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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

CONTENTS

PAGE

THE 5TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL 4

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL: THE BOMBING OF THE NUCLEAR REACTOR IN IRAQ IS AN AGGRESSION WHICH ENDANGERS ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE REGION 10

A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY MK MEIR VILNER, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL: THE ATTACK ON IRAQ IS AN ADVENTUROUS ACT WHICH SHOULD BE STRONGLY CONDEMNED 12

NEWS IN BRIEF 13

UNDER THE YOKE OF OCCUPATION 15

THE POLITICAL MAP AFTER THE ELECTIONS - BY MK MEIR VILNER 18

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE 10th KNESSET 25

SUPPLEMENT: ORIENTAL COMMUNITIES IN ISRAEL - FROM A CLASS POINT OF VIEW - BY HANAN ENOSH 26

THE 5TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On May 28, 1981 the 5th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel took place, with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

The session was presided over by comrade Ali Ashour, Member of the Central Committee.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured about the political situation and the campaign of elections to the 10th Knesset. A debate was held which was summed up by the lecturer.

The Central Committee confirmed the lecture, the summing up, and adopted resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 5TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The ruling circles in Israel, the Alignment as well as the Likud, promised the popular masses that the consequests in the June 1967 war will bring peace and security.

However, in reality the people of Israel did not achieve peace nor security.

Throughout 14 years of occupation and ignoring of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, the popular masses experienced yet another war, that of October 1973, which took a toll of thousands of victims.

As a result of the continuation of the occupation, the danger of a new war exists, which is liable to turn into a regional and even a world-wide conflagration.

All the plans of the Likud, the Alignment and their like, have not brought peace and security any nearer, but removed them still further.

The "Jordanian option" of the Alignment governments and the "Egyptian option" of the Likud are nothing but formulas whose aim is to liquidate the national existence of the Palestinian Arab people.

The American-Egyptian-Israeli Camp David accords, with its plan of "autonomy", is a plan for perpetuating the occupation, for the creeping annexation of the occupied territories by large-scale colonial settlement, and for the establishment of an aggressive military bloc under the auspices of the USA.

All the plans which are based on plots with imperialism and Arab reaction, and on the negation of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent state alongside the State of Israel, are doomed for failure and contain the threat of gravest dangers for the people of Israel and the Arab peoples alike.

Fourteen years of occupation and oppression of the Palestinian Arab people have not only further removed peace and security, but have even led to a social, economic and political crisis, such as it had not known before.

The policy of conquests and wars waged by the Alignment, paved the road to the rise of the extreme rightist and hawkish Likud to power. This is the rule of the big capitalists, of the exploiters of the workers, of those who trample their rights. In Israel a regime of demoralisation, violence and moral degradation, of trampling democratic liberties, of ferocious nationalism and of danger of fascism has developed.

The power of the Likud has still more aggravated the policy of oppression of the Arab population and the policy of discrimination of the oriental communities.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel calls upon the popular masses in Israel to learn from the bitter experience and the dangerous results brough about by the policy of occupation and seizure of control over the Palestinian Arab people.

Opposite the crushing defeat of the policy of the Alignment and the Likud alike, opposite the grave dangers arising from the Camp David plot against the independence of the region's peoples and against the Soviet Union, opposite the danger of establishment of American military bases, opposite this dangerous road which turns the Middle East into a powder keg - the Communist Party of Israel presents the one - and only one - option of peace and

security, the Palestinian option, Israeli-Palestinian peace, based on mutual respect of rights, on the withdrawal of Israel to the lines of June 4, 1967, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, a just solution of the refugees' problem on the basis of the decisions of UNO. On these foundations one can ensure peaceful coexistence between the two independent states - Israel and Palestine.

The PLO, the recognised representative of the Palestinian Arab people, has on various occasions affirmed its readiness for just and stable peace on these foundations. In this spirit also the Palestinian National Council decided at its 15th session, which took place in April this year, when it announced its full support of the Soviet Union's initiative for peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly emphasised that just and stable peace in the Middle East will be established only on the basis of respecting the right of the Palestinian Arab people to establish their independent state and the right of the State of Israel to sovereign existence and security.

The Central Committee calls for supporting the initiative of the Soviet Union to convene an international conference for the Middle East, with the participation of all factors involved, including the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

AN END TO ISRAELI INTERVENTION IN LEBANON AND THREATS OF WAR AGAINST SYRIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel condemns the aggressive intervention of the Begin government in Lebanon, its support of the fascist Phalangists, who together with Israel's rulers, strive for overthrowing the present regime in Syria and for the liquidation of the national existence of the Palestinian Arab people.

We condemn the barbarian bombings and shellings by Israel's air-force, navy and land forces against refugee camps and villages in Lebanon, which cause death and injury of hundreds of women, children, elderly and babies among the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian popu-

lation. The fire, which the Israeli government is setting of in Lebanon is liable to cause a most serious regional and even an international conflagration. The responsibility for this falls on the Likud government and the Alignment leadership, which in practice supports the aggression of the Likud government.

The Communist Party of Israel calls upon all champions of peace in Israel, irrespective of party affiliation, who are anxious, in view of the dangerous development around the crisis in Lebanon - to act for the cessation of the provocative intervention of the Begin government in Lebanon, for the prevention of aggressive war against Syria.

AN END TO OPPRESSION, CONFISCATIONS, EVICTION AND COLONIAL SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES!

The Communist Party of Israel points out with concern that the policy of oppression against the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories is ever more increasing. The new settlement in the heart of Hebron, the confiscation of lands and the extensive colonial settlements - deepen the abyss in the relations between the two peoples, further remove peace and are liable to bring about a new war.

We denounce the cruel treatment of the population of the town of Hebron, the harassments of the Arab population by the settler gangs from Kiryat-Arba, under the protection of the occupation authorities, the threats against the acting mayor of Hebron Natshe, by the military government authorities, all the steps of this colonial oppression, which contradict the elemntary human rights, are connected with the decision to settle in the centre of the town of Hebron, and to speed up the process of annexation and uprooting of the Palestinian Arab people from their homeland.

The Communist Party of Israel condemns these adventurist steps of the occupation authorities against the population of the town and municipality of Hebron.

Let all champions of peace and conscience raise their voice and demand: An end to oppression, confiscation, eviction and colonial settlements in the occupied territories!

ONE YEAR AFTER THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE MAYORS

One year has passed since the 2nd of June, 1980, when the criminal assault was carried out against the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and El-Bireh - Bassam-Ashaka', Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil, All the signs pointed to the cirlces who initiated the abominable crime, but the Begin government shut their eyes and all demands for a serious investigation in order to discover the criminals were left unanswered. The resignation of the head of the Secret Police, Ahitov, last year, on the background of the prime minister's attempt at preventing the arrest of the suspects, evoked at that time a storm in the public. Today, after one year has passed, there is no sign whatsoever that an investigation is carried out.

We accuse the prime minister, M. Begin, with covering up the perpetrators of the abominable crime against the mayors. We call upon all champions of peace and justice to demand the establishment of a state investigation commission headed by a judge, which should investigate the affair of that vicious crime and the steps of covering-up of the perpetrators of the crime by the government.

Do not permit the covering up of the perpetrators of the crime of the attempted murder of the mayors!

WE WILL DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF STRIKE AND WORKERS' RIGHTS

The Central Committee points out the intensifying struggle of the workers, teachers, employees of the Electric Company, technicians of the broadcasting services, workers of the local councils, textile workers, workers at "Merkavim" and "Argas", agricultural labourers and others - who waged and are waging hard and protracted struggles against dismissals, for raising wages, in defence of rights, for improvement of their work conditions and for realising the collective agreements.

The Begin-Aridor government, which is responsible for the raging price rises and the intensifying unemployment, conducts a campaign of incitement against the workers who struggle for the defence of their rights and standard of living. The Prime Minister, Begin, threatens that if the Likud will compose the next government, it will act for enactment of a law for compulsory arbitra-

tion in labour conflicts.

To this grave threat of the Likud against the freedom of trade union struggle, has been added the unprecedented decisions of the Jerusalem district court (May 27,1981), according to which, workers who take up sanctions without the consent of the Histadrut leadership, violate the work contract, and therefore the employer is entitled to proclaim a "defensive lock-out", not to pay the workers any wages, and in practice to dismiss them from work.

The leadership of the Alignment in the Histadrut, which curbs the workers' struggles, does not, in general confirm workers' strikes and sanctions, and even condemns workers who are waging struggles. Thereby it facilitates the designs of the Likud and serves the employers. The Shavit-Meshel deal (respective general secretary of the Histadrut and head of the Industrialists Association) about the addition of only 5 per cent to the wages is a mockery of the poor.

We call upon the working class: Let us act unitedly:

For raising wages by at least 30 per cent and payment of the full cost-of-living allowance of 100 per cent every month!

Against the raging rise of cost of living!
Against dismissals and unemployment!
Against "defensive lock-outs"!
Against compulsory arbitration!
For defence of freedom of strike!

