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Shamir Faces the Future, 1983.

Shamir Faces the Future Daniel Jeremy Silver November 13, 1983

When a tired Menachem Begin announced his resignation as Prime Minister of Israel, he was succeeded by Yitzhak Shamir. At 69 years of age Yitzhak Shamir joins the long list of older men and women who govern most of the major countries of the world: Andropov in the Soviet Union; Reagan in our country; Mitterand in France; Indira Ghandi in India; Den Xian Ping in China. The world seems to be tired of coping with those systemic shocks which so frequently shake the economic, political, and social systems under which we live. Youth suggests an appetite for the new. There seems to be an unspoken feeling that older leaders would hold back unwanted change and allow the world a chance to collect its wits and calm down.

Israel is governed by a parliamentary system. If a Prime Minister resigns after a vote of no confidence in the Kenesset, new elections are called. When he resigns for personal reasons, the titular head of state, in this case Israel's president, Chaim Herzog, invites a leader of one of the major parties to see whether he can create a cabinet which will command a majority in the Kenesset.

Menachem Begin announced he would retire in late August. He delayed six weeks before submitting his letter of resignation. He did this in order to allow his party to meet and nominate the person they wanted to head the new coalition. Yitzhak Shamir obviously was nominated, but it was not an uncontested election. David Levy contested the nomination. By all reports the Likud convention was an amicable one, and certainly the old coalition remains in place; but David Levy's challenge to Shamir's nomination suggests one of the major challenges the new Prime Minister will face.

David Levy is 46 years of age, a much younger man. He is a son of the Other Israel, the Israel which has its roots in North Africa and the Middle East. Levy was born in Rabat, Morocco. He came to Israel in the mid-1950's as part of the large scale aliyah of Moroccan Jewry which took place during those years. The Edot ha-mizrachi, this Jewry, is now the majority group in Israel. This Jewry

also represents a group who have been looked down on and largely shunted aside from positions of responsibility by the founding fathers and their children.

One of the least attractive features of Israel's cultural scene is the popularity of what Americans call 'Polish jokes,' jokes which put down a community which presumedly lacks the wit and skill to meet the challenges of modernity.

When Menachem Begin appointed David Levy as Minister of Housing in his first

Cabinet, subsequently Levy was also named a Deputy Prime Minister, all kinds of

'Polish jokes' went the rounds. One man asks another: "Have you heard the latest

David Levy story?" The other responds: "I am David Levy." The speaker then says,

"Well, I'll tell it to you slowly." The real David Levy has been energetic, effective, and fairly charismatic. Minister of Housing he has proven himself a

willing fighter for his turf and, more importantly, for the rights of his people.

Over these past six years he has earned enough respect to be seriously considered for the most important office in the land.

It's too early as yet to know what judgement history will make on Menachem Begin, but of this I'm certain; that he will get good marks for having been the first political leader of European background to have been willing and able to listen and respond to the concerns of Israel's new majority, and to do so without condescenscion. The old-line Socialist-Zionist European community of founders took for granted a set of values which they believed to be beyond question. Religion and religious traditions are passe. Family ties should be loosened. Communitarian experiments should be encouraged. Individual freedoms must be maximized. The economy should be planned and largely controlled by the State. Politics should be approached in a spirit of optimism that people would transcend group loyalties and even the nation state. The Edot ha-mizrachi were seen by many as benighted because they did not share this cluster of values. Because they approached the religious tradition with some degree of seriousness they were put down as religious fundamentalists, medieval. Their capacity to manage higher level technical and

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administrative tasks was suspect because they lacked modern skills. Many, most, of the other Israel brought to Israel an education which had been based on a traditional parochial and pre-scientific curriculum.

In 1970 Golda Meir voiced the then dominant attitude in terms which were/are typical of the insensitivity and sense of superiority which marked those of her class and background.

