part of their regular tour of borders and battlegrounds. More time should be allotted to the problems of poverty, and fewer senior officials and middle-men and more professionals should be involved in the briefings. Moreover, mis-

sion participants should be more active in insisting on closer exposure to the issues.

I would also suggest that a special effort be made, via a programmatic series of annual in-depth seminars, in Israel or in their home countries, to educate the professional leadership of the various Jewish communities concerning welfare issues, mechanics, and politics in Israel. These seminars must be frank and informative, and they should be sponsored and organized by an Israeli academic institution in close cooperation with government agencies.

One of the questions which is frequently asked of me when I raise the issue of accountability to Ameri-

can Jews is: "How can we dictate to the Israelis how to run their country?" My answer to that is three-fold: First, it is morally essential, for Israelis and for American Jews, that monies collected for Israel are accounted for in a manner that guarantees their maximum usefulness. Second, the insistence on and development of mechanisms for implementing accountability would have a complementary impact on Israeli welfare planning and services. Finally, the replacement of a charity orientation to Israel's needs with one based on informed partnership could increase present commitment to Israel and identification with the local Jewish community as well. □

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