ZO-HADEREKH,June 6,1981

THE BOMBING OF THE NUCLEAR REACTOR IN IRAQ IS AN AGGRESSION WHICH ENDANGERS ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE REGION

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The Communist Party of Israel expresses its energetic protest and condemnation against the bombing of the atomic reactor in Iraq by the Israeli air force, under orders of the Begin government. This is a war crime, an act of aggression with gravest reflections on Israel and peace of the region. This is a provocative step which is liable to invite a counter-attack on the atomic reators in Israel, whose results are liable to be extremely disasterous. This is a provocative step, which is liable to open a nuclear arms race in the Middle East.

Israel is the only state in the Middle East which maintains a nuclear military option, refuses to join the International Convention for Prohibition of Proliferation of Nuclear Arms, and opposes international surveillance over its nuclear reactors. Thereby Israel prevents turning our region into a nuclear-arms-free zone. The ruling circles in Israel want to maintain a monpoly over nuclear arms in our region and threaten with it the independent states in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and North Africa.

American imperialism which provides, military, economic and political backing to the Israeli war machine, which serves its strategic aims - gave a green light to the Begin government to carry out the aggression against the nuclear reactor in Iraq. The American emissary, Philip Habib, delayed his return to the Middle East until after the carrying-out of the aggressive act of Israel against Iraq.

The denounciation of the Israeli aggression by the American administration and the temporary holding-up of delivery of four F-16 planes to Israel, are nothing but acts of hypocricy and camouflage.

The aggression against Iraq was carried out on the background of the Begin-Sadat meeting, which took place several days before it, on the background of the Camp David plot, which enables Israel to continue the occupation, to carry out acts of aggression against Lebanon,

the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and even to extend the sphere of aggression against additional Arab states.

The Communist Party of Israel warns against the dangerous results of the prevailing policy, against the danger of nuclear death.

It is vitally necessary to prevent a nuclear catastrophe in our region!

The Middle East must be turned into a nuclear-arms-free zone. The military nuclear option of Israel must be abolished and no nuclear arms must be developed in Iraq or any other state in our region. The Arab states agree to this: they signed the International Convention for Preventing Proliferation of Nuclear Arms and consent to international control over they own atomic reactors. Israel is an exception.

Therefore, the Likud government and also the leadership of the Alignment and other establishment parties, which favour Israel's military nuclear option, expose the Israeli people to the gravest dangers.

Our region must be free from nuclear arms!

Israel must join the International Convention for Preventing Proliferation of Nuclear Arms!

Israel's military nuclear option which leads to a nuclear arms race in our region must be liquidated!

An end to the policy of aggression and occupation!

Unity must be established in the struggle against the atomic craze of the Begin government, for the salvation of Israel and the region from a nuclear catastrophe!

ZO-HADEREKH, June 17,1981

A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY MK MEIR VILNER, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL:

THE ATTACK ON IRAQ IS AN ADVENTUROUS ACT WHICH SHOULD BE STRONGLY CONDEMNED

With the publication of the news regarding the attack of the Israeli airforce on the nuclear reactor near Baghdad, MK Meir Vilner issued the following statement to the press:

Our position is that there should be no nuclear weapons not in Israel nor in Iraq. The solution is the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in our region. This could be achieved through Israel's joining the International Charter for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the establishment of international supervision on Israel and on the Arab states in this sphere. Israel is the only state in the region which did not join the International Charter for the Prohbition of Nuclear Weapons and sustains a nuclear military option.

In our region, it is impossible that Israel should keep to herself the right to hold monopoly on nuclear weapons. Israel has no right whatsoever to carry out military aggression against Arab states , which is liable to lead to a general conflagration and carries in its wake immense danger to Israel itself.

The adventurous attack on Iraq is connected and maybe it was agreed upon in the meeting between Sadat and Begin in Ofera. The condemnation of the Israeli attack by Sadat is hypocricy. And maybe the delay of the American envoy Philip Habib in Paris is due to his desire not to be present in the region at the time when this criminal act against Baghdad was carried out. Hence, the American condemnation of this act is also hypocrite.

This exhibitionist and adventurous operation was carried out also to serve the election needs of the Likud. We strongly and severely condemn the operation.

NEWS IN BRIEF

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ARAB STUDENTS

In response to the call of the National Union of Arab Students, a second national conference was held in June 11th.,1981 in Um-El-Fahim. The Conference dealt with the situation of the Arab students in Israel's universities after the fascist assaults that were carried out against the Arab students and the adoption of a unified position regarding the election campaign.

The struggle in the universities constitutes a part of the general struggle for just peace, equality and democracy. Stemming from this, the Conference declared its full support for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and called upon the Arab population to support the Front in the election for the 10th Knesset. The resolution stated: With regard that not voting for the Front or the non-voting at all is a stab in the back of the Arab population such a position, does not benefit anybody.but the enemies of our people."

The Conference was opened by the student Thabet Abu-Ras from the Negev University in Ber-Sheva. The Conference was addressed by the following: Student Kamal Mahamid from Um-El-Fahim (University of Haifa), representative of the CAMPUS movement, student Uzi Dekel, Chairman of the National Union of Arab Students, student Mohamed Baraki, educator Hassan Bishara, the DFPE candidate to the Knesset, educator Taysir Khalid from Um-El-Fahim, Dr. Emile Touma, Chairman of the Public Committee to Combat the Cancellation of the Order to Prohibit the Conference of the Arab Population.

At the conclusion of the Conference, member of the Secretariat of the NUAS, student Odeh Bisharat read out the resolutions of the Conference, among them the following:

* A demand to cancel the trials and the other arbitrary measures against the Arab students in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and to put an end to the fascist campaign and the oppression of democratic freedoms in all universities;

* Full solidarity with the popular masses in the occupied territories, especially with the students of Bir-Zeit and a demand for the cancellation of the terrorist measures against them;
* A demand for the release of the patriotic detainees from the Golan Heights.

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIXTH VOLUNTEER CAMP IN NAZARETH

The Steering Committee of the Volunteer Work Camp in Nazareth held its first meeting towards the Sixth Volunteer Camp to be held on August 19-23, 1981. The meeting was attended by two deputies of the mayor of Nazareth, engineer Ramez Gariesy and Adib Abu-Rahmoun and President of the Young Men Christian Association of Nazareth Fahed Sim'an.

Ramez Gariesy reported that contacts have been made with numerous youth organizations in the world. Representative of the International Federation of Democratic Youth, which encompasses over 100 national youth organizations, visited the municipality and held talks regarding the participation of international delegations.

The Steering Committee took the following decisions:

* To carry out projects for the benefit of the majority of the resisdents;
* To carry out serious and fundamental projects in addition to the continuation of the plans of slight reforms, cleaning, etc.;
* Exerting more efforts to increase the number of participants from the Arab and Jewish sectors as well as from the occupied territories;
* To prepare for the Volunteer Camp by means of holding a number of open meetings between the administration of the municipality and the residents in all the neighbourhoods.

The Steering Committee appealed to all the artists and bands to guarantee their volunteer participation in the Camp's cultural activities by presenting their suggestions to the Chairman of the Camp's Cultural Committee, Riad Massarweh.

UNDER THE YOKE OF OCCUPATION

NEW ARRESTS IN THE OCCUPIED GOLAN HEIGHTS

On June 21, 1981, the Israeli occupation forces have arrested Munir Fayez Abu-Saleh, Tal'at Sleiman Abu-Saleh, Ahmad Salim Khater, Salman Fakher A-Din from Majdal Shams, in the occupied Syrian Heights.

These arrests came after the failure of Gen. Dani Matt (a day before) to impose the will of the occupation authorities on the Golan Heights and their patriotic leadership and to force them to lift the religious boycott imposed against those who received Israeli identity cards. Gen. Matt has warned the Sheiks and young people whom he met that he will take measures against them if they adhered to these positions. Residents of Majdal Shams declared that: The general has carried out his threats, however, we are determined to continue to uphold our positions.

Hundreds of the sons of the Druze community in Israel have dispatched telegrams to the Prime Minister in which they protest against the arrests of the leaders of the patriotic forces in the Golan Heights. They demanded their release and respect of their will.

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A PALESTINIAN YOUNGSTER WAS KILLED BY AN ARMY PATROL

The death of the Palestinian youngster, 16-year old Mohammed Ahmed Joubrin from the Dahisha refugee camp (south of Bethlehem) who was shot in the back by the occupation soldiers - has evoked reactions of shock and indignation in the West Bank as well as in Israel itself.

According to the official version, the youngster and his friends threw stones at an army patrol. They were ordered to stop and when they did not heed the warning, the patrol opened fire "in the air" and after that "on the feet".

Official military sources hurriedly reported that "the patrol acted according to the procedures of opening fire..." and to do one's duty, they reported about the appointment of an officer to investigate the matter.

The occupation forces immediately imposed a sever curfew on the Dahiesha refugee camp and held a house-to-house search after one of the youngsters who ran away. This was accompanied by maltreatment of the residents. Reporters of the Israeli television network were not allowed to come near the place and journalists were harshly evicted by the soldiers.

On the order of the Military Government, the youngster was burried on Sunday at midnight. Only his family were present there. They were not allowed to see the corpse.

Silent protest demonstrations of students were held in the West Bank and were faced with violence by the occupation forces who made several arrests. The mayors of Bethlehem and Beth-Sahour strongly denounced the murder of the youngster.