Many immigrants from the Islamic countries brought deprivation and discrimination with them in their 'baggage.' The Jews who came to us from the Oriental countries were of a higher level than the population from which they came; but it was their fate to live in countries that have not yet developed intellectually, industrially, and culturally, and they were deprived of the opportunity to develop their special characteristics and to enlarge their intellectual capacities and to acquire the knowledge and education that were given to those coming from the developed countries of Europe and America.

'We know. They don't know. Our values are modern. Their values are medieval. Only in measure as they become WASPS, like us, and accept our attitudes can they make for themselves a significant place in Israel. In recent years some commentators

have even wrung their hands in despair because the Edot ha-mizrachi represents a majority of Israel.'What will become of the Zionist spirit and values on which Israel was based.'

Menachem Begin knew better. He recognized that people from many cultures enrich a community with their various insights. He did not believe that The Truth had been given to the founding fathers, and he reached out to men like David Levy and bound the Edot ha-mizrachi to him and to his party.

Shamir will be charged with continuing this work of reconciliation and his is not an easy task. The problem is not only simply an attitudinal one, to undo the sense of superiority which prevails among the founding fathers. He must deal with the ravages of poverty, lack of opportunity, and dislocation. Levy's community was suddenly thrust into a world which did not support or encourage familiar values, particularly the extended family around which their lives had revolved. They found themselves suddenly in a host culture which was determinedly secular.

In Israel their children were encouraged in subjects which they did not understand and had to face the stress of modern urban life with a good deal of personal confusion and without many of the traditional supports. Many of the older immigrants were semi-literate and had mastered only primitive craft skills. Obviously, they had difficulty earning a living. Inevitably, an underclass, an underworld, developed among the Edot ha-mizrachi. Much of the crime and the drug problem in Israel comes out of this world. To those of us in any American city it's a familiar story. Those who belong look down on newcomers. Many of the newcomers lack the skill to succeed. Bitterness and frustration lead to anti-social behavior. The two worlds in Israel must become one, and that challenge, obviously, is one Shamir cannot avoid.

Nomination by his own party did not assure Shamir of the Prime Ministership.

He still had to gain the support of minority parties who controlled sufficient

votes to provide the coalition with a working majority. He now began a process

of complicated bargaining. The two religious parties are the major group among

the minority parties: the National Religious Party which represents European

orthodoxy; and Tami, a recent break-off, which represents Oriental religious groups.

The religious parties have suffered electorally. In recent elections their

numbers have been cut almost in half; but they still control seven seats, seats

which are crucial to anyone who would form a government.

Shamir had to negotiate with the religious parties, and these talks revolved around one question: 'What will you give me for my votes?' Every government since 1948 has faced the same challenge. Ben Gurion gave the religious parties control over the laws of personal status. Other Prime Ministers gave them preferential allocations for their educational institutions and guarantees that their girls would be free of military service. Menachem Begin agreed to reopen the Law of Return question. The religious groups want to amend this basic law so that only those converted in the diaspora by traditional rabbis meet its requirements.

In recent years the religious block has come under increasing pressure from

an extreme fringeon its right, and religious confrontation has become a sad fact of Israel's political life. A new term has emerged: Haredim, literally those who fear God; in fact, fanatics. The Haredim have taken orthodoxy into the streets. They have stoned passing automobiles on the Sabbath. In those sections of Jerusalem where they live they have pressured non-orthodox neighbors to leave. If they were unwilling, their apartments were ransacked and, in some cases, set on fire. It was the Haredim who pelted the mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Koleck, with rocks and glass during the recent municipal election. Their issue? The municipality was building a swimming pool in an area close to, but not in, an orthodox section. They consider mixed bathing as scandalous and a sin; but it's no sin to attack the city's mayor. The tactics of the Haredim have been condemned by some of the finest spiritual leaders of Israeli orthodoxy, but they have not been deterred, and they play an increasingly decisive role in Israeli life.

