Moshe Maor

THE RIGHT WAY TO SOCIETY

2004

DRAFT TRANSLATION

To my wife Didi, and my children Dar, Roy, Omri and Erel -

With love

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Acknowledgements

This political platform, which sets forth my social-economic-national world view, has been written with the aid and support of numerous people, all of whom deserve thanks. I have no doubt that the writing of *The Right Way to Society* would not have come to pass without the support and encouragement that I received from the Menachem Begin Heritage Center, particularly from Herzl Makov, Director General of the Center. I would like to thank the Center for both its involvement in bringing my project to fruition and for the public courage of those at its head who fulfill a crucial role in Israeli political discourse. Those brave individuals have not been afraid to create a suitable public platform for airing a range of, otherwise suppressed, political positions. Their dedication is necessitated by the gravity of the social issues on their agenda. I would also like to thank Moshe Foxman for his contribution to organizing conferences in which discussions over this book were held.

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Finally, it is important forum to note that I have attempted to write this platform in simple and accessible language so that it may be read and understood by all. In addition, I have tried to make things easy for the reader and minimize the scope of abstract discussions, bulk of quotations, and number of footnotes. I sincerely hope that this document will lead to the consolidation of an intellectual community that will focus on the "Right Way to Society" and will be able in time to expedite the development of popular support for this way.

Moshe Maor
Holon, 24 Tevet 5764

INTRODUCTION

The Right Way to Society is a political platform that seeks to provide a social compass for individuals possessing a social conscience. The social compass includes in it the operating principles for a policy shift intended to strengthen the mechanisms of solidarity in Israeli society. This policy shift is based on three components:

- **The Right Way to Social Justice –** which focuses on eradicating poverty among children, reducing socioeconomic inequalities, and promoting equal opportunity among children and youth

- **The Right Way to Social Integration** – which focuses on integrating into society currently marginalized individuals: those who suffer from a physical, sensory (blindness or deafness), mental or psychological disability, as well as those who suffer from prejudice, stereotypes, negative images and stigmas, such as members of the homosexual community, single-parent families, senior citizens, released prisoners and rehabilitated drug addicts

- **The Right Way to Nation Building –** which focuses on defending the Hebrew language and reinforcing its pride of place in Israel and the Diaspora; fortifying the State of Israel's status as the global center of Jewish culture and civilization; and ensuring the Jewish-Zionist character of Israel while simultaneously safe-guarding its democratic nature.

The combination of these components in the manifesto before us is not random but fundamental. It rests on two premises. Firstly, a young democracy interested in strengthening its social and economic stability must cope with social challenges in a serious manner. This does not refer to a limited kind of "coping" merely aimed at preventing the spread of social pathologies, but rather at real efforts at solving these pathologies. Secondly, these efforts must be undertaken within the framework of a market economy with a strong and stable social safety net, while concurrently creating a defining national ethos – **Social Zionism –** that focuses on the revitalization of Israeli society.

These two premises serve as the foundation for an approach that combines the economic Right with the social Left. This approach is reflected in the relationships between its three components. The first component **The Right Way to Social Justice**

means that achieving goals of social justice is based on use of policy tools that increase the individual's ability of free choice. For example, selling government companies in such a way that will reduce economic inequality, in addition to reducing government involvement (for instance, by diverting government gains from privatization towards reducing taxes imposed on the lower and middle classes). The goal, then, is to use policy tools identified with the economic Right in order to obtain goals identified with the social Left. The second component recognizes that the integration into society of currently marginalized individuals is contingent upon achieving goals of social justice. The reason for this is that activity aimed at social integration is meaningless if socially marginalized individuals cannot achieve a minimal standard of living. The third component means that strengthening national anchors is a necessary condition for the implementation of a social breakthrough centering on objectives of social justice. A social breakthrough requires broad support within the populace, and this support can only be generated when a high level of social solidarity already exists. Only the nation-state can obtain support at this scope, and thus the way to obtain this support requires strengthening national identity.

The innovation in this document therefore lies in its methods for defusing the crisis of Israeli society. As opposed to similar platforms formulated by intellectuals or practitioners who examine societal problems and raise solutions for these problems from within an economic, social, or professional paradigm, this platform examines these problems from within a Jewish-Zionist point of view and presents a way to strike a balance between a modern economy and social justice on the one hand, and state involvement and individual freedom on the other. The practical basis for this approach lies in the need to unite the two large political camps in Israeli society, the Center-Left and Center-Right, for the purpose of a social breakthrough on the basis of values shared by the majority in society. The ideological basis for this approach lies in the heritage of Ze'ev Jabotinsky and Menachem Begin, and in the recognition of the fact that the social policy of the Labor Movement in the fifty years that preceded the foundation of the state and in the state's early years produced a welfare state with its myriad pathologies.

Despite the historical differences of opinion between the Left and the traditional Right, it is impossible not to acknowledge the benefits of the welfare infrastructure established in those days, ranging from the sick funds, through the mutual assistance systems, the formation of trade unions, various types of cooperative ventures,

employment bureaus, mass housing projects, the education system, and the widespread legislation in the fields of labor and welfare. This welfare system, which was already firmly established by the early 1950s, was among the most advanced in the world.

Ze'ev Jabotinsky wrote at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, while Menachem Begin, who continued and developed Jabotinsky's ideas, elaborated his social theory in the mid-20th century. Consequently, neither of their theories is applicable to new social challenges presented by the 21st century. This platform serves as a modest attempt to cope with these challenges, which include the globalization process, the break-up of the nuclear family and the corruption of the Hebrew language due to a massive "invasion" of American culture. Moreover, this platform seeks to overcome the alienation of secular society towards anything reminiscent of Judaism. In addition, the manifesto leans extensively on the criticism leveled by Jürgen Habermas at the Third Way, as well as on Ronald Dworkin's concept of "equality," and David Miller's concept of "nationalism." In formulating the proposed policy, I have drawn extensively upon the experience of Western countries such as New Zealand, Australia, the Netherlands, France, and the Scandinavian countries, which have all faced similar issues.

The Right Way to Society is meant to serve as a defining document for a new political movement that challenges the societal approach of significant portions of the Israeli Left; the lack of interest of many members of the Labor Party and Likud in the problems of Israeli society, and the ineffectuality of past governments from the Right and Left in dealing with these issues. On a conceptual level, the Right Way challenges the following trends of thought prevalent in the Israeli Left:

- Downplaying the importance of the nation-state as the only institution able to create a level of solidarity that will make it possible to advance a social breakthrough process
- The perception of Israeli society in multicultural terms
- The perception of the State of Israel, among circles deeply rooted in Marxist or universalistic utopias, as a state of all its citizens, thereby ignoring the importance of shared national, i.e. Jewish, culture).

Intellectuals of the social Left have not yet internalized the inherent contradiction in each of these trends of thought. Regarding the first approach, an aggressive social policy requires an extremely high level of social solidarity in order to win the citizens' sweeping support and active participation. Many on the Left have not properly recognized the importance of national anchors for strengthening social solidarity, and have preferred to seek to dismantle them. As for the second approach, a multicultural and multi-sector society, with no common language between its various parts but rather hatred, cannot create anything but a sectorial strategy for solving the problems encountered by the Israeli society. It is not surprising, therefore, that most intellectuals of the Left have failed in presenting an alternative that traverses political camps. As for the third approach, viewing Israel as a state of all its citizens, this means that the state could be established in another location on the globe (see, for example, the new social movement for establishing the "New Israel" in the pacific rim), and therefore this approach is based on a denial of the Zionist vision and negation of Jewish nationalism. It is not surprising therefore, that many intellectuals on the Israeli Left have encouraged the development of a post-Zionist social ethos at the center of which stands disengagement from the national and cultural commitments towards Zionist and Jewish fulfillment. This social ethos constitutes an extreme manifestation of the multicultural ideology that calls for the rejection of Israeli-Jewish nationalism by canceling the Law of Return, and at the same time seeks to recognize Palestinian nationalism and even go so far as to accept their right of return to Israel.

Intellectuals of the Right have also failed so far in designing a social alternative, since they have focused on security problems and neglected the social-national issue. Moral clarity in Israeli society has weakened. Double moral systems have sprung up undermining the national moral identity. Sadly, these issues have yet to be addressed by this ideological camp. With the lack of a social-moral alternative in the national-liberal camp, a neo-conservative economic approach has taken root, which seeks to implement structural reforms in Israel's economy, while causing serious damage both to the social safety net and to the professional and moral backbone of the public service. This approach completely ignores the impressive heritage of the founding fathers of the *Herut* movement and the need to combine nationalism and liberalism.