In the special session of the Knesset held in the same week MK Meir Vilner protested against the murder of the Palestinian youngster. The Movement of Democratic Women dispatched a protest telegram to the Prime Minister and minister of defense M. Begin in which they demanded the investigation and punishment of those responsible for the murder. MAPAM also dispatched a telegram to the Prime Minister in which it demanded the setting-up of an investigatory committee.

TENS OF STUDENTS WERE ARRESTED

On June 21, 1981, the Israeli occupation authorities carried out a wave of arrests in the occupied town of Hebron. Tens of young-people were arrested after Yossi Dayan (an adherent of the fascist Rabbi Kahane) claimed that a number of Arab young-people have assaulted him in the square of Abraham's Tomb.

While in Bethlehem, the military courts of the occupation continued to issue severe sentences (that included heavy fines) against hundreds of students from the Dahisha refugee camp after accusing them of demonstrating and throwing stones on military vehicles.

The students and residents of Dahisha have demonstrated in protest against the murder of Mohammed Mustafa Joubrin by the occupation forces. In addition, the residents have declared a sit-in inside the Bethlehem munici-

pality in protest against the severe sentences and heavy fines that were issued against students and children.

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DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE BER-SHEVA' JAIL

Tens of the relatives of the Palestinian prisoners from the occupied territories demonstrated on June, 12, in front of the Ber-Sheva' jail, in protest against the maltreatment of prisoners and the harsh conditions of their detention.

The jailors attacked the demonstrators and in response, the demonstrators threw stones at them. Large police forces who arrived at the scene have forcefully dispersed the demonstrators and arrested 3 of them.

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THE POLITICAL MAP AFTER THE ELECTIONS

By Comrade Meir Vilner

The Communist Party of Israel and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality have a principled position towards the question of establishing a new government coalition. Immediately after the elections, we declared several times, that we will struggle against the continuation of the rule of the Likud, headed by M. Begin. This will not only be a government of big capitalists and the adherents of "the Complete Land of Israel" (i.e. the whole Palestinian territory - IB), as it was until now, but in the next term it will be still more dangerous in every respect. Especially the danger of fascism and war will intensify.

A danger also exists of setting up a government of "national unity" by the Alignment and the Likud and other nationalist groups in the Knesset. It is definitely feasible that a situation may arise, where they will wish, with united forces, to prevent the establishment of comprehensive, just and stable peace in the Middle East, prevent the withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel.

The Mifdal (National-Religious Party) has now officially proposed the establishment of a government of "national unity". This proposal is not immediately applicable, but it is definitely liable to be applicable in the not-far-off future. After all, there was such a government before.

We will, of course, oppose a government of "national unity". It would be based upon the fundamental lines which Likud and Alignment hold in common. In our view, this is an anti-national basis, opposed to the cause of peace and security.

When we say that there is no essential ideological and political difference between Likud and Alignment, we refer to those fundamental factors in the Alignment's platform with which the Likud absolutely agrees.

The common basis for Alignment and Likud is zionist nationalism, their opposition to the right of the Pales-

tinian Arab people to self-determination and establishment of the independent State alongside the State of Israel; the striving for territorial annexations and the opposition to return to the lines of June 4, 1967 and turning them into frontiers of peace; the absence of any sensitiveness in the question of Jerusalem and the aspiration of perpetuating the annexation of East Jerusalem; the refusal to recognise the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people; the opposition to convocation of an international conference for establishing comprehensive, just and stable peace in our region, with the participation of all the sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, and also the Soviet Union, the United States and other interested states; the preparedness to serve the global interests of the imperialist powers, and especially of American imperialism, against the independent states, against the national liberation movement, against the Soviet Union and communism. Hence also the preparedness to join Israel to an aggressive military bloc in the service of the USA and the etsbalishment of American bases on Israel's soil.

The clearer the failure of the Camp David accords, which have removed further comprehensive and just peace, enabled the continuation of Israeli occupation and assisted the efforts of American imperialism to set up an aggressive military bloc in our region; the more the international atmosphere will improve in direction of detente, the more will the international efforts intensify, which are directed towards the extinction of the hotbed of war in the Middle East, which is liable to imperil peace in the whole world. Under such circumstances the initiative of the National-Religious Party for the establishment of a government of "national unity" can again appear and turn into reality.

If we have said that there are no essential differences between the policy of Likud and that of Alignment, this does not mean that there are no differences at all and that their socio-political basis is identical.

The particular danger inherent in the coalition of the Likud rule is the danger of fascism, the danger of liquidation of the democratic liberties. This has been proved by the attack on the atomic reactor in Baghdad. For the Likud and those in the Alignment and other establishment parties who are dragged after it,

are ready to extend the arena of war to additional states in the Middle East and even outside it.

The danger of fascism and war, the danger to the workers interests, the danger of sharpening the policy of discrimination and national oppression, towards the Arab population in Israel, the danger of deepening the social polarisation and discrimination of the Jewish oriental communities, all these dangers are not only concrete because of the possibility of continuation of the Likud's rule, but also the Alignment leadership is dragged after the Likud's policy. This is also one of the important reasons of the fact that the Alignment did not in the election campaign face the Likud's policy with any alternative policy of its own. It even tried to convince that it is not less nationalistic and militaristic than the Likud. The central slogan of the Alignment in the election campaign was: "Together - a Strong Israel" On such a ground, the Likud, and particularly its leader, M. Begin, could easily overcome the Alignment's propaganda.

The Likud, especially the prime minister, M. Begin, conducted the election campaign by creating an atmosphere of nationalistic and militaristic incitement. Begin artificially evoked war hysterics around Lebanon and Syria, delivered aggressive and demagogical speeches against the whole world. The timing of bombing the atomic reactor in Iraq was also intended to assist the Likud in its election poropaganda.

The nationalistic demagogy and aggressive acts were combined with social demagogy and demonstrative economic steps of the minister of finance, Y. Aridor, which were nothing but election bribes.

All these steps were aimed at diverting opinion away from the failure of the Likud government's policy throughout the 4 years of its rule. The aim of fanning the nationalist and militarist incitement was also to evoke in the hearts of the parts of the underprivileged and poor masses, of the inhabitants of the poor quarters and devlopment townlets, whom the Likud had abandoned - feelings of nationalist superiority, in order to "feel well" with the "strong" prime minister, who bombs neighboring countries at will, who "strongly" attacks heads of big states, and in general radiates the feeling that

"we are strong", although we cannot make ends meet towards the end of each month with the wages which are cut by the galloping inflation.

To our regret, the nationalist and social demagogy worked. However, the Likud did not content themselves with that. In order to ensure the continuation of their rule, they employed in the last stage of the election campaign methods of direct terror, violence, provocation, incitement and spreading fear.

In this situation the Alignment opened a porpaganda which called to vote for the Alignment even if one does not agree with it, in order to prevent the continuation of Likud's rule, in order to defend democracy and prevent fascism. One must support the Alignment, said its propagandists, because only it can set up a government.

To our regret, many of the democratic and peace-loving forces among the Jewish and Arab population were influenced by this propaganda of the Alignment which said: The choice lies between Likud or Alignment. The Alignment used the acts of vandalism of Likud's adherents, in order to call upon the democratic circles to support the Alignment even if only as "the lesser evil". The result was that the other lists, which oppose the Likud, were hit. Thus, for example, the Shelli list which had two members in the 9th Knesset was completely liquidated. Both, Shelli and the Independent Liberals (who had one MK in the 9th Knesset) did not pass the vote threshhold. Also Jewish and Arab communal lists failed.

To our regret, also the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality was partially hit by this state of affairs. A part of our supporters and friends made a big mistake by voting for the Alignment, thinking that in this way the continuation of the Likud's rule will be prevented. This was an erroneous voting. First of all, voting for the DFPE was a certain voting, as well against the Likud as against all what is held in common by Likud and Alignment. Therefore such voting was wholly against the Likud as well as against the danger of establishment of a "national unity" government of the Likud and the Alignment together.

In spite of these adverse conditions of the election campaign, in spite of all the propaganda and mis-

It is still too early to fully sum up all what follows from the experience of the election campaign to the 10th Knesset. But it is absolutely clear that the Democratic Front now bears a still greater responsibility as it is in the 10th Knesset the only force which struggles for true and realistic peace. We will loyally fulfill our duty, with courage and combining our struggle in the Knesset with the public struggle for the defence of the interests of the workers and popular masses, the defence of democratic freedoms, national and communal equality of rights and for equality of woman's rights. More than for everything, we will struggle against the occupation and for just peace for this is the key to the solution of the whole complex of problems. We will struggle for a foreign policy of neutrality and national independence.

The recognition of the important status of the DFPE in the political map in Israel stands our Front in these days in particular, in view of the efforts of the Alignment leadership to try and set up in spite of everything a coalition headed by the Alignment. The Alignment takes into account that the DFPE will in any case be against the Likud rule. If they did not take into account that the DFPE is a force which is absolutely against the Likud, the Alignment leaders could not even try to set up a government.