Some months ago Haredim went to the ancient necropolis of Beth Shearin, one of Israel's beauty spots, and vandalized these caves. A few weeks later the graves of one of Israel's leading archeologists on the Mount of Olives was desecrated by the Haredim. His crime? He had been an archeologist, and some of his professional colleagues were excavating in the city of David south of the present walls of Jerusalem. The Haredim claim, and their claim has no basis in fact, that long ago a Jewish graveyard had been in this area and they want to make sure that the bones of the Jewish dead are not desecrated. To make their point, they are prepared to desecrate the graves of one of Israel's finest scholars.

The terms of Shamir's bargains with the religious bloc have not been announced. Apparently, he agreed to certain new fundings for their Yeshivot. He also agreed to do what he could about the construction of this swimming pool and to reintroduce the desired amendment to the Law of Return.

These bargains raise the second of the major domestic problems which confronts

Shamir and will face subsequent Israeli Prime Ministers. It's the question:

in what sense is Israel a Jewish State? Does the fact that Israel is a Jewish State

mandate that the orthodox leadership be empowered to play a role as a State church?

Will they be allowed to impose halacha on the whole society? Clearly, a majority
in Israel do not want this to happen, but the electoral system gives the small
religious parties inordinate power. Shamir must somehow restrain the fanatics,
respect honest religious conviction, and resist the pressure of extreme secularists.

He has another problem. We in the diaspora care deeply how this issue is handled. Many of us are unhappy with the restrictions placed on other than orthodox religious institutions and rabbis. Shamir must somehow deal with the orthodox in such a way that he does not alienate further the non-orthodox Jews of the diaspora and so weaken their political and financial support.

Having bound the smaller groups into the coalition, Shamir's problems were not yet over. He had a coalition, but then six members of his own coalition, men who had originally been members of the Liberal Party said: 'we will not vote to form a coalition until you make a serious attempt to create a national coalition government.' The issues we face are so grave they must be met by united action. We need the unity which will allow the Kenesset to transcend party interests and to push through the difficult economic and political measures which the times require.

Now, as you know, because it's been well publicized, Israel was anything but united by the decision to go into Lebanon and there has been a significant amount of public criticism of the Lebanese incursion. The Peace Now movement drew tens of thousands to its various meetings. There is a group called Yesh Gevul. There's a Limit, comprised of a few hundred soldiers who say: 'we will do our military duty, we will fight to protect Israel, but we will not cross the border into Lebanon.' The country needs to knit itself together. But the international issues were not the major concern of these six ministers. Rather, they were deeply troubled by the perilous state of the country's economy. Israel needs to tighten its belt, to control inflation, to staunch the outflow of capital, but no group has had the political will to force through the necessary legislation. Over the

last four or five years Israel has endured triple digit inflation. The government has printed money to paper over many of its problems. The Israeli pound has been pegged at a price which exceeds its real value. There have been monthly devaluations, but they have not really taken account of the actual devaluation of the money.

When a few months ago the International Monetary Fund expressed concern about the size of Israel's foreign debt and trade imbalance, many in Israel became concerned that Israel might find itself, along with other developing countries, denied access to the international money markets. This year Israel's trade deficit will be 5.5 billion dolalrs which is equivalent to 20 percent of its Gross National Product. By the year's end Israel's foreign debt will be on the order of 23.5 billion dolalrs. If we compare the total size of Israel's economy with that of Brazil, we've heard so much about Brazil's economic problems, Israel's debt is three times that of Brazil. Israel's debt has now reached the staggering total of five \$5,600 for every man, woman and child.

What needs to be done has long been known. Israel has to tighten its belt.

Israel has to cut government expenditures. Israel has to improve productivity and develop new industries to supplant those which are no longer as profitable as they once were. The diamond industry has fallen on hard times. Once Spain was taken into the Common Market Spanish flowers and oranges which could move into the markets of Europe faster and more cheaply than Israeli products removed that source of profit. The Israeli economy has been based on an ideological commitment to full employment. There is a swollen bureaucracy and low productivity. Too many hands are doing what one person could do efficiently. Because of the cost of living most in Israel have not one job but two, and many of the second jobs are part of what is called the black economy, the cash and barter economy whose profits are not reported and, therefore, not subject to taxes. That economy has to be brought under control.