According to the *Right Way to Society*, the combination between nationalism and liberalism should strengthen the connection between the individual and the nation. This does not mean placing the state or society above the individual. The

commitment here to combining nationalism and liberalism entails shaping policy in different realms with an eye to the general interest of Israeli society. After all, while the state constitutes the framework for political activity, society is the element that can fortify the sovereign process. The state framework itself will contribute nothing to preserving the sovereignty of the Zionist and Jewish state, if, for example, most of those who live in it adopt post-Zionist and anti-religious positions. Only social processes can provide an answer to these radical views.

The Right Way to Society attempts, then, to propose a set of policies based on the existential need of a young democracy to bring its sovereignty to the fore. One way of doing so is by strengthening the connection between the individual's rights and his duties; In other words, strengthening the connection between the individual and society through fulfilling the individual's duty to contribute to society through military/national service, and afterwards by entering the labor market, and through volunteer activity. *The Right Way to Society* does not attach exclusive and supreme value to the individual, but it recognizes that there is value to each and every person's life and dignity, and this must be taken into account when making policy.

The morass in which Israeli society is mired is both a tragedy and a crisis. One option, according to Rabbi Soloveitchik, is to wait for external fate, the fate that has served as the strongest force in molding Jewish unity in modern times. This is demonstrated by the effect of the Holocaust on Jewish unity. Similarly, all of Israel's wars have contributed to the cohesion of Israeli society.

The Right Way to Society turns to the other option, internal vision. This includes a carefully-designed program for restoring the sovereignty of the Israeli society and the individuals who comprise it, and calls for a coalition of the Center-Right and Center-Left for the purpose of forging a social breakthrough. This is to be done while relying on the values of Zionism and Judaism as the basis for advancing a program of social reform which meets known criteria for social justice and social integration within a market economy. Those who do not propose a vision of social solidarity based on the values of the majority of its citizens are inadvertently leaving Israeli society in the hands of its enemies.

Economics
The Right Way to Social Justice

1.   INTRODUCTION

For the past several decades, Israeli society has been stuck in a process of decline. Symptoms of this process are the constant growth in poverty rates among children, socio-economic inequalities between ethnic communities which are transmitted from one generation to the next, generally increasing income inequalities, a mental rift between the center and the periphery, a considerable rise in crime, an increase in the number of illegal foreign workers living in Israel, an increasing evidence of social infrastructure underdevelopment, a lack of effective law enforcement and, most crucially, an erosion in the Jewish-Zionist nature of the State of Israel. In recent years, these characteristics have become general and fundamental features of Israeli society. Concurrent to the manifestation of these social ills, society has witnessed institutional changes that have dissolved the central core of the welfare state and damaged the professional and moral backbone of the public service. This evaporation of the welfare state stems not only from budgetary constraints, but rather reflects a fundamental change in the political agenda, which promotes neo-liberal principles of economics to the very forefront of the state's agenda. Although the economic stability brought about by the implementation of these principles is undisputed, many have chosen to ignore the derived social cost.

It is surprising that the main political forces on the Right and Left ignore these costs of social breakdown and rising inequality, especially in light of the fact that globalization has deepened social problems and weakened the vulnerable sectors of society. Neither the Right nor the Left have succeeded in internalizing the fact that globalization, not the Arab-Israeli conflict, is the central challenge facing the political and social order in Israel today. Similarly, governmental and non-governmental organizations which support the promotion of civil rights have not effectively raised social hopes. Therefore, despite the fact that these organizations have been very successful in the past decade in promoting civil rights, socioeconomic inequality and poverty have continued to increase. On the other side of the political map, the Center-Right forces have not advanced Project Renewal, nor created a move for comprehensive social reform aimed at reinforcing the vitality of the welfare state.

In light of the failure of Center-Left parties to offer a consistent and comprehensive proposal for social reform, it can be concluded that these forces have consciously detached themselves from the shared hopes and dreams of Israeli society.

Thus, a moral duty to take up the banner of social reform currently rests upon the Israeli national-liberal camp, and upon every individual who believes in his or her ability to make a change in the Israeli society. The national-liberal camp cannot continue to behave like the American Right and implement unbridled economic liberalism that consistently increases the polarization of sectors of society. Contrary to the United States, Israeli society is still coping with threats to its very existence, and is characterized by a lack of accord over the rules of the game, as well as a political culture of a developing country. In such a situation, the state must integrate society's vital interests in its policy-making considerations.

The Right Way to Social Justice provides basic guidelines for such a move. It combines the policy tools of the economic Right with the goals of the social Left, and proposes a strategy for increasing government involvement in solving social problems; this within the context of a market economy regime and combined with a policy for strengthening the State of Israel as the Jewish nation-state. This approach is based on two premises. First of all, it presumes that the path to eradicating poverty among children and reducing socioeconomic inequalities is currently blocked as a result of failures in the Israeli democratic process which allow the wealthy to influence policy-making at its most critical junctures. Failure of Israel's governments to make decisions in the social realm creates a situation in which the wealthy are able to determine the boundaries of the business sector's activity. At a time when the state is forced to cope with the challenges of the global economy and with its attendant social problems, the influence of the wealthy creates a rift between government policy-making and truly democratic processes. Secondly, this approach presumes that the globalization process is unstoppable. Therefore, the role of the state is not to control the forces that advance globalization but rather to limit its spread to undesirable spheres (such as the immigration of non-Jews to Israel, brain drain, and so forth), and to protect vulnerable social sectors from possible harm that might be inadvertently caused in the process.

The Right Way to Social Justice rests upon Jürgen Habermas's criticism of the Third Way, and Ze'ev Jabotinsky's and Menachem Begin's concept of social justice and derived welfare policy (i.e. that the reduction of poverty is a condition for the existence of freedom for all). True freedom for all human beings will be achieved through ensuring the basic needs of the individual – sustenance, shelter, suitable

clothing, schooling, and medical service.[1] *The Right Way to Social Justice* is also based on Begin's normative approach to the topic of distributive justice, despite the fact that it was never explicitly formulated. At the basis of this approach stands the aspiration to reduce social and economic disparities, though not by an ongoing social revolution (as Jabotinsky proposed in raising the "Jubilee idea"), but rather by a protracted process of shifting social policy towards differential allocation of societal resources. This approach was realized in Project Renewal (i.e., housing renewal in impoverished neighborhoods), which stood at the center of Menachem Begin's social policy.

The Right Way to Social Justice includes four operating principles:

1. Creating a new balance between free market activity and government activity by precisely delimiting the realm in which goods and services should be allotted according to the market mechanism; as well as reducing government involvement in this realm, while outside it the government will employ its full capabilities to achieve its social objectives

2. Creating a new balance between the individual's rights and duties, by anchoring in law the individual's social rights along with the individual's duty to contribute to society, primarily by military/national service but also by other means

3. Implementing a policy of societal security that meets the threats assailing the national infrastructure. The policy includes coping with organized crime and cyber-terrorism, as well as solving the problem of illegal foreign workers;

4. Improving the country's residents' quality of life by developing social infrastructure that will facilitate access for all to centers of employment, culture, nature, and landscape. This will not be limited to meeting market demand, but rather will express a policy that is based on social justice and maintaining a balance between society and the environment.

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[1] For more details on Ze'ev Jabotinsky's social ideology, see: Bilski Ben-Hur, Raphaella (1993). *Every Individual, a King: The Social and Political Thought of Ze'evVladimir Jabotinsky*, Washington D.C.: B'nai B'rith Books

A policy of social justice in each of these four spheres will be formulated in light of an overarching goal: obtaining equal rights and opportunities for women in all sectors of life.

The Right Way to Social Justice offers two innovations. The first is a transition from an emphasis on welfare and social policy to an emphasis on societal policy, that is, a policy aiming at restoring social equality, enhancing social integration and reviving the Hebrew language and the Jewish culture. As opposed to a Thatcherist approach in which "there is no society, only individuals," *The Right Way to Social Justice* asserts that in a young democracy still dealing with threats to its very existence; society should serve as a key point of reference for decision makers. In other words, a balance should be struck between the individual's rights and his duties. In Western European reality, decision makers may see society as a given since democratic institutions and political culture are stable and make it possible for individuals to operate within agreed-upon rules of the game. This is not so in the Israeli immigrant society, which is characterized by a lack of accord over the rules of the game and by the political culture of a developing country. The very recognition that "there is a society" creates a need to design and implement a societal policy composed of four tiers: a welfare policy for eradicating poverty among children; a social policy for reducing socioeconomic disparities and promoting equal opportunity among children and youth; a law and order policy to protect the social fabric; and a social infrastructure and environmental policy to advance the systems that serve social players.