To our regret, the Alignment leadership has not forgotten, nor has it learned anything. Its platform is opposed to the cause of peace and workers' interests. It expresses the same policy which in the course of 29 years of the Alignment's rule had prevented peace and security, led to wars, and to disasters for the people, economy and society. This is the same policy which helped the Likud to gain power and which helps it now, too, to continue ruling. We opposed and will continue to oppose this failing policy. We struggled and will continue struggling still harder for a fundamental change of the ruling Israeli policy, in its general lines is held in common by the Likud and the Alignment, in spite of the differences between them. We will struggle for an Israeli policy for peace, democracy, equality of rights and social progress. We will with our strength fight against the danger of war and fascism. This struggle obliges us to continue strengthening and expanding.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality has proved itself. The DFPE is vital for the workers in town and country, for the intellegentsia, the intermediate strata, the youth - Jews and Arabs. The DFPE is a factor of great importance and much weight in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

In the election to the 10th Knesset, the Democratic Front stood firm and honourable. The members of the Communist Party of Israel and the Young Communist League of Israel, the sympathisers, all the components of the Front, Jews and Arabs, worked in the lengthy election campaign with great devotion and courage. Thanks to their efforts, the DFPE has preserved its main force in the different election campaign to the 10th Knesset.

Summing up, one must point out that in spite of the complicated situation after the elections to the 10th Knesset, in spite of the dangers ahead, we remain optimistic and certain of the fact that the reactionary policy will eventually be crushingly defeated. It is divorced from reality in the world and the region and also from the true interests of the Israeli people.

It is our duty to do everything in our power in order to consolidate the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, rally the majority of democratic forces and forces of peace, so as to defeat eventually the prevailing policy, realise our lofty aims for the good of our two peoples, for the good of the general cause of peace and progress.

ZO-HADEREKH, July 8,1981

The following is a list that shows the final results of the elections to the 10th Knesset as compared with the results of the elections to the 9th Knesset.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE 10th KNESSET

	10TH Knesset			9TH Knesset	
Name of List	No. of Votes	Percentage	No. of Seats	No. of Votes	No. of Seats
-Likud	718,941	37.11	48	617,915	45
-Alignment	708,536	36.57	47	430,023	32
-Mifdal	95,232	4.92	6	160,787	12
-Agudat Yisrael	72,312	3.73	4	58,652	4
-The Democratic Front	64,918	3.35	4	80,118	5
-Hatihiya	44,700	2.31	3	Likud	2
-Tami - Abu Hasirah	44,466	2.3	3	Mifdal	2
-Telem - Moshe Dayan	30,600	1,58	2	Likud & Aligmm.	3
-Shinoi	29,837	1,54	2	Dash	7
-Citizen's Rights	27,921	1.4	1	20,621	1
-Poale Agudat Yisrael	17,090	0.8	-	23,571	1
-Liberals	11,764	0.6	-	20,384	1
-Saif-Jaber Lst.	11,590	0.6	-	24,185	1
-Plato Sharon	10,823	0.5	-	27,281	1
-Shelli	8,691	0.4	-	33,947	2
-Hadad's List	8,304	0.4	-	-	-
-For Immigration List	6,992	0.3	-	-	-
-Kahane's List	5,128	0.2	-	Failed	-
-Independence Lst.	4,710	0.2	-	-	-
-Yitshaq Yitshaqi	3,726	0.1	-	Sharon	-
-Bedouins List	2,596	0.1	-	Sharon	-
-Pensionares List	2,404	0.1	-	-	-
-Zionist Black Panthers	1,293	Less than 0.1	-	Dash	2
-Asaf Yagori	1,228	"	-	Dash	1
-Al'athama List	839	"	-	-	-
-The Tents List	545	"	-	-	-
-For Abolition of Income Tax	503	"	-	-	-
-Amcha List	460	"	-	Failed	-
-Youth List	412	"	-	-	-
-List of the Council for Saving The State	405	"	-	-	-
-The Initiative List	400	"	-	-	-
Total	1,937,366	100%	120	1,177,170	120

S U P P L E M E N T

ORIENTAL COMMUNITIES IN ISRAEL - FROM A CLASS POINT OF VIEW

By Hanan Enosh

We hereby publish the first part of the study carried out by comrade Hanan Enosh regarding certain aspects of the question dealing with the Oriental Jewish Communities in Israel.

In our next issue we will publish the second and the last part of the study.

THE ORIENTAL COMMUNITIES IN ISRAEL - FROM A CLASS POINT OF VIEW

By Hanan Enosh

"The problem of the communities", "the social gap", "the second Israel" - such are only three out of the numerous names given to one of the most prominent characteristics of the socio-economic reality in the State of Israel. This characteristic has not disappeared in the course of the thirty years, in which the helmsmen of the Israeli society wave about the flags of "merger of the diasporas", "melting pot" and "social equality".

Quite on the contrary - it has strengthened and became more outstanding. Referring to this characteristic, the decisions of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel have stated, inter alia that "among the Jewish population, the problem of poverty is connected with the problem of communal discrimination, even though in its essence it is a class problem. There are poor among all Jewish communities, including those originating from Europe and America. But wide-spread and deep poverty exists more among those originating from countries of Asia and Africa." (THE 18TH CONGRESS, p. 71, Engl.)

The conclusions of the 18th Congress continue pointing out the expression of the discrimination against the oriental communities in the political and cultural sphere (loc. cit.)

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality determined the struggle for the elimination of communal discrimination in all spheres as one of the central common principles.

The importance of a broad Marxist discussion of this characteristic, whose repercussions are reflected in all spheres of social life in our country, cannot be subject to any doubt. Such discussion must content with the problems, expose their roots, define correctly the forces active in the field and criticise the various positions appearing in them. Such a discussion can contribute to a correct formation of the Party's attitude to these issues. The recent period which has witnessed

a considerable widening of the sense of frustration, disappointment and anger among the underprivileged social strata, demands such a discussion more than ever before. The political position, which will be chosen by the members of these strata has a fateful significance for the future of Israeli society, the cause of peace and democracy, and in the long range - for the cause of socialism.

This article is written in the hope that this will open this Marxist discussion. It will attempt to focus as far as possible on the general lines of development and not dealing with concrete questions, which are on the agenda of the "second Israel" in the present period (such, as for instance, the question of the attitude towards the project of rehabilitation of the slum areas or the latest attempts at self-organization).

THE ROOTS: FROM ISLAMIC COUNTRIES TO AN ISRAELI SOCIETY

1. THE ORIENTAL COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTRIES OF THEIR ORIGIN

> "*The cultural and linguistic barriers which divide the various Jewish communities are stronger than the strength of the religious unity.*"
>
> (Quoted from the preface of the sociologist Y. Leszczinski, to the book: "Israel's Wanderings", Jerusalem, 1945, p. 21.)

A brief examination of the character of the processes which the Jewish communities have undergone in the world is vital for the preparation of the study of the communal problem. Since the Jews dispersed over Asia, Africa and Europe, the historical development has divided the Jews in the various countries and not brought them nearer. Thus, for example, the use of a common language gradually disappeared: With the spreading of the use of the languages of the people among which the Jews lived and of the regional Jewish languages (Ladino, Yiddish), the use of Hebrew narrowed down and it remained as a "holy tongue" which is not used in daily life. Moreover, around the common religion, the Jewish communities created for themselves separate cultures, which were not so much linked with one another as with the cultures of

the peoples, among which the communities lived. The difference among the different communal cultures is especially prominent in the secular sphere (popular creation, music, clothing, food, generally accepted customs, ect.). But this has also spread to the sphere of religious customs (for example - the holidays, prayers, worship). There are also cases of differences in the content of religious law itself (for example: the prohibition of polygamy which was accepted in Islamic countries).

Therefore, subjective national characteristics (such as culture, language) are to be found in a Jewish community within a given country. But such caharcteristics are not common to the Jewish communities in the world.

The Jewish communities in the various countries are living at various stages of development, in accordance with the level of development of the society in which they are living. Thus, for instance, the rise of capitalism in Europe brought with it, together with the destruction of the feudal walls, also the disintegration of the closed communal structure of the Jewish communities and the decline of strength of the communities. Consequently, this was followed by a speedy in intergration of the Jews in the general class structure of the society in which they lived. At the level of the politico-ideological superstructure these processes were expressed by the movement of "Haskala" (Enlightment) - the acquisition of European languages at the expense of the Jewish languages, the restriction of the influence of religion (including the absolute severance of ties with it, on the part of the more progressive circles) and the gradual exchange of the Jewish way of life (the small-town culture) by ever widening circles) for the cultural values of the European capitalist society.

In the Islamic countries the Jewish groups were on the eve of their mass emigration to Israel (in the first decade after the establishment of the state) at earlier levels of development than in Europe.

At the end of the 15th century, about one half of the Jews of the world, lived in Asia and North Africa. In the middle of the 19th century approximately 400 thousand Jews lived in the various Asiatic

countries (apart from Palestine) and approximately 300 thousand in Africa (together about 16 percent of all the Jews in the world). In 1939, these figures were respectively 550 thousand and 500 thousand (Carta Atlas, of the History of Palestine since the Beginning of the Colonialisation until the Foundation of the State, Jerusalem, 1972, p. 12).

These communities - up to the big emigration to Israel - could be divided into two main kinds:

A. The communities which lived in the centres of capitalist development in the Arab countries under colonialist rule (part of which already on the eve of the big emigration had achieved their formal independence: In the great urban concentrations in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Iraq and some other countries, the Jews were at the peak of the process of breaking the closed communal framework and the dispersion all over the class structure of the general society: One part of the Jews joined the local bourgeoisie, another the civil service, and free professions and a third part the working class. This process was accompanied by a gradual adoption of the European way of life (French in the colonial countries in North Africa) and sometimes moving away from the local cultural way of life and the lessening of the preservation of religious duties. As sons of an oppressed national minority many Jews here too (as in Europe before that) vigorously responded to the young local revolutionary movements. An expression of this was, for example, the fact that the number of Jews in the national liberation movements and the Communist parties in the Islamic countries (and particularly in Iraq, Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt) in the first half of the 20th century has considerably surpassed their percentage in the general population.