If you want to buy an apartment in Jerusalem you'll pay a cost in real dollars

equivalent to the cost of an apartment in mid-town Manhattan. Israel's economy grew rapidly through the 1950's and the 1960's. By the 1970's many in Israel began to feel that the economy had matured and that they could afford everything that the great industrial countries of the West could afford. The wealthy in Israel began to live with a degree of luxury which belied Zionist commitments and the fact that Israel was still an underdeveloped country. As the pound lost value everyone began to buy, buy, buy.

Those with money have been speculating on the stock market trying to find ways to beat inflation. The stock market went on a tear and no stocks skyrocketed more dramatically than the bank stocks which were looked upon as Israel's blue chip investment. Since 1980 bank stocks have increased in value on an average in real dollars, not in Israeli pounds, by 200 percent. This summer when people realized that the piper would have to be paid, that the era of economic folly had come to an end and that any new government would have to take stringent measures to bring the economy into line - cut expenses - raise taxes - curb wages - a run began on the bank stocks as Israelis raced to convert pounds into dollars so as to escape the price of a serious devaluation. By early September the run had reached the point that the new government had to close the stock market for two weeks. Israelis had converted something over 150 million dollars worth of bank stocks into dollars, and many of the dollars had been secreted in their mattresses. The whole financial structure of Israel's economy was threatened.

Closing the stock market was an emergency measure. The real need was to reposition and restructure the economy. Shortly after the closing of the stock market the Finance Minister, A*idor, announced a plan to dolalrize the economy. His plan was to denominate all contracts, wages and prices in terms of dollars, not in terms of Israel pounds. The strong American dolalr would determine the cost of a transaction. In effect, it meant that the government could no longer manipulate the economy by printing money and pegging the pound at artificial levels. There was an instant outcry against the plan. It was seen as a surrender

of sovereignty. Israel would become a puppet of the United States.

Aridor had not done his political homework. He leaked his plan to the press before gaining support from his fellow ministers. They were angry and he was forced to resign. It was too radical an approach. But Aridor at least recognized the urgency of Israel's economic plight and that some means has to be found to force those in political leadership to disconnect the economy from the political process where major groups have to be given what they want.

Israel's economy has adjusted to triple digit inflation because of an automatic cost of living adjustment process which encompasses all facets of the economy. Every time you go to the super market you'll find a different price on bread and on milk and on all the other goods. Every month your salary goes up accordingly. Salaries go up as prices go up; but in fact, wages went up faster than prices.

The major labor unions demanded and won periodic wage increases beyond the routine cost of living adjustments. Welfare legislation was held sacrosanct.

Aridor tried to disconnect the automatic indiciation of all parts of the Israeli economy and to force Israelis to recognize to what degree they were living beyond their means, to what degree the government's simply printing paper, giving that paper an arbitrary value and creating a false economy, a pyramided scheme which had to ultimately collapse. He failed. His plan may not have been the best. He was discharged, and the new Finance Minister said, 'I don't believe in dollarization,' and quickly proceeded to effect many of the changes which Aridor had proposed but in a less dramatic way. He spoke of the need to cut government expenses. For the first time there's a serious debate in Israel as to whether cuts can be made in the amounts spent for defense. Educational costs have been increased to students and their families. Social services have been cut. There will have to be cuts in real wages and a lowering of standard of living - and that's never easy to accomplish in a democracy. Plans are under way to increase the rate of taxation of those with the highest incomes and to increase the effectiveness of the tax collectors over the black economy. They are even beginning to

tinker with the automatic linkage between wages and prices so that wages will fall relative to prices, and so that Israelis are discouraged from buying the luxury goods. Recently, the fastest selling item in Israel has been color television.