The second innovation is a transition from an emphasis on the individual's rights to an emphasis on the balance between an individual's rights and his duties to society. Contrary to the "I deserve it" attitude prevalent in Israel, *The Right Way to Social Justice* calls to realize the citizen's right to equality embedded in the concept of human dignity. This right cannot only be interpreted in terms of the right to receive benefits and aid from the state, but also in terms of contributing to the state and bearing the burden of its existence, based on an equal distribution of the burden among all of its residents. *The Right Way to Social Justice* advocates the principle of balancing the right of equality in favor of those who bear the burden of the state's existence.

2. BETWEEN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS: SOCIAL POLICY IN THE MARKET ERA

Can and should the modern state enforce its sovereign with regard to implementing societal policy, or should the reigns of power remain in the hands of the affluent? This is not a new question, but the economic and political circumstances characterizing the beginning of the 21st century give this discussion and its implications new meaning. This chapter will examine the place of the modern state vis-à-vis the wealthy, in light of the globalization process and the concurrent processes of change in Israeli society. In addition, a possible approach to dealing with these processes without detrimentally affecting individual well-being will be proposed, as well as the policy characteristics derived from such an approach.

It should be clarified at the outset that decision-making processes in the economic and political realms are fundamentally different from one another. At the basis of economic decision-making stand principles of efficiency, rationality and profit maximization. In the political realm, decisions are based on both economic considerations and social preferences, some of which are ethical-moral considerations reflecting society's aspirations with regard to its values, identity and image. This means that decisions in the political arena, unlike the economic sphere, cannot by nature be based solely on utilitarian considerations. It is self-evident that decisions on providing an economic safety net, paying unemployment benefits and assisting the ill, the elderly, and single-parent families, are incompatible with narrow economic considerations. Despite this fact, many societies choose to provide safety nets for vulnerable populations. One of the reasons for this choice lies in the belief that there are certain human values, or urgent human needs, that surpass purely material considerations in their importance. This is the moral rationale that served as the basis for establishment of the modern welfare state in Western Europe and Israel. Another reason for this choice is an economic approach with a long-term perspective, which exists alongside the moral approach. A policy based on narrow, short-term economic considerations could actually damage economic growth, since income inequality leads to feelings of deprivation and discrimination which may then lead to political and social instability. This economic approach has not taken root among decision makers in Israel, and in recent years we have witnessed an accelerated process of

deterioration in the weight attached to ethical-moral decisions as opposed to economic-rational decisions.

The Globalization Process and its Effect on the State

In recent years, an important debate has taken place among social sciences researchers over the influence of the globalization process on state institutions. Economic and political changes derived from this process focus the public discourse on the reciprocal relations between the free market mechanism and state institutions, mainly the competition between them over hegemony in state affairs.

In the past two decades, growing separation is evident between economic and political considerations, as a result of the state's limited ability to act as it sees fit largely due to the globalization process. This is manifested in more limits on the state's influence in economic policy, due to the increased standing of the central bank and the growing importance of international economic organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. In addition, the state is limited in its ability to raise income and corporation tax rates due to the fear of an exodus of entrepreneurs.

Along with these processes, there are additional factors that limit the state's ability to intervene in the economic arena, due to the decline in the welfare state effectiveness in many spheres. All these have led to the formulation of a new economic model, one of the main goals of which is to reduce the weight of the governmental as well as the public sector. The assumption is that a "small government" constitutes a condition for rapid economic growth, and that it is this growth, not the government intervention, that will lead to the reducing of economic and social inequalities. In the circumstances that have evolved, countries that do not adopt the new model, which bears the promise of economic growth and prosperity, are forced to contend with strong internal and external pressures. The result, as German philosopher Jürgen Habermas defined it, is that states currently exist within economic markets rather than the opposite.[2]

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[2] Habermas Jürgen (1999). The European Nation-State and the Pressures of Globalization, *New Left Review*, 235, May/June, pp. 45-59.

Ideological Ambiguity – Reasons and Results

Profound changes in economic approaches, and consequently in the role of the state, have been accompanied by ongoing processes of social-political change. Suffice to note the decline of the agriculture sector and the simultaneous increase in the services industry; the breakup of the traditional family structure (mainly an increase in divorce rate and the number of single-parent families), the increased urbanization and the exacerbated fragmentation of Israeli society. As mentioned above, these processes took place alongside globalization, which brought with it ideological conformity among the central parties as regards economic policy that should be implemented. It also created a kind of conceptual fixation, concerning both the importance of neo-liberal economic policy as well as the view that deviation from this policy constitutes a denial of scientific principles. These and other changes significantly eroded the level of party loyalty displayed by the electorate, which in the past had motivated them to vote for the same party throughout their lifetimes, regardless of the party's declared policy, the quality of its leaders or its performance in office. As a result, voters frequently began changing their voting patterns. Just as one enters a supermarket and tries a different product each time, a situation has been created in elections whereby individuals tend to "try out" different parties than those for which they have previously voted. This situation is characterized by a substantial increase in the relative share of floating votes and considerable fluctuations in the parties' electoral support. This, in turn, has forced the parties to develop ideological ambiguity in order to cater to the tastes of as many voters as possible and preserve their waning strength. In this regard, the Israeli experience is identical to the experience of parties in European countries. The need for ideological ambiguity was manifested by the adoption of the Third Way principles by Labor parties as well as social-democratic parties.[3] These principles advance a policy that unreservedly accepts the rationale of the free market and contents itself with limited action to counter the social problems stemming from the dynamics of market forces. In this manner, Center-Left parties have succeeded in drawing the support of populations which had previously supported Center-Right parties. The success of Tony Blair in the British election campaigns of 1997, 2001 and 2005 is a quintessential example of this situation.

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[3] Giddens Anthony (1999). *The Third Way*, Oxford: Polity Press.

Adopting the principles of the Third Way strengthens the business sector, because of the light regulatory regimes which is adopted, and weakens social forces, i.e., the coalition that supports reducing socioeconomic inequalities and increasing distributive equality. Implementation of the Third Way principles in the social realm, according to Jürgen Habermas, means having the state adopt a passive approach toward dealing with social problems.[4] The explanation for this lies in the fact that the business sector gains in strength due to the globalization process on the one hand and the Third Way policy on the other. Such an increase in strength leads to shaping national priorities without regard to social justice objectives.

The Passive Approach – Examples

The state's passive manner of coping with by-products of the free market can be reflected upon through an examination of the changing content of values that shape the ways in which the modern nation-state functions. This passive coping reaches the point of absurdity when examined in light of values such as equality, state responsibility for the poor and sick, and citizenship.

Principle of Equality

In the past, the state regarded the reduction of social inequalities in terms of distribution of income, as part of its duty and in the name of the principle of equality, whereas today it concentrates, in the name of the same principle, on creating equal opportunity for all individuals in society. The underlying premise in the discussion on equal opportunity is the acceptance of a reality in which profound disparities exist from every possible aspect, as well as complete renunciation of active intervention by the state in distribution of income (in the form of progressive taxation, safety net and more). This is, in fact, a renunciation based on economic considerations (for example, the need to provide each individual with the required training for the labor market in accordance with his or her qualifications) that are given an ideological interpretation, such as support for the principle of equality. However, it is translated into terms of opportunities rather than distributive justice.

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[4] Habermas, ibid.

Ostensibly, all that remains within the state's sphere of activity is to provide its citizens with the broadest opportunities in the realm of education, so that they will be able to join the workforce successfully. This is the reason for the emphasis on the topic of education in platforms of parties that advocate solutions modeled after the Third Way. The state now commits itself to provide its citizens with training, which will grant them tools to better succeed in the labor market but, upon the entry of the individual into this market, the state's responsibility ends. Therefore, those who do not succeed in fitting successfully into the labor market will face a real problem. From this standpoint, it can be said that the concept of social justice has been narrowed – those who cannot care for themselves in the new environment and can prove this to state authorities, are assured that they will not starve. Here lies the boundary of the state's support, having divested itself of the responsibility for a dignified existence for its vulnerable citizens. This approach is manifested first in halting the increase in the welfare budgets and allowance payments, and then in cutting them altogether.