The capitalist development led a broad current of Jews from villages and small towns to the periphery of the centres of development in the big towns. In Morocco, for instance, the communities of Fez and Marrakesh expanded and new urban communities were established, such as that in Casablanca (Dr. Yohanan Peres, "Relations of Communities in Israel", Tel-Aviv, 1976). The traditional way of life which had been progressively weakening in the old urban strata, returned and received reinforcement by additional Jews.

B. The communities which had existed in the peripheral areas (Yemen, the rural areas of Morocco, Kurdistan, etc.), where the closed communal structure of the Jewish community was still preserved.

Thus, for example, the rural Jews who inhabited the Atlas mountains in the vicinity of Arab villages or at the outskirts of the Arab village itself. They worked, in their majority in the production of tools, carpentry, building, tinsmithery and tailoring. In several areas they also were small tradesmen and hawkers in villages. In summer, part of them also worked in agriculture - as tenants on Arab land in exchange for part of the harvest. Their family life was conducted along patriarchal norms: submission of the sons to their fathers and of women to their husbands. Wedding ceremonies were magnificent and prolonged and included the sending of expensive presents from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride.

Emphasis was also laid on other family ceremonies, such as circumcision and acceptance into manhood, which took place accompanied by large banquets. The clan centered on the common yard, into which all flats opened. Every married couple held only one room, where they lived, ate and slept. In the common yard, livestock was also kept: fowls, goats and asses. The overwhelming majority of the rural Jews in the Atlas mountains were orthodox. No tradition of learning was developed, but they punctiliously kept the precepts of Jewish law (this did not involve women, who frequently continued their housework also when the Sabbath day had begun). This punctiliousness strengthened the central position of the rabbi, who was the arbiter and judge also with reference to problems which were not religious. The relations with the Arab neighbours were specific for each village: from relations of good neighbourliness which produced mutual assistance, exchange of gifts and participation in family celebrations over lengthy period and to mutual exclusion and even enmity in other periods.(loc. cit., pp. 48-49)

The Yemenite Jews - to adduce another example of Jews in peripheral areas, specialised mainly in goldsmith's and silversmith's work, tailoring, money deals and exchange, the production of tobacco, carpentry and shoemaking. Jews were artisans whose masterships was handed from generation to generation. The mastership of the Jew decided his honour and status in the eyes of his Jewish and non-Jewish surroundings. Colloquially, the Jew was

called "Atzeta", which means: specialist. Life in the Jewish quarter centered on religion, study of Jewish religious law, praying and religious feasts. Punctiliousness in keeping religious precepts was a severe duty, and persons who were slovenly in this respect, were considered criminals. Already at the age of four, the little boy entered the world of Tora (religious law). The ten-year olds were required to get up early every day and pray with their fathers. The principal educational factors were the father's home and the synagogue. It was the father who explained the written and oral religious law, while in the "Cheder" (the religious school), where the boy spent most hours of the day, where he learned the writings by heart without much stress being paid on learning the contents. On Sabbath days and holidays special terms were fixed for examining the achievements of the sons. (loc. cit. pp. 52-56).

In Palestine, the sepharadic (belonging to the oriental communities) Jews of the ancient Jewish population numbered several thousands. These had been living in the country for many generations. Their status within the ancient population was not inferior. On the contrary, they were involved in the life of the Arab society and their relations with the Othoman rule were better. As they were sons of the country more than the Askenazis (European Jews) within the ancient population, they had a sense of being superior to the latter. This status did not suffer either after the creation of the new population (produced by zionism) and the speedy development of the Jewish society. There were rich people among them (for example the Jerusalemite family of Valero), whose sons were educated in the best schools then existing.

The characteristics of the oriental Jews in countries of their origin, which were described above, make possible the discussion in the continuation of the article, of the immigration from Islamic countries to Palestine and their "absorption" in this country. Therefore in this framework, no examination was made of additional characteristics, which in themselves are important, of the Jewish communities in the Islamic countries (for instance, the cultural development). These additional characteristics will be mentioned, even if only briefly, in continuation of this article.

their arrival in this country no experience in agriculture, nevertheless, they began working in the Ashkenazi plantations. At the same time also their wives, who in Yemen had worked in their households, began working in the households of the Ashkenazis." (From the preface to "Israel's Social Structure", 1969, p. 287).

The zionist leader Yitzhak Brunbaum remarked: "The idea started to spread that Jews with little needs are wanted, who do not give rise in their labour and their settlement in the (zionist) colonies to the numerous frictions and complicated questions which are so difficult to solve. In the year 1909 immigration to Palestine started from Yemen, when famine and distress pushed them from their domiciles... When the first caravans of Yemeni immigrants arrived in Palestine, they were directed to Rohovot, Rishon-Lezion and Petah Tikva. They were in their majority working people and without great difficulties adapted themselves to the life of labour in the colonies. All worked: The heads of the family, women and even children, the farms and homes of the planters. Their wages were lower than those of the Jewish worker orginating in Europe but higher than those of the Arab labourer..." (Y. Grunbaum: The Zionist Movement, Part 3, pp. 226-227).

The rich planters of the settlements fully exploited the absence of any tradition of class struggle among the Yemenite immigrants. These immigrants who received for their hard work starvation wages, were housed in their own poverty-stricken quarters (Sha'arayim on the outskirts of Rehovot, Kerem-Teimanim on the outskirts of Tel-Aviv, etc.) Their conditions of life were ignominious: They were crowded into huts and tiny houses and dwelt there in wretchedness.

In November 1948 there were 16,300 natives of Yemen and South Yemen in the country (2.3 per cent of the Jewish population. The natives of Yemen were at that time the largest group in this country among the natives of Asia-Africa. In their majority they did hard and unskilled work: The immigrants from Yemen, Georgia (Gruzia), the Caucasus and from Saloniki - these were the typical manual labourers - porters, dockers and agricultural labourers. The leadership of the "Socialist-Zionist Movement" abandoned, as will be seen in continuation, the interests of this underprivileged and oppressed stratum. According to them, among the workers who immigra-

ted from Islamic countries, the traditional inclination towards the "Labour Movement" which characterised the Ashkenazi sector of the Jewish working class, did not develop. Political organisation was scant and characterized by communal and religious tendencies.

In the period of the British mandate, the rate of Jewish immigration from the Islamic countries to Palestine was very small. The big wave of immigration, which was called "the mass immigration" came only in the first decade after the establishment of the State. The "mass immigration" from the Islamic countries to Israel cannot be explained by any influence of the local zionist movements. In the majority of the Islamic countries no broad zionist movements had developed. The zionist organisations were in general limited to the communities which were in the focus of the capitalist development. In the peripheral areas steady zionist activity was conducted.

The fundamental cause of the "mass immigration" was the change which began in the situation of the Jews in the Arab countries subsequent to the establishment of the State of Israel and the military confrontation between it and the Arab states in 1948. The fostering of anti-Jewish hatred was at that time a part of the effort of the Arab rulers to overcome the popular opposition which their pro-imperialist policy had evoked. The anti-Jewish incitement was a part of the attempt at fostering a nationalist and chauvinist tide intended to strangle public criticism against sending Arab armies to Palestine in the service of British interests (the true character of this move - the sending of the armies - was already then very courageously exposed by the Communists and progressive forces in the Arab countries. These forces also showed how the policy of the reactionary Arab governments abandons the true interests of the Palestinian Arab people. The anti-Jewish incitement also served for diverting people's anger which was evoked by the rulers and governments, into other channels. The situation of the Jews in the Arab countries was considerably aggravated.

Here, like in other places, the Jewish emigration was a function of the oppression and pressure exerted on the Jews, and not a function of the measure of influence of the zionist ideology. More than everything else, the "mass immigration" was an escape from the aggravation of the situation of the Jews in the Arab countries. When the

emigrants saw before them alternative countries for immigration, a considerable part of them emigrated to them (for example a great part of the Algerian Jews immigrated to France and only a minority arrived in this country).

This mass emigration was accompanied by the awakening of religious-messianic sentiments more than by zionist ideological factors. "The immigration to the Holy Land" was in many cases understood as a departure from enslavement to salvation. A cruel awakening awaited the dreamers.