Israel does not transmit television in color. The pound had little value and was constantly losing value. It was better to have your wealth in things than in paper. Here is the third major problem which Shamir and his government must face, and perhaps the most urgent.

One of the great tragedies of Israel is that many in Israel have tried to live by standards which citizens in the developed and most affluent countries of the West have been able to enjoy; many of us when we go to Israel encourage these appetites of our friends and families. If they don't have a television set we send them one. 'How can you not have a new car?' 'Why do you have such a small apartment?' When American and South African Jews go to Israel some bring in substantial sums. They and others have established an upper class who live by Western standards and, for the first time, serious class divisions have developed in a professedly egalitarian society.

Israel's economy is not in tatters. A good bit of industrial and technological development is taking place. Israel's aviation industry is one of the most efficient in the world and one of the most profitable. Israel has a skilled labor force and if their skills are applied intelligently areas such as medical techniques, electronics, and high tech equipment can be developed profitably. Much can be done. A bloated bureaucracy must be reduced. Investment must be encouraged. Productivity must be increased. When you look at Israel as one of the industrialized countries of the world, you discover that Israel has the smallest percentage of its workers involved in industry. Less than one in three in Israel is involved in the production of goods or of agricultural products. Of the rest, half are government employees. Two years ago when the mayor of Tel Aviv tried to do away with five thousand jobs, he had a city-wide strike on his hands. He failed. Shamir must find a way to reduce the deficit in foreign reserves and the international

debt, to increase Israel's ability to compete in international markets, in other words, to create a sound and substantial economy. I believe Israel has the human resources to accomplish this, but he's going to have to show a political courage which no Israeli Prime Minister as yet has shown.

Will Shamir have the courage and the vision to meet these challenges? Does his past suggest that he will have the strength to accomplish these goals? Shamir was born in Poland where he studied law and was a member of the youth movement of the Revisionist Party, Jabotinsky's party. He made aliyah in 1935. In Israel he joined the Irgun, but then moved over to the smaller and more radical Lehi whom the British called the Stern Gang after its leader, Avram Stern. This was the group responsible for the assassination in Cairo in 1942 of the English High Commissioner, Lloyd Moyne. Twice Shamir was imprisoned. Twice he escaped. After Stern's death he became one of the triumverant who determined the actions of the Stern Gang. He's obviously a man of courage and determination who is willing to put his life on the line. After 1948 he returned from France where he'd hidden out for several years and spent the next years in the Mossad, Israel's intelligence service. In 1965 he left the government and went into private industry. In 1970 he entered politics with Menachem Begin and was elected to the Kenesset. He was a party loyalist who prepared to do what his seniors told him to do and did it well. In the 9th Kenesset he was appointed Speaker of the House which is usually a dead end job, but in time he became Menachem Begin's Foreign Minister. He is known as a hard-working, follow-through man. He is well liked. He is also a hard-liner. He felt Camp David gave away too much. He is not known as a man who had any tendency to innovate, to break new ground. What must give us the most hope, I would guess, is that Shamir has a reputation of undaunted courage, that he's a fighter who's willing to dig in his heels and stand his ground. Clearly, Israel needs strong leaders.

These are the more domestic issues which Yitzhak Shamir faces. They are priority issues because Israel has put herself in the position where her economic

survival depends, to a large degree, on the United States. I do not mean the UJA but the American government. The two plus billion dollars which the United States gives and lends in foreign and military aid represents the difference between having the opportunity to bring her house in order and chapter 11, Bankruptcy. It's not healthy for any country to be dependent on another. Their international situation changes quickly. Israel cannot be confident that year in and year out, whatever government is in power in the United States, major sums of money will be made available for Israel's benefit. If Israel wants to follow an independent foreign policy she must be financially sound. If she wants a decent society, her economy must be sound. Yitzhak Shamir faces a major and difficult task and we can only hope and pray that he will be successful.





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Russen - 2x anetas - 2x event
when me - beneart - mond - 66 home

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mot theme for energy - benear - PASTy

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