There is an inherent contradiction in a social policy that cuts National Insurance Institute allowances on one hand, but advocates promoting equal opportunities on the other. The contradiction stems from the fact that increasing the number of families under the poverty line (either as a result of reducing the allowance payments or as a result of increase in the unemployment rate) reduces the efficiency of investments in education made as part of the interest in striving for equal opportunity. Raising the level of investment in education for a child who lacks basic needs, such as food or clothing, is not effective and will do nothing to contribute to equal opportunity. As a result, the cycle of poverty steadily increases and socioeconomic disparities gradually expand.

State Responsibility for the Poor and Sick

The responsibility that the state has undertaken until now to ensure a minimum level of subsistence for all its citizens, particularly those who are most in need, has moved into the hands of the individual and the community. The Third Way took advantage of the ideological infrastructure built up around the concept of Communitarianism to transfer responsibility in effect for the individual's well-being into the hands of the community, particularly the ill, elderly, disabled or even the incarcerated (with an electronic chip attached to the person's leg transmitting signals

of his whereabouts to a staffed hotline). The process of transferring social tasks from the state to the community is at times carried out without attention to the ability of the community to care, for example, for "light" psychiatric patients, senior citizens with disabilities and more. When the value of individualism is extolled on one hand (in the name of neo-liberal economics) and the value of community is extolled on the other, a problem arises which is greatly compounded when it comes to the inevitable creation of vulnerable communities: How can underprivileged people, incapable of helping themselves, do so within an underprivileged community, without significant assistance from the state? This process, when carried out without regard for the community's limitations, constitutes a declaration of bankruptcy of the modern state and renunciation of roles that were an integral part of it. Moreover, encouraging the community from above (as opposed to grassroots community initiatives) in effect constitutes a return to the pre-political situation – since in the past, many communities that wished to cater to the needs and well-being of individuals, underwent a process of consolidation into a political entity.

Principle of Citizenship

The discussion of the concepts of equality and state responsibility for the poor and sick also raises a question regarding the change in the definition of citizenship. In the process of accepting the supremacy of market forces over political forces, one can identify a transition from political citizenship, which is granted by the state by power of its sovereignty, to citizenship that is contingent upon economic productivity. The concept of "citizenship" associated with creating a package of rights and duties and based on a principle of universalism has been replaced by financial rights that are determined according to the individual's ability to pay for them. This transition, from a political rationale to an economic rationale, determines the placement of the individual in the political structure primarily according to his economic ability. According to this approach, social rights must reflect in the narrowest sense the fulfillment of duties to the community through activity in the labor market. The individual must "earn" his or her social rights in the economic market or demonstrate significant need. There are no social rights that are not contingent upon activity in the economic market. The state's activity is therefore reduced to guidance, counseling and encouraging the unemployed, disabled and single-parent families to enter the

labor market. In other words, the state promotes "equal citizenship" in which each individual has a moral and social obligation to work just as he pays taxes and obeys the law. When an individual cannot find work, the state presents him with a number of options, such as vocational training, subsidized employment and the like. Not considered is the situation in which an individual is unable to partake of these activities, due to health or mental reasons, but at the same time will continue to receive an allowance from the state that ensures an adequate level of subsistence. In addition, the possibility of encouraging a contribution to society by other means besides the labor market is not examined.

A New Way: An Assertive-Offensive Coping

The implications we have discussed so far stem from the fact that the state has adopted a passive approach in managing social problems. However, this is not the only possibility that stands before the state. Habermas argues that the state can adopt an assertive-offensive approach to coping with intensifying social problems.[5] This approach is based on the premise that politics can successfully deal with the challenges of the global economy and the social tensions caused in its wake, only when it succeeds in creating an infrastructure that will enable the existence of a global economy without being cut off from democratic processes. This refers to politics that integrate society as a whole with global market processes, while creating a clear demarcation between the activity of market forces, on the one hand, and the activity of government on the other.

The above-mentioned premise is based on the fact that economic markets cannot be democratized. In other words, they do not have the possibility of reflecting individual preferences equally. The reason is that the market mechanism ensures that the makeup and scope of production will mainly conform to the preferences of those with greater purchasing power. A classic example of such a situation is the accelerated construction on the State of Israel's short coastline, which detrimentally affects the quality of life of many citizens but serves the interests of a limited number of real estate dealers. However, the market mechanism does not operate in a vacuum. When a number of rich families holds cross-ownership over the written and electronic

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[5]   Habermas, ibid.

media, in addition to control of the banks, communications companies, industry, trade, finance, construction and real estate, the triangle of capital-government-media ensures that the makeup and scope of production will mainly conform to the interests of these families.

In the political realm, however, the democratic system ensures that voter preferences will be weighted equally through voting, in which each individual has one vote. This system is also supposed to ensure that the government acts in accordance with the requirements and priorities of a majority of citizens over time. Since markets, as opposed to politics, cannot be democratized, they must not be allowed to determine the boundaries of economic activity in the state. Politics shall determine these boundaries as well as the social agenda.

This conclusion has far-reaching implications, since it gives the government the authority to demarcate the boundaries of its activity with relative precision, and invest most of its efforts in promoting such worthy social causes as advancing social justice. In other words, instead of stripping the state of its abilities in the social realm, defining the margins of the free market makes it possible to demarcate the spheres of activity of the economic rationale, and minimize as far as possible interference with the activity of the market mechanism within the boundaries set out for it. This refers mainly to state intervention in matters related to enforcement and supervision of employment conditions (minimum wage; health and safety in the workplace, and so on). Outside these boundaries, the government can employ the social policy tools at its disposal without hesitation and even with assertiveness.

Proposals for Assertive Policy Guidelines

Globalization processes have reduced the government's maneuvering ability. High tax rates have become unsustainable due to diminished incentive to work, save and invest. Tax rates imposed on companies were quickly blocked with a taxation ceiling for fear that entrepreneurs would move their factories to countries with lower tax rates. In the realm of welfare payments as well, the government is no longer to conduct itself freely, due to growing competition between states over the placement of economic activity. In addition, it is now clear that it is difficult to predict the results of government intervention in the market mechanism; it often happens that this intervention does not benefit the vulnerable groups for which it was intended, but

rather benefits stronger social groups. These trends of reducing the government's maneuvering ability are not a result of public discussion and social compromise. Since there is no legitimate public decision to change the purpose of the state, its original purpose still stands, namely – to serve its citizens. Operating on the assumption that the world of international trade will continue in its trend of openness towards an international liberal economic order, meaning that the government's maneuvering ability will be even further reduced, attention should be turned to searching for new means of coping with social and economic problems stemming from the globalization process. This translates as looking within the government mechanism and the market mechanism for positive elements that can be integrated into social programs, in order to enable the state to fulfill its purpose.

This discussion so far indicates that there is a need to strengthen the state's authority to expand its involvement in the social realm. Three policy guidelines are derived from this conclusion:

1. Eradicating poverty among children, reducing socioeconomic disparities and promoting equal opportunity among children and youth as overall objectives of all government ministries operating in the social realm;

2. Increasing budgetary involvement in social systems, to be funded, *inter alia*, by the returns received from the sale of government-owned companies to the general public and from taxing financial income (capital gains in the stock market and interest income);

3. Instituting an economic policy that reflects real commitment to solving social problems (changing the structure of the state budget and finding sources of financing for an assertive social policy).

When the government commits itself to an assertive social policy within a market economy regime, it is important that the characteristics of its economic policy be as follows:

1. Developing an economy based on competition and integration into the global economy;

2. Reducing tax rates on work income and financing this with taxation of capital gains;

3. Increasing the investment in infrastructure in order to create jobs and reduce unemployment;

4. Maintaining price stability;

5. Reducing the portion of government expenditure out of the overall economic activity, among other means by disengaging from production activities and government ownership (privatization) in classic realms of the business sector. Privatization will include most of the government companies and infrastructure services,[6] along with promoting regulation that will also reflect social values. Government proceeds from privatization will serve mainly for lowering taxes imposed on lower and middle class sectors;

6. Increasing the transparency of the state budget;

7. Financing the government's assertive social policy from the following sources:

- Government proceeds from privatization;

- Implementation of the Ben-Bassat Committee recommendations for inheritance and gift taxes;

- Cutbacks in the defense budget;

- Taxing surplus income of individuals from allowances, and establishing more stringent criteria for receiving allowances that circumvent existing allowances;

- Raising the tax on employing foreign workers;

- Reducing the number of government ministries and promoting efficiency measures in the civil service;

- Tax on capital gains in the stock market and on interest income;

- Gradual reduction of the employers' subsidy and its cancellation within 10 years;

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[6] On the topic of privatization, I agree with economist Andrei Shleifer from Harvard University that if the government knows precisely which product it wishes to supply, there is nothing to prevent it from transferring production to the private sector. There is no reason for a government agency such as the Government Printer to deal with printing (identity cards, passports and the like) while the characteristics of the product (length and width of the card, number of pages, quality of binding and so on) are measurable and therefore subject to contractual agreement and supervision. See: Shleifer Andrei (1998). "State Versus Private Ownership", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 12(4), pp. 133-150.