THE "ABSORPTION" OF THE MASS IMMIGRATION IN ISRAEL

The meeting between parts of the Jewish people in Israel is usually described in a metaphorical, abstract and nebulous language: 'Ingathering of the Exiles', 'and they shall again come from the country of the enemy', 'from the diaspora to the salvation', 'renew our old days", etc. etc. These were the terms given to the various waves of immigration ever since the inception of zionism. The reason is that the term 'ingathering of the exiles' awakes the image of a renewed convergence of Jews who had dispersed all over the earth consequent upon historical circumstances, who are now returning to live in unity, partnership brotherhood... It is worthwhile to point out one principal action of this image: By raising before our eyes a situation which had been existing in the distant past, it diverts our attention from the present, real situation. The meeting between Ashkenazis and Orientals in our generation is not a renewal of relations which had existed before the destruction of the ancient Judean Kingdom... Today's meeting is a meeting under the specific conditions of the 20th century, which are diffferent from the conditions prevailing in other epochs. This is a meeting in the conditions of a capitalist world, where production means the production of goods by machinery, and the latter are not, as in the distant past in the possession of each and every working man, but is controlled by families and groups who possess also financial power, control technology have influence upon the state apparatus, control the information and educational systems. The meeting between the Jews under these conditions is ... a meeting between an industrialist and a worker, between a banker and a borrower, between a planter and harvesting labourer, between a building contractor and a building worker. This is a meeting, where the accumulation which was made possible for one side, because of whatever reasons there may be,

is not to be seen as only a "temporary advantage at the start", but as an advantage which tends to renew itself, out of the very nature of the capitalist cycle ... If the majority of orientals who immigrated to this country in the fifties found that they were graded at lower levels, this proves that these levels were created in that period. At the same time, a system of interests arose which, confronted by the will of the immigrants for a change for the better, will be interested in preserving the situation that had been created. At any event, what is rediculous is the supposition of the attitude of modernization - as if by exposure to modernism the oriental immigrants could leave the low categories and spread over all parts of the social structure... There are no empty shelves at the top of the social structure which wait for the modern orientals to come and fill them. A change in the status of the orientals will not come from a change in their characteristics alone; it will only come with the change of the entire social structure." (From the research of Dr. Shlomo Svirsky and Dr. Devora Bernstein "Who Worked In What Capacity, For Whom And For What Wages? The economic development of Israel and the creation of the division of communal work" in "Brochures for Research and Criticism", No. 4, 1980 (henceforth: Svirsky-Bernstein's Article).

The 459,000 who came from the countries of Asia-Africa constituted 55 per cent of the total of immigrants in the years 1948-1957. The processes of the "absorption" of the mass immigration from the Islamic countries will be hereunder examined in two closely interconnected spheres: the sphere of the society's economic basis and the sphere of the politico-ideological superstructure. (The quotation marks have been added, in order to stress our objection to this notion, which centers on the change of the "absorbed" and conceives the conomic and social structure of the "absorbing" society as something formed and fixed: The "absorption" of the mass immigration has caused, along with the change in the immigrants' situation, deep changes in the economic and social structure of the Israeli society).

1.THE "ABSORPTION" IN THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE ISRAELI SOCIETY

"...It is difficult to speak about the impact of the immigration on the state because the state was

veritably built up by the immigration... Also the fast economic growth of the economy was mainly a result of the immigration movement" (Efraim Ahiram, "The Absorption of the Immigration and the Israeli Economy" (Review of Economics", pp. 78-79).

The fifties and sixties were years of the accelerated capitalist development of the Israeli economy. In the process of this development, the new immigrants from the Islamic countries constituted a relatively cheap labour power, relatively mobile and highly adaptable to manipulation. A cheap and mobile labour force constituted a condition to the accelerated capitalist development itself. The Israeli bourgeoisie, the factors of foreign capital and the political leadership of the Israeli society (the top leadership of the "socialist-zionist labour movement") were united in their support lent to this capitalist development.

The policy of the "socialist-zionist" political leadership towards the "absorption of the mass immigration" can be understood only on the background of seeing several of the fundamental characteristics of the rightist labour movement in this country. The ideology of the "socialist-zionist labour movement" was characterised by the deep contradiction between supporting the zionist colonisation on the one hand, and founding elements, which were absorbed from the progressive movements in Europe and the reality of the class struggles in the country, on the other hand. (The historical development shows which of the two sides in this contradiction was the fundamental and deep one and which one erased and disappeared with the times).A pertinent expression regarding this contradiction was made at the time by one of the leaders of MAPAI, David Hacohen: "When I enetered (in London) a club of socialist students, British, Irish, Jewish, Chinese, Indians and Africans - all of us were under British rule - I had already at that time to fight with my comrades in the intimate surroundings about Jewish socialism; to defend the fact that I do not accept Arabs in my trade unions, the Histadrut; that in my country we appeal to housewives not to buy from Arabs; that we stand on guard outside the plantation, so that no Arab worker can work in it; that we pour oil on Arab tomatoes; attack Jewish housewives in in the market and break the Arab eggs which they carry in their baskets; that we praise to the heavens the

Keren Kayemet (Jewish National Fund) which sent Yehoshua Henkin to Beirut to buy land from absent landlords and kick out the fellahin; that is to buy tens of dunams of land (one dunam is a tenth of a hectare) from an Arab is permitted but - God forbids - to sell one dunam to an Arab is forbidden. To take, as a socialist, that symbol of capitalism - Rothschild - and call him the "well-known philanthropist" - this was not an easy task... (Ha'aretz, November 15, 1968).

The "socialist-zionist labour movement" in all of its wings, advocated the concepttion of class collaboration (an example of the unequivocal expression of this conception is the "theory of stages" of "Hashomer Hatzair" (today's MAPAM and its Kibbutzim): the postponement of the "revolutionary stage", of the class struggle, until the completion of the "pioneering stage" - the stage of "building-up of the country, which must be made by all social classes in common) and by the absolute subjection of the class demands to the zionist aims. The enormous service which this attitude gave to the bourgeois stratum which was created within the Jewish population is clear. The political hegemony (whose basis was the support of the majority of the young working class and the ramified system of institutions of the "Working Palestine" - the Histadrut, the Hevrat Haovdim (cooperative system), the various economic institutions, the workers' settlements, and especially the Kibbutz movement, the system of education of the "workers' educational network, the youth movements, the Palmach (paramilitary organisation) must not mislead us: Under the cover of the socialist chattering, that was void of any content, the "labour movement" painstakingly fostered in the period before and after the establishment of the state, the interests of the developing Israeli capitalism.

The masses of the oriental immigrants whose majority had been working in the countries of their origin in different trades, were after coming to this country, integrated in the socio-economic reality which prevailed in the country, in a very specific role, as will yet be set out in detail). The policy of absorption was from the beginning adapted to the needs of the accelerated capitalist development. The apparatus of "absorption" was built up in such a form as to ensure centralism in the treatment of the immigrants and the supply of housing and work given to them. The dependence on the absorbing

institutions was still more strengthened in consequence of the scarcity of financial means at the disposal of the majority of the immigrants. The factor of housing (which in its majority was supplied by the initiative and financing of government and other public institutions, constituted an important means in directing the immigrants to various areas in the country. The immigrants from the Islamic countries were at a very high rate directed to the agricultural settlements and small development towns in out-of-the-way areas, which were undeveloped and poor from the point of view of agriculture. Let us look on some statistical data: The immigrants from Asia-Africa constitute 70 per cent of the inhabitants of the small development towns (Svirsky-Bernstein article, p. 33). Fourty-three per cent of the settlements of the immigrants from Asia-Africa were founded between the years 1948-1951, in mountenous regions, in the Negev and the Galilee - as against 10 per cent of the settlements inhabited by immigrants from Europe-America which were founded at the same time in the same areas (loc. cit. p. 20). The process of turning the masses of new immigrants, into a cheap and mobile labour force, was aided by the widespread unemployment which reigned in the greater part of the first decade of the state (Nadav Halevy and Ruth Klinov-Maloul: "Israel's Economic Development, 1968, p. 53), and whose rate was particularly high among the oriental immigrants (loc. cit. pp. 55-56), and specifically high in the development areas (loc. cit. p. 7).

In this process, the absence of class consciousness and religious-messianic sentiments were very well exploited. The Histadrut leadership which, too, adopted the conception of accelerated capitalist development, abandoned the interests of the masses of new immigrants.

As a relatively cheap, mobile and easily manipulated labour force, the masses of new immigrants from the Islamic countries fulfilled a central role at several stages of this economic development (Svirsky-Bernstein article).

First of all: They bore the decisive part in the expansion of agriculture in mixed farming, restoration and extension of the citrus plantations and large-scale development of industrial crops, such as cotton.

* Approximately 65 per cent of the inhabitants of the immigrants' settlements which were set up in the years 1948-1960 originated from the Islamic countries. In the settlements in the more distant areas (Negev and Galilee) their rate was higher.

* In all agricultural branches which demanded intensive, unskilled and non-mechanised work, the rate of the oriental immigrants was the highest. Data of the population census of 1961 shows that oriental immigrants constituted 50.6 per cent of wage-earners in citrus plantations while only 14.3 per cent were Ashkenazi immigrants;
  In growing vegetables 52.8 per cent were oriental immigrants while only 14 per cent were Ashkenazi immigrants;
  Among cultivators of field crops 32 per cent were oriental as against 17 per cent Ashkenazi immigrants (Svirsky-Bernstein article based on government statistical data).

While the wage of the agricultural labourers was low (the lowest in the whole economy in those years), the agricultural employers enjoyed extensive government aid and a high rate of profit.

In the work of development of agricultural infrastructure, the share of the immigrants from Islamic countries was prominent. Svirsky-Bernstein point out that "the initiated work undertakings created economic values which enlarged the resources and profits of certain sectors of the population... It is possible to dwell upon some tendencies, and the most important among those is the reclamation of additional soil for agricultural cultivation by drainage, removal of stones, uprooting of old plantations, etc... the reward received by the new landowners stood out prominently against the low wages received by the relief workers, who prepared the soil. As an understanding example the undertaking of the reclamation of the Huleh swamp can be cited, which was one of the big development undertakings of the late fifties. This work was done by the inhabitants of Kiryat-Shmoni, in their great majority immigrants from oriental countries. As a result of this activity, 40,000 dunams of land were reclaimed. The greater part of this land was handed over to the Kibbutzim of Upper Galilee (by means of a special authority created for this purpose) in order to establish agricultural farms

which developed crops surplanting import products and which demanded much work. In these farms worked those same unskilled labourers from Kiryat-Shmoni. Already one year after this activity, the farms showed net profits. As against this, as late as the beginning of the sixties, that is eleven years after the sixties, that is elevn years after the establishment of Kiryat-Shmoni, approximately 40 per cent of its breadwinners worked only on temporary basis and as unskilled labourers. (Svirsky-Bernstein's article, p. 25).

Secondly, more or less simultaneously, the immigrants of the oriental communities fulfilled a central part in the great effort of building construction in the fifties.

A high percentage among the building workers were new immigrants, and especially immigrants from Asia-Africa. The latter, whose part in the labour force was in 1961, 29.7 per cent constituted 38 per cent of the workers in all branches of the building construction. The rate of orientals among those employed in the building branch in 1972 was still higher. Their weight was greater in the barnches which demanded less skilled labour. In the public and engineering work, where the level of skilled labour was the lowest, their rate was 42 per cent of all workers.

In the building trade mainly temporary workers were employed, a situation which enabled a maximal exploitation of the potential labour force, in wages and social conditions.

Svirsky and Bernstein state that "Under the conditions of ... high demand for building, a temporary and cheap labour power, for building which demanded much work and gave a high rate of profit, those who profited the most were those who controlled the process of production - the construction companies, contractors of industrial enterprises for construction and financial bodies. The most prominent phenomenon with regard to all these bodies is the fast expansion of the scope of their activity, while preserving the conditions of profitability." (loc. cit., p. 35). When agricultural development became saturated and agricultural cultivation became more mechanised, a considerable part of the workers who were natives of Asia and Africa, were

transfered to other trades.

The decline in agricultural employment of the natives of Asia-Africa is still more prominent in comparison with the decline among the natives of Europe and America. Thus for instance, 15 per cent of the employees who belonged to the oriental communities were employed in agriculture in 1961 as against only 6 per cent in 1972 (the parallel figures for natives of Europe and America were 9.1 per cent in 1961 and 6.5 per cent in 1972). Svirsky-Bernstein point out that "the rate of oriental immigrants for whom the participation in the effort of agriculture development constituted also the creation of a family property was small compared with the Ashkenazis." (loc. cit. p.28).

In the late fifties and the sixties, the oriental immigrants fulfilled an important part in the acclerated industrial development and principally in the branches demanding much labour, such as textile, diamonds, metal, chemicals and minerals. Svirsky-Bernstein remark that "already in the year 1961 ,the year of the first population census, and a relatively short time after the beginning of the acclerated industrialization, the orientals constituted 31.8 per cent of the total of industrial workers - by two per cent than the rate of their total participation in labour power. In 11 out of 16 industrial branches the orientals had a higher representation. Twenty-five-point-six per cent of all the natives of Asia and Africa were employed in industry in that year as against 24.5 per cent of all the natives of Europe and America. The wide-spread image of the difficulties of absorption of immigrants from non-industrialized countries in the modern industrial economy crushes against the fact that the acclerated industrial development was based to a high degree on unskilled labour power." (loc. cit. p. 39).

Already in the year 1961, the oriental immigrants constituted 41 per cent of all the employees in the textile branch. (Population and Housing Census, 1961: Labour Power, Part 1, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1963, table 39). In 1972, the rate of orientals (natives of this country and immigrants) rose to 51 per cent of all the employees in this branch. (Svirsky-Bernstein, p. 46). The repercussions of this "absorption" of the mass immigration from the Islamic countries on the communal composition of the classes in Israeli society are, as

we will see in continuation, is prominent till this day. The class structure of the Israeli society is also today accompanied by communal characteristics (and incidentally also national ones. The Israeli working class has a bi-national character. This article is not intended for discussing these important characteristics). One must not ignore these characteristics. On the other hand, they must not blur the class character of the social structure. To this subject the second part of this article will be devoted.

2. THE "ABSORPTION" AT THE LEVEL OF THE POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE OF THE ISRAELI SOCIETY - THE COMMUNAL DISCRIMINATION

"A great part of the immigrants come to us without any knowledge of the alphabet, without any trace of Jewish or human education... they originate from backward, oppressed, exploited countries... the cultural absorption of this immigration, its integration and forming, the turning of these creatures with a cultured, creative, independent nation, with a vision, is not easy undertaking... an enormous effort is demanded... to bequeathe to them the assets and values of the nation, to plant people from distant and exploited diasporas in our society, culture, language and creation..." (Ben-Gurion, in a speech before senior officers of the Israeli army, quoted from "Israel's Eternity", p. 34).

In the sphere of the politico-ideological superstructure, the appearance of the process of "absorption" of the mass oriental immigration was the break-up of the way of life and cultural tradition of the oriental communities. This break-up was often, and intentionally, confused with modernization, that is to say with teaching modern trades to the natives of the Islamic countries (whose overwhelming majority indeed had not had such trades). The absence of such technological-professional knowledge did not obstruct, as we have already seen, the absorption of the immigrants from oriental countries in the socio-economic structure. Precisely the function of a cheap, unskilled mobile labour force, lacking any class consciousness, was demanded by the processes of capitalist development.

As to modern technological trades - the orientals who needed this, never met a parallel effort on part of the society's leadership, to introduce them into these trades.

The evidence of Arye Eliav, a central activist in bringing the oriental Jews to the country and "absorbing" them speaks for itself: "We, the Jews in Eretz-Israel (Palestine), must hide our face in shame when we compare what we have done with what the Soviets have done in the sphere of education... They encountered a Russian people who in its overwhelming majority was ignorant and illiterate and turned it into a people who loves books, who reads literature and poetry. They completely uprooted illeteracy and ignorance... while we, who had a small problem of raising the educational level of one half of the Jewish population and bring it to the level which is given to the second half - failed in this task completely! Worse than that: Jewish institutions in the world, starting with the "Alliance" (Alliance Israelite) and its network of schools among the oriental (Jewish) communities in the Islamic countries, and ending up with the schools of the "Habad" (fanatic religious sect) in several Islamic countries - have done better work than we have have done ourselves. Moreover: Young Jews who come to us in small numbers in the course of more than twenty years after the establishment of the state, from Lebanon, Iraq, Algeria and Morocco, are equipped with better trades and education than their contemporaries from those countries, who had been brought up as "Sabras" (Jewish natives of Israel) in this country. This state of affairs is still more shocking when we find out the excellent educational level of hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Islamic countries who immigrated throughout the last generation to France, Spain, Canada and the United States. Why are we astonished and why we clap our hands in indignation, when the terrible question awakens among a part of the sons of the oriental communities: Is there no intention to leave one generation after the other as second-class citizens, lacking any appropriate education and robbed of equal opportunities?" ("Israel's Ladder - A Dream And Its Shattering", Tel-Aviv, 1976, pp. 81-82).

What really was done, was a "modernization" in an entirely different meaning: A comprehensive process of breaking up the way of life and cultural tradition of the immigrants from the Islamic countries. From this aspect, the attitude to the culture of the oriental Jews can be considered a parallel phenomenon to the oppression of a national culture. Just as in every culture in a class society, also the cultural world of the oriental

communities was composed of various elements. As Marxists, our approach to this culture, as to other national cultures must be critical and we must differ between the various elements according to their character. "In every national culture," Lenin wrote, "are elements, even if not developed, of a democratic and socialist culture, because in every nation there exists toilers and exploited whose living conditions necessarily generate a democratic and socialist ideology. But in every nation there exists a bourgeois culture." (V.I. Lenin, Regarding the National Question).

Thus, for example, the patriarchal structure of large families, crystallised around the elder, the pater familias (while the status of the women in the internal family hierarchy is low), is the characteristic of the slavery society and the feudal society, but has no existence in the capitalist society. In the Israeli social reality, at any event, the break-up of the clannish way of living had an additional social function which must not be ignored: The destruction of the forms of the clannish, tribal-like social organization turned the "absorbed persons" for a brief term at least, into a disintegrated stratum without any ability of real resistance. The break-up of the clannish way of living was carried out by various means and is very well described by Eliav:

"We divided the large families into small groups, and gave to each of the breadwinners a separate lot in the villages. Also to the elder of the family we gave a lot. Thus we destroyed his status. From one day to the other he was turned into just one more breadwinner and lost his place as the pater familias. It is clear that the elder could not compete with his sons, sons-in-law and grandsons, and lagged behind them. Thus we made the elders, rabbis, the wise and other natural leaders of the small community into "inferior" unproductive persons and thereby almost lacking any status. In the towns the phenomenon was still harder. There the separation and dispersal were still bigger. Only a short time passed before the respected elders of the family were turned into wretched relief workers. The authorities threw from time to time a few workdays into their way (and in times of crisis and recession they turned into unemployed and dependent on their sons and sons-in-law." (Ibid.,p.70).