- Increasing taxation on products that harm individuals' health;[7]
- Proceeds from the war on undeclared wealth;
- Proceeds from the war on acts of fraud related to National Insurance Institute allowances;
- Cutbacks in party funding.

In summary, this chapter presented briefly the myriad of factors that guide the state towards a passive policy in dealing with social problems in the modern age. These factors do not necessarily have to lead to a passive approach. There is an alternative, which has been presented here, at the center of which stands a decisive and assertive government policy for coping with social challenges. Such a policy is imperative today in light of the State of Israel's social and security situation. Continuing to adopt a passive policy could lead to the ruin of solidarity in Israeli society and undermine the foundations of the young Israeli democracy.

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[7] I agree with the contention that the state has no authority to limit the individual's freedom to consume products, even if they are dangerous to his health (such as the consumption of alcoholic beverages and cigarettes). However, the financing of medical treatment for an individual who consumes products that are dangerous to his health should not be imposed on individuals who do not consume these products.

3.   BETWEEN PROFITABILITY AND MORALITY:THE BUSINESS SECTOR AND THE GOVERNMENT

The need to strengthen the state's authority in order to cope effectively with the challenges facing Israeli society today requires the state to demarcate the boundaries within which the government will apply its social policy tools to the fullest. But according to what criteria should the boundary be established between the activities of market forces and government? The third chapter will offer answers to this question, and focus on the way to create efficient social policy. As part of this issue, the chapter will also discuss the allocation of tasks between the government, business and the volunteer sectors.

Separation between the activities of market forces and the government

According to which criteria should the boundary be established between the activity of the market mechanism and government activity? There are three important criteria for determining this border: The ability to define "output"; the ability to supervise the supply of "output"; and the moral aspect of "output." These three criteria emphasize the existing problematic aspects of supplying social services, and the fact that these cannot be supplied solely by the business sector due to a lack of clear definition and precise measurement ability of their "output," as well as the potential for undermining important social values. This mainly relates to the difficulty in defining the quality of education, health, policing and welfare provision.

Ability to define "output": Ambiguity in the final outcome of the activity, namely the "output," stems from the nature of the social service in various spheres. This refers to the existence of qualitative variables in the spheres of education, health and others that cannot be measured precisely. For example, the quality of education services cannot be determined solely by pupils' grades, since it is also the education system's duty to instill in students good citizenship values, which are difficult to measure. The quality of prison services cannot be determined solely by the number of prisoners per cell, since it is the duty of the prison system to behave fairly (a qualitative variable that is difficult to measure) towards people whose freedom has been denied. In economic terms, this situation is known as "contract failure," and cannot be overcome in a business system.

Ability to supervise the supply of "output": Ambiguity in the final outcome also makes it difficult to exercise regulatory oversight since, when the quality of an output is not clearly defined; it is difficult to effectively supervise business providers.

Moral aspect of "output": There are public services which are characterized by moral and ethical considerations in their supplying. For example: Should consent be given to postpone one person's urgent operation, simply because another person has paid the operating physician to move up the date of his medically less urgent operation?

Some might argue, after the presentation of these problems, that clear separation should be supported between the activity of the market mechanism and government activity in the realm of social services. But this conclusion is imprecise, and in fact is not beneficial for the desired social policy.

The solution: A "Mixed Economy" Model

According to the three criteria set out above, it would appear that social services must be left within the realm of government rationale. However, it is clear to all that decentralization in decision-making and competition in providing services would achieve greater economic efficiency. This recognition leads to the recommendation to adopt a "mixed economy" model as proposed by economist Gur Ofer.[8]

The model is based on the government as financer and regulator of public services, non-profit organizations (NPOs) as service providers, and a limited private sector serving as a "watchdog" to supervise the efficiency of the NPOs.

A "mixed economy" of this type exists today to a certain degree in the field of welfare. Services outside the home, such as hostels, family day-care centers for the elderly, rehabilitation residential facilities, emergency centers for children at risk, institutions for the mentally disabled and homes for the elderly are supplied by non-governmental agencies, mostly NPOs. Services in the community, such as day-care centers, afternoon child care facilities, family day-care centers, treatment centers for alcohol abusers, centers for treatment and prevention of domestic violence, consultancy and guidance services for the mentally disabled and more, are supplied

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[8]   Ofer Gur (1999). "New trends in the welfare state: The public-private mix," *Bitahon Sotziali* [Social Security], 55, pp. 19-39.

by non-governmental agencies, mostly NPOs. Nursing services at the home of the elderly and child adoption are services that have been fully privatized. However, the model in its most efficient form requires additional adjustments that have not been made so far by the government. For the purpose of a discussion of this topic, the role of each of the bodies involved should be presented, with an emphasis on its respective role in the "mixed economy" model.

Role of the Government

The structure of a "mixed economy" in the realm of personal social services, based on a responsible and balanced policy that operates according to the principles set out here, would leave important functions under government responsibility, such as: planning, financing and regulating policy. It would allow the government to focus its efforts on designing an assertive social policy. The provision of services would be carried out by NPOs, and more details on this topic follow below. The conclusions drawn so far from this "mixed economy" model in welfare provision can teach us that in order for the government to promote this change, it must adjust its policy tools (i.e., the contract) to the challenges posed by personal services.

In practical terms, the government has the following obligations:

- To expand the provision of services as needed, as well as other regulatory mechanisms that would include providing legal remedies to citizens in case of a failure to meet the level of service provision;
- To raise the professional quality of personnel, mainly those who work in the front line of personal care-giving services;
- To reward organizations and workers according to performance;
- To provide equal opportunity to underprivileged economic classes in service provision;
- To maintain secrecy during care and while transferring the client from one service provider to another;
- To allocate funds for research, one of the goals of which is to record the knowledge and experience gained;

- To supervise the salary of NPO directors, and set a price and criteria for service provision (this topic will be reviewed at length below).

A "mixed welfare economy" requires the formulation of a clear policy on NPOs which provide government-funded welfare services. The overall goal of this policy should be to facilitate mobilizing resources for the purpose of financing the activity of these organizations. Possible operating principles include designating types of grants for these NPOs; ensuring maximum transparency in the process in which standards and criteria are established for receiving grants from government bodies, and designing a capital taxation system that creates incentives for the establishment of philanthropic foundations.

A "mixed welfare economy" requires the government to examine its variety of activities carefully and decide which activities should remain under its responsibility and can be carried out by "executive agencies," similar to the British model. These are governmental organizations which enjoy flexibility insofar as budget and personnel are concerned and focus solely on policy implementation.

An executive agency will be formed on the basis of special legislation that defines the goals, spheres of responsibility, organizational structure, decision-making processes, and methods of accountability to the minister in-charge, ways of responding to the demands of citizens on the one hand and the minister in-charge on the other, and procedures for judicial review of the agency's decisions. Unlike a government ministry, which defines for itself on a regular basis its target function within a broad conceptual framework, the executive agency will have a target function that is as well defined as possible. The existence of this function could have far-reaching consequences for the way in which public administration in Israel operates. Firstly, the government ministry would be compelled to define long-term objectives for itself and for the agency, which the agency would have to meet. Secondly, the agency employees would know what is expected of them and would act to meet this defined goal, instead of constantly dealing with defining their role and areas of responsibility, as happens today. Thirdly, setting a defined target function for the agency would encourage professionalism and orient it towards recruiting relevant personnel for these goals. The result would be raising the professional level of the public administration and creating sub-specializations. Fourthly, the ability to supervise the activity of administrative personnel would increase, since it would be

possible to better measure the gap between actual outputs and the agency's predetermined objectives.

In order to further concretize the objectives that the agency is expected to meet, it will be obligated to submit a strategic plan for the minister's approval once every three years. In addition, as detailed below, the responsible minister will be entitled to issue operative instructions to the agency from time to time, subject to the agency's goals and areas of responsibility as determined by law. In this sense, there is a fundamental difference between an executive agency, as proposed in this document, and government companies or public corporations, regarding which the government ministry is limited in establishing objectives and giving instructions.

The agency will be headed by a board of directors appointed by the minister in-charge, which will be made up of people with an executive background from the private and public sectors. The appointment mechanism will be identical to the mechanism for appointing directors of government companies, which is carried out at the recommendation of a committee headed by a former judge. Before the appointment, each candidate will have to declare that he or she has no conflict of interests with regard to the activity of the executive agency. These declarations will be available to the public at the agency's web site. The minister must ensure – and this would be determined by law as well – that the makeup of the board of directors reflects a variety of specializations related to the realm of policy in which the agency deals. The agency's decision-making authority will rest in the hands of the board of directors. The board of directors will delegate responsibilities over day-to-day management of the agency to its director general. The board of directors will also be responsible for outlining the strategic three-year plan that is to be submitted for the minister's approval and for ensuring that the agency operates according to its goals as determined by law and its strategic plan with efficiency, effectiveness and in the spirit of public service. The board of directors will be responsible for supervising the activity and professional decisions of the agency's director general, and will authorize his activity budget out of the total agency budget. The director general of the executive agency is to be appointed by the board of directors. His selection will be made by a public tender, which will be issued by the agency's board of directors, in consultation with the responsible minister and the efficiency unit that will be formed in the Prime Minister's Office.

The agency will be required to grant a hearing to public bodies, companies and individuals that could be affected by its decisions. In addition, it will be required to conduct itself in a fiscally-responsible way, based on a long-term view of its financial stability, and cover all its expenses within the framework of the three-year budget allocated to it. Budget irregularities could affect the continued employment of the executive agency's management staff. A gradated sanctions mechanism should be determined for this matter, in accordance with the severity of the budget irregularity, and a hearing granted to the director before deciding to activate the sanction. The status and terms of employment of the agency's workers will be arranged by a special collective agreement.

Role of Non-Profit Organizations

According to the model, non-profit organizations will provide a majority of social services.

NPOs have a number of advantages over business providers, such as:

1. The consideration of financial profit is not their main concern. They have other goals, which include a commitment to the community or individuals living in it;

2. NPOs are much more flexible than governmental bureaucratic bodies, and are able to raise financial resources from multiple sources, and to recruit personnel, on a voluntary basis;

3. Their volunteer work can serve as a broad activity basis for many citizens to take part in activity on behalf of society – the ultra-Orthodox, the Israeli Arabs, the unemployed and people with disabilities;

4. NPOs can provide a wide range of additional paid services, under supervision, beyond what has been assigned to them by the government, and thereby meet individual needs in various realms.

Thus, it is both possible and advisable to organize the provision of health, education and welfare services in NPOs that provide services with government funding and under government supervision.

Role of the Private Sector

This model proposes that alongside government supervision of the NPO activity, limited activity be held by the private sector, which will serve as a kind of "watchdog" for the efficiency of the NPOs, by providing them with healthy competition.

In addition to the competition between the NPOs and their subjection to public supervision, it is possible to use capitation funding methods (methods based on funding according to a formula that also includes an efficiency component, and is currently implemented in the health system) that encourage efficiency. These methods will be frequently updated according to parameters determined by a special supervision authority for health, agricultural and environmental services (this topic will be discussed at length below). Professional workers in the spheres of welfare, such as psychologists, social workers, physicians and others will be employed by these NPOs or operate independently as "mini-NPOs" according to the family physician model used in Britain and Canada. Their great advantage lies in their flexibility, independence and motivation, which is not limited to material resources.

In summary, this chapter deals with the ways of reducing the government's involvement in providing social services and expanding the "mixed economy" in the provision of these services. In order to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the provision of social services, the share of NPOs in providing the services must be increased, along with a limited role for the private sector. The role of those responsible for service provision must be clearly defined and their operations monitored regularly. This will enable the government to focus on its most important roles: formulating, funding and regulating social policy.

4.   TOWARDS SOCIAL JUSTICE: ASSERTIVE SOCIAL POLICY

In the years following the founding of the state, the Israeli nation-building process focused on economic and social development (absorbing immigration, instilling the Hebrew language, developing social infrastructure and more). A national ethos of state-building moved the wheels of development: Residents of Kiryat Shemona and Dimona did not feel inferior; on the contrary, they perceived themselves as an inseparable part of an overall national endeavor. In the 1970s, comprehensive reforms were carried out in social policy, the most prominent of which addressed the topics of children's allowances, unemployment insurance and general disability insurance. In addition, investments were increased in the education, vocational training and health systems. Project Renewal, which Menachem Begin initiated upon rising to power, was in fact the last national project of a general social nature. From the mid-1980s, a sharp turnabout occurred, and the social issue ceased to be a focal point for national effort. Policy implemented in this period and afterwards no longer provided an adequate response to the needs of most citizens, and the welfare state thereby found itself unprepared for the challenges of globalization. This process was accelerated because the state leaders did not realize that they must preserve the national ethos of state-building. Their failure to do so hastened the understanding which took root in society that the national ethos of state-building was also created on the basis of political interests. The proponents of post-Zionism also made a substantial contribution to shattering the national ethos. The results of the failure to prepare the welfare state for the globalization process, and the results of the shattering of the national ethos, were soon in coming. A process ensued which led to division between different sectors of society, and later on aroused hatred between them. These results are manifested today in the efforts of various sectors to replace the state in fulfilling social functions, and in the indifference of widespread sectors of the population towards the difficult situation of other sectors.

The fourth chapter proposes guidelines for an assertive social policy, and especially for strengthening the welfare state within a market economy. The goal of the policy is to ensure every citizen a dignified existence. Against the assistance that is to be offered by the state stands the question of the individual's contribution, whether through joining the workforce or taking part in volunteer activity as part of

his duty to society. Therefore, this chapter also deals with the rights, and mainly the obligations, of the individual who resides in the state.

Policy Foundations

The principles of an assertive social policy can be found in the social doctrine of Menachem Begin entitled, *Worldview and National View: Guidelines.*[9] Three principles arise from this essay:

- A fundamental commitment to the existence of a safety net for the individual, which assures a proper level of subsistence;
- A fundamental commitment to safeguard each and every person from being arbitrarily denied his source of livelihood;
- A fundamental commitment to policy that continually strives to reduce economic and social inequalities.

These commitments are not one-sided, since Menachem Begin concurrently emphasizes the duty of the healthy adult to invest in his work in order to ensure the fulfillment of his basic needs and those of his family. He also acknowledges the existence of differences between people in society which are manifested in the outcomes of their activity in the labor market.

Menachem Begin's first principle pertains to the state's commitment to provide a safety net for each citizen, which will ensure a proper level of subsistence. This principle is based on the approach of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, according to which basic human needs, which he termed the "five S's"[*] – shelter, sustenance, suitable clothing, sick care and schooling – must be available to all. According to Begin:

> A person – any person – must […] be free of a lack of essential goods without which he cannot exist as a cultured person. It must be clear that if the individual cannot eat his fill, wear a proper garment, enjoy a roof over his head and provide food, clothing, decent housing conditions, basic schooling and health care in time of illness to his household – then all the mental and political freedoms, even if they are written in law, even if they exist in reality, are no more than abstract freedoms, since the denial of these freedoms renders the person a slave, even if the needs of his physical existence are

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[9]   Begin Menachem (1951). *Worldview and National View: Guidelines*, Tel Aviv: Basa'ar, Betar Commission in Eretz Israel.

[*]   Translator's note: The five M's, in the original Hebrew.

completely fulfilled […] the people who base their worldview on individual freedom are those who must seek to create such economic and social conditions, in which the process of fulfilling the needs that are primary and essential, both for all living beings and for the cultured person, will be a natural process […].[10]

This position means a commitment of the state, as a welfare state, to increase the payment of allowances and thereby ensure every citizen a dignified existence. It is an approach anchored in the principle of human dignity, and acknowledges the state's commitment to guarantee a social safety net.

It should be added that Begin's approach does not require an immediate link between granting a safety net and the individual's activity in the labor market, especially with regard to children, the elderly and the ill. This is demonstrated in his assertion that the five S's,

> […] Will usually be given as the fruit of labor, and in certain cases even without labor. The slogan displayed in work camps in Soviet Russia, "He who does not work shall not eat," symbolizes a cruel social regression, when it applies even to the ill. Certainly, the idleness of a healthy adult is immoral parasitism, but in every society there are circles which cannot and should not have to work, such as elderly people, the ill and children. But food – and moreover, the five S's – should be ensured for everyone without exception.[11]

Menachem Begin's second principle deals with the state's basic commitment to ensure that no one is arbitrarily denied his source of livelihood:

> […] Each person should be assured 'freedom from exclusion.' Such social, economic and legislative conditions should be created, in which it will be impossible to arbitrarily deny the person his source of livelihood, either due to objective causes, or because of a temporary or permanent loss of his ability to work […][12]

An attempt to understand this principle through today's reality in Israel, some fifty years after Begin's essay was written, requires an in-depth and sincere look at the labor market. I refer here to an examination of the topics of closing factories and coping with the misuse of job tenure in the public sector.

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[10] Ibid, pp. 12-13.

[11] Ibid, p. 22.

[12] Ibid, p. 13.

As for the former, it is proposed to promote the regulation of factory-closing procedures, particularly for factories that employ a significant number of workers, since this situation is a clear example of denying people their source of livelihood. Furthermore, such regulation should be applied not only to closing a factory in the literal sense of the word, but also to other organizational changes that involve the dismissal of a significant number of employees.

Such regulation should include three components:

1. *Accountability*

    Owners of the company must report to the employees within a reasonable period of time before taking irreversible action, in order to enable the employees and public agencies to prepare for dealing with the consequences of the closure.

2. *Powers of employment bureaus in case of a large-scale dismissal*

    In instances of large-scale dismissal (over 50 employees), the regional employment bureau shall, if it sees fit, be empowered to place computing equipment and personnel in the factory, in order to facilitate and expedite the job search process.

3. *Employee protection*

    The severance pay law will obligate the employer to make regular deposits of severance pay in a savings account. The principal and earnings of this account will stand at the employee's disposal upon terminating his employment for any reason whatsoever. This way, each employee will be able to receive what he is entitled to, whether he leaves his job or is dismissed, or if his employer declares bankruptcy or flees the country.

Ensuring freedom from exclusion is also indirectly related to the topic of job tenure or, more precisely, the abuse of job tenure by public servants and others. Job tenure is a legal condition, according to which the source of a person's livelihood cannot be taken away from him. However, it is based on the assumption that after receiving tenure, the individual will continue to perform his job continuously and properly. This assumption encounters a reality of many cases of disregard for the job, failure to carry out requisite tasks, a high absence rate and adopting improper work habits (running errands, doing private work, taking long breaks and more). These phenomena take place in public or other systems, which are usually subject to severe

financial pressure and are frequently required to economize and take efficiency measures, and create a trend of inaction. When occurring in public services, inaction undermines the employee's basic commitment to the employer and other employees, as well as the employee's commitment to the public. Therefore, *The Right Way to Social Justice* calls to respect the principle of job tenure, while imposing reservations upon this principle on the basis of social justice. In other words, a person's place of livelihood should not be taken away arbitrarily, but if the person is found to be practicing improper work habits and this situation is documented for a predetermined period, only then he will lose his tenured status. A person whose tenure is revoked will receive the compensation to which he is entitled by law, and have the option to appeal the decision in court.

The third principle that arises from Menachem Begin's essay is the basic commitment to a policy that continually strives to reduce socioeconomic inequalities:

> The idea of societal reform lies in an unending process of social fringes drawing nearer to one another – not from the top downwards, which would necessarily bring about a general deterioration and decline, but from the bottom upwards, which brings about improvement and progress.[13]

This commitment should, in my opinion, be manifested in four dimensions: Anchoring universal social rights in law, i.e. legislating a Basic Law: Social Rights; expanding the baskets of social services; implementing a differential distribution of social services, and ensuring a pension for every retired person. In this context, it is important to mention that the main route to reducing inequalities is by joining the labor market.

Anchoring Social Rights in Law

Anchoring universal social rights in law is a corollary of the principle of respecting the individual's freedom, his right to life and body, and his right to freedom of choice. It is a concept of social justice which expresses the idea that each person should be regarded as an autonomous creature with equal self-value to others. From this concept are derived institutional arrangements intended to realize the

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[13] Ibid, p. 21.

individual's freedom and protect his right to acquire education, health and welfare. The meaning of this legislation is not necessarily to add rights to those which exist in the law, but rather to protect the provision of rights already anchored in law; in other words, ensuring the accessibility to rights of all those in need by legislating a basic law that will require the protection of these rights.

Protection of the right to acquire education is of supreme importance, since it enables increased productivity and as a result increased remuneration in the labor market, happiness and personal satisfaction, self-fulfillment and enhancement of the individual's understanding of processes taking place around him. An example of the need to protect the right to acquire education can be found in the case of children whose family situation at home causes them to miss school or regularly come late to school. The essence of protecting their right is to make sure (through welfare services) that they will be able to attend all school days, rather than being registered for school on a purely formal basis. In the same spirit, young people whose economic situation does not enable them to purchase school aids, or those who lack the means to pay for tuition at colleges and universities, must find an address that will protect their right to gain access to basic cultural assets and to potential tools that will enable the individual to achieve autonomy. These tools will cultivate the individual's ability to detach himself from the viewpoint of politicians, relatives, neighbors or other opinion makers, and enable him to develop an independent perspective.

Protection of the right to acquire health is also highly important, since it enables activity in the labor market, prevention or alleviation of suffering, and the pursuit of happiness. The right to acquire health, which ostensibly exists today by law, is not implemented in reality. For example, the waiting period for children to see a speech therapist may range from a year to longer periods of time. Of course, for a child with a speech disability, this wait means an exacerbation of the problem and difficulties in treatment later on, since the right to treatment loses its meaning when it cannot be used in time of need. A similar situation exists today in the field of pediatric and adult orthopedic surgery, particularly hip replacement surgery, due to the low payment that the Ministry of Health transfers to the hospitals.

Protection of the right to receive welfare is of critical importance to disadvantaged sectors, since it enables subsistence. Today, the overloaded welfare system leaves many people in need of its services with a long wait, which means a

return to the streets. This situation could be prevented if the right to receive welfare was anchored in law and fully enforced.

The absence of such protections makes some of the political and civil rights into purely formal rights since, for example, the right to freedom of expression is worthless without education, and the right to privacy has no value for a homeless person. In terms of policy, the meaning of these protections is an expansion of the baskets of services in social realms.

Expanding Baskets of Social Services

The **health basket** should include all medical technologies with a proven therapeutic advantage, from both clinical and statistical standpoints. Anyone wishing to consume healthcare technologies whose therapeutic advantage has not been proven yet will be able to purchase complementary insurance, which will fully or partially finance these technologies.

The **education basket** should be filled based on three guiding principles: the proven link between education and income; the aspiration to reduce social disparities and promote equal opportunity among children and youth; and budgetary constraints. Based on these principles, it is proposed to define a basic education basket that will include all fields currently being studied, with an emphasis on subjects where a positive relationship has been proven between the subject and the level of income. These types of content will be publicly funded for each pupil in Israel. Aside from the basic education basket, another education basket will be determined that includes additional content. The rate of public funding for these types of content will be determined according to the pupil's socioeconomic ranking. In other words, pupils from relatively lower socioeconomic sectors will receive a publicly-funded expanded education basket, which includes fields of study outside the basic basket. Pupils belonging to affluent populations, on the other hand, will be offered these fields of study for pay. In this manner, pupils from vulnerable sectors who have demonstrated interest and talent in fields outside the basic education basket will be able to realize their potential in these fields without economic barriers. Therefore, a differential education basket is being proposed, which aspires towards an optimal balance between social-ethical considerations and economic considerations, while advancing the entire population, and placing an emphasis and budgetary commitment on vulnerable sectors.

Differential Distribution of Resources

A policy of differential distribution refers to reducing inequalities in the level of education, health and personal welfare services (children at risk, senior citizens, people with disabilities and more) between various segments of society. This policy will focus on an improvement in the education, health and welfare of vulnerable groups. A substantial portion of this improvement will be achieved by transferring the provision of services into the hands of non-profit organizations, as proposed in the previous chapter, and by granting higher funding units for care of individuals belonging to vulnerable populations.

In the Education Sphere

The level of instruction in schools must be improved. To this end, the acceptance threshold for teaching certificate studies must be raised, and each teacher be required to specialize at an academic level in at least one discipline.

In order to reduce socioeconomic inequalities, budgets should be distributed to schools according to their socioeconomic ranking (a method of differential per-pupil budgeting). Preschools and schools in vulnerable regions from a socioeconomic standpoint should be identified and compensated with educational resources for the absence (complete or partial) of educational family support; for the shortage of teaching staff at a high academic level, characteristic of schools in affluent areas; and for the limited ability of disadvantaged sectors to demand accountability from the school and insist that it take responsibility for its actions. Concurrently, a longer school day should be instituted in all development towns and disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In practical terms, a differential distribution policy includes the following:
- Recruiting trained and well-educated teaching personnel with proven ability;
- Investing in the physical infrastructure of selected schools and preschools;
- A substantial reduction in the number of pupils per class;
- Instituting a long school day (including meals) in these institutions;
- Instituting scientific specialization tracks in these institutions;

- Employing students and academically-educated job seekers in tutoring weaker pupils (in return for which they will receive a tuition scholarship or payment of unemployment benefits);
- Full exemption from higher education tuition fees for pupils who have succeeded in obtaining a certificate that serves as an entry ticket to training tracks in higher education institutions.

In the Health Sphere

- The capitation formula and basket of services should be updated; in addition, integral changes should be made to the formula, which include instituting a capitation component for different socioeconomic levels;
- In-patient nursing care should be included in the basket of services;
- The fee for a visit to the doctor should be cancelled;
- Steps should be taken to increase the efficiency of the health system with regard to service provision, and medical activity that does not require hospitalization should gradually be transferred to community health centers and outpatient facilities;
- Efforts should be made to reduce gaps in mortality and morbidity between women and men and between Jews and Arabs in the state. Also, accessibility should be improved (particularly of Arab women) to services related to pregnancy and birth, reducing premature mortality and morbidity from heart disease, cancer and cerebrovascular diseases, and improving the utilization level of diagnostic services (such as mammography) for pre-menopausal women.

In the Personal Welfare Services Sphere

- For services received on an ongoing basis, the utilization level should be raised for populations characterized by a low level of

mobility, such as the elderly population, and particularly elderly people with disabilities;

- To combine management of the care of these populations, assign responsibility for the topic to the health funds, include funding of the service in the general capitation formula, and establish a designated body, which will establish criteria for providing the services and supervise their implementation (see further details below).

The goal is to ensure a continuation of treatment and coordination between the various components of the care-giving system within the community and at in-patient facilities, and providing a suitable response for the needs of severely disabled senior citizens who have no family or economic resources.

Ensuring a Pension for Every Retired Person

In Israel, at the outset of the 21st century, half a million people have no pension. Moreover, among senior citizens there are highly-visible income inequalities: Alongside affluent senior citizens there are those who have barely enough to eat. In the spirit of Menachem Begin's third principle, *The Right Way to Social Justice* calls to implement the following policies:

- To provide financial incentives to people who purchase private pension arrangements;
- In accordance with the Kibbutz movement's principle of mutual solidarity, to deduct funds that are to be received from the law anchoring the farmers' rights to the land for the purpose of ensuring the pension rights of kibbutz members who lack suitable arrangements;
- To legislate a state pension law;
- To equalize the pension rights of a widower to those of a widow;
- To establish a mechanism for preventing pension erosion.

Joining the labor market

The commitments we have mentioned so far – existence of a safety net assuring a proper level of subsistence; safeguarding all persons from being arbitrarily denied

their source of livelihood; and policy that continually strives to reduce social and economic disparities – cannot be one-sided. At the same time, the healthy adult must work in order to assure the fulfillment of his basic needs and those of his family. This duty is anchored in the view of the labor market as the way for overcoming economic distress and entering the mainstream of life in society.

However, in light of the fact that today a smaller amount of work is needed to create a higher level of wealth, it is not difficult to foresee that structural unemployment will gradually become a permanent feature of Israel's labor market. One way to cope with this problem is to create linkage between receiving unemployment benefits from the state, which make it possible to subsist at a proper level, and the individual's contribution to society, particularly through volunteerism. Another reason for the need to create such linkage lies in the fact that the initial distribution of income is determined at the production stage and is derived from it. Since subsequent intervention in this distribution through the taxation and transfer payments system is limited, it is better, from the individual's standpoint, to receive an allowance directly derived from his contribution to the society in which he lives, than receiving it in return for idleness (even temporary) from a branch of the state.

The guiding concept, then, should recognize activity in social markets as a contribution to society. The goal should be to integrate job seekers, ultra-Orthodox Jews, Israeli Arabs, and people with disabilities into volunteer activity, such as: helping weaker pupils at schools; reinforcing the Israel Police; guarding crosswalks; serving as assistive personnel at welfare services; help in filling out forms at government ministries; driving patients to clinics; help in libraries, computer rooms and school clinics; help in after-school mini-clubs; help for Israel Defense Force's orphans; help for children of prisoners; upkeep of public parks; maintaining shelters; using information technology to maintain contact with senior citizens living on their own; activity in environmental organizations; reserve duty; guarding public buildings at night; participating in community projects that focus on helping the homeless and students with disabilities; and temporary replacement of welfare staff in need of a vacation. Full volunteer service will be defined as a 25-hour activity week.

Underlying this approach is the principle of social justice, which has two facets. Firstly, the production worker, like the factory owner, should have a legal obligation to contribute to society. Workers have a right to activation (actions on the part of the government which will pave their way back to the labor market), and a company

owner should have an obligation to contribute through tax payments on wages and capital gains. We should not content ourselves, therefore, with the moral obligation of business owners, as expressed in publicized initiatives of community support by business leaders. We must ensure that the business community makes a genuine contribution to reducing inequalities in society.

Secondly, the state will not enable a healthy unemployed person to receive support while completely isolated from society. An unemployed person will be encouraged to engage in volunteer activity and receive payment for it to enable him or her to subsist at a proper level instead of receiving an allowance from the state. This leads to an expansion of the individual's autonomy and provides his life with positive meaning. However, more than anything, it constitutes a central foundation of the welfare state, according to which social groups cannot be permanently dependent on other groups. The state, then, will be willing to assist individuals who are in transition periods in the labor market by providing rewarded opportunities for social involvement. However, upon conclusion of the transition period, government support will halt, with the exception of reasonable subsistence support.

In addition, the government should work in coordination with employers' organizations towards achieving a gradual rise in old age allowances and children's allowances that constitute the very heart of the national insurance system. These amounts must ensure a proper level of subsistence, and be protected from political offensives, cutbacks and cancellations. The all-inclusive nature of these programs must not be cancelled, since this would violate a government commitment. Their payment must not be made contingent upon criteria of means or income, since such criteria have been proven to be completely ineffective (characterized by a very low utilization rate - about 50% - and a substantial population that has received the allowance though ineligible for it). In addition, the rights of self-employed workers must be assured, including the right to unemployment insurance. In order to overcome the problem of granting allowances or other payments to strong populations, the surplus allowance of the individual from allowances should be taxed. This will create an earmarked financial reserve for ensuring a wage floor which will enable proper subsistence for those who need it.

As regards investment in a training and employment system for individuals who are in a transition period, the state should take action in a number of ways:

1. Create jobs in remote regions and subsidize employment (mainly of academics) in peripheral regions. In any case, the state's intervention in creating sources of employment should be focused and short-term;

2. Promote teacher training tracks for holders of a bachelor's degree (unemployed and employed). These training tracks will be based on graduate studies in needed professions, along with studies for a teaching certificate; granting an exemption from tuition fees for people who choose this track; granting a subsistence scholarship equal to a teacher's wages for a study period of up to two years; and the graduate's commitment to work in teaching in the Israeli education system for five years.

3. To offer young unemployed (between the ages of 21-30) the following additional options:

   - Subsidized employment (for young job seekers in peripheral regions);

   - State-funded vocational training;

   - A position in the volunteer sector for a fixed period or until finding a job;

   - Activity in environmental organizations for a fixed period or until finding a job;

   - Reserve duty for a fixed period or until finding a job.

Refusal to choose one of these options, for reasons other than health, will freeze the job seeker's allowance. Failure to meet the individual's commitments during the period one is employed in a given framework will lead to a similar result. If the job seeker is not accepted into one framework, he must choose another. Regarding older job seekers who are outside the workforce – if the individual is active in one of the organizational frameworks mentioned above, the state should consider extending the eligibility period for unemployment benefits. In addition, the state should develop suitable frameworks for providing basic education for people lacking such education, and supplementary education for those who have only basic schooling.

The state should ensure the continuity of these programs, protect them from cutbacks