The lowering of the social status of the fathers played a role in the lowering of the status of their culture.

The breaking-up of the cultural traditions of the oriental communities was carried out in an absolutely non-selective manner. Also the progressive elements in those cultures were scornfully suppressed and stamped out. The tremendous cultural wealth of the Jews of the Islamic countries were arrogantly ignored. While in Christian Europe, the Jews still lived in the darkness of the medieval ghetto, in Spain, under Arab rule, there blossomed the culture of the "golden era". In the Islamic countries glorious cultural creations were engendered by poets and thinkers, such as the Rambam (Maimonides), Shlomo Ibn Gabirol, Rabad, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Shalom Shabazi - if only to mention a few names. In the Islamic countries a great many liturgical and secular poems were written, the correct phonetic pronounciation of the Hebrew language was preserved, a rich popular cultural creation was produced (in governments, ornaments, etc.) wonderful songs were created, special delicate dishes were prepared.

The culture of the Jews of the Islamic countries, which was developed in continuous mutual relations with the surrounding Arab cultural world, could have constituted a cultural bridge between Israel and the neighbouring Arab peoples.

The rich Arab language, for instance, was one of the great cultural assets which the immigrants from the Islamic countries brought with them. The conversation in the Arabic language, which is so important precisely in the reality of life of the Israeli society, which lives in the centre of the Arab world and in which a weighty Arab national minority lives, had no continuation. As Eliav says: "The parents who saw that this language is considered contemptible, did not pass it on to their children and the children who quickly became aware that the language spoken in their parents' home was "primitive", abandoned it and did not want to talk it. They,too, were ashamed of the Arabic language." (loc. cit. p. 71). The inferior status of the Arab language in the Israeli school completes the picture.

As to the history, also in the Islamic countries, the Jews fulfilled a role in the development. There, too, the Jews participated in the struggle against the oppression. The percentage of Jews, sons of an oppressed national minority, in the ranks of the Communist Parties in Iraq, Egypt, Morocco and other Arab countries was higher than their percentage in the general population. Also, in the Middle East and North Africa, many Jews fought at the side of their brethren, in the ranks of the revolutionary movement against the colonial regime, against fascism, and for national and social liberation.

"These creatures with little human resemblance... without any trace of Jewish or human education..." thus defined them the charismatic leader of the "Socialist-Zionist Labour Movement". In reality, we have before us a community with its own creativity, its own culture, its own history, (to whom no "assets of the nation" must be bequeathed and who did not wish to be planted into "our culture, language and creation"... as defined by the first prime minister in the spirit of highly commendable modesty...

Further on, we will deal with the function which such arrogant expressions fulfilled.

The discrimination against the culture of the oriental communities is a phenomenon of national-ethnic discrimination. The Marxist explanation of such a phenomenon must include a contest with the fundamental cause of its formation, the psychological basis which enabled its spreading and the justifications given to it.

The fundamental cause of a development of such an attitude to the oriental communities and their culture lies in the developments which were described above in the sphere of the Israeli socio-economic basis. These developments demanded, on the one hand, the turning of the "absorbed" persons into cheap labour power. On the other hand, a need arose for justifying this social development of the sons of the oriental communities which came with the mass immigration.

The solution: Ideological developments which present the Jews from the Islamic countries as "creatures with little resemblance...etc." and which lay stress on the changes which orientals must undergo. Prominent examples

of these ideological developments are pointed out by Dr. Svirsky and Dr. Bernstein (loc. cit. p. 16). These developments include, on the one hand, placing the problem of "productivization" of these "creatures" in the centre of the "national tasks" by the political elite. On the other hand, the presentation of the problem of "modernization" by the immigrants from Asia-Africa as a central problem of the Israeli society by social scientists in this country, in general, and by the sociologists in particular.

Their dwelling on these ideological developments are clear to everybody: This attitude of arrogance and conceit is directed against those who are intended to constitute a cheap, mobile and disciplined labour force. Therefore, they are presented to the people, as primitive wretched who must pass through a process of civilization before they can take up the place in society which is due to them.

The psychological basis which enabled such an a attitude is connected with the classical zionist approach to the Arab East. Herzl presented his "Jewish State" as an advance post of western civilization opposite oriental barbarism: "For Europe, we would there constitute a sector of the wall against Asia. We would serve as a vanguard of culture against barbarism." (Before the People and the World" p. 9).

In his article "The East" (published in 1926 in his paper "Rasviet",) Zev Jabotinsky wrote: "We Jews have, thanks God, nothing in common with the East. The more the unenlightened masses of our people are close to the oriental remnants of the past, they must be induced to wane themselves from them. And this is what we do in every decent school. This is done by life itself in the most assiduous and successful manner. We immigrate to the Land of Israel (Palestine), first of all for the sake of our national comfort, and secondly, according to the definition of Max Nordau, in order to 'expand the frontiers of Europe up to the river Euphrates'. In other words, we must uproot from among the Jews of the Land of Israel today and in the future every trace of the 'Eastern soul'!"

On the basis of this attitude, in the course of time, among numerous Jewish settlers in Palestine, an attitude of abysmal contempt towards the Arab 'natives' was created.

(Such a development is characteristic for colonialist settlers. Its roots lie in the sphere of the economic basis and also in the politico-ideological sphere they seem to be very clear).

The sons of the (Jewish) oriental communities were a further victim of this contempt. After all, one cannot deride Arab pronounciation, Arabic music without deriding the pronounciation, music and culture of the oriental Jews, which are a part of the Arab spiritual world, just as the culture of the German Jews is a part of the German culture.

The principal justification for this attitude has been presented by means of the zionist notion of "ingathering of the diasporas". In the cultural reality of the Israeli society (characterized by extensive absorption of European cultures alongside alienation in relation to the cultures of the Islamic cast) has in practice constituted an absolute shaking-off of the traditions of oriental culture and unconditional adaptation to the prevalent culture. The concept of "ingathering of the diasporas", which negated the popular cultures of the Jews of the "Gola"(diaspora), hit in particular the oriental Jews.

In the course of more than thirty years of the existence of the State of Israel, in the educational system, the research institutions and communication media there exists an attitude of ignoring the values of oriental cultures (and in many instances, also of disregarding and scorning it).

This phenomenon is especially grave in view of the kind of cultural contents of the text books in the Israeli educational system. These are not progressive contents in history and universal human culture (the knowledge of a graduate of Israeli education in these fields are, in general, slight) or in the history and culture of the country in which the pupils live (Indeed, the Israeli school graduate's information about the history of his country is a function of the connection between it and the Jewish history of the given historical period. About periods in which this connection is weak, the Israeli pupil has learned next to nothing). The contents of the studies are mainly directed towards creating a feeling of belonging to a Jewish world nation, and therefore include various "national" texts of Jewish communities in the

"Gola". In practice, these contents are focused on the culture of the East-European Jewish small town. Many of the literary works which are studied are only of historical value. Also other works are studied in an attitude of nostalgic and maudlin clinging to the Jewish small town as against the lack of emphasis being put on the popular and progressive universal- human foundations (On this matter see Y. Barak's article in "Arakhim" No. 3/1980.) Such attitude creates a cultural alienation also among the natives of this country who are sons of immigrants from Europe-America. The more so among the sons of the oriental communities: They learn that the whole culture, the whole poetry - everything begins with some place in Europe, that is - with the parents of their Ashkenazi coevals.

To the elder generation of the immigrants from the Islamic countries, the attitude is like to a lost generation which will pass away and with it its problems. The generation of the sons must be something different. But those who were educated in this country, were in their majority brought up to be as uprooted and as displaced as their parents (and perhaps even more than them) They remained detached from the values of their parents' home, strangers to the "national" texts about the small town, which are studied at school and practically abandoned to the processes of speedy Americanisation, which characterize the Israeli culture. Many of the sons of the poor quarters, the small towns and villages are attracted to everything sparkling and cheap in the American "cultural" import. Broad strata of youth are pushed into the margins which the society's leadership has created for them.

In another place in this article I have mentioned the existence of the communal characteristics of the Israeli society's class structure. These characteristics are exploited by a tendency (about which and the interests behind it, later),to present the class relations in Israel as relations between classes and thereby to exchange the class attitude by a communal attitude. Precisely on this background, it is important to give precise definition of the communal discrimination which exists in Israeli society. This has two different aspects: The principal one, that which we have discussed till now, refers to the denial of the group rights of the certain communal sector. In the case before us - the denial of the rights of the immigrants from the Islamic countries to preserve

and develop the progressive elements in that culture.

The additional aspect includes phenomena of personal discrimination (denial of rights of the individual) on a communal basis. Unlike the discrimination against the Arabs, such phenomena in relation to the immigrants from the Islamic countries are not anchored in law or institutionalized. I have already before discussed the causes which brought about the creation of the image of the "primitive oriental". This image was strengthened the more in Israeli society, the more the high degree of coordination between belonging to a social and educational class became stabilized. This image, helped along by prejudices and racist attitudes, constituted the basis for discrimination and personal deprivation of sons of the oriental communities. Phenomena of personal discrimination are also suffered by sons of oriental communities who have succeeded in getting out of the oriental environment and have penetrated the mixed Ashkenazi social environment.

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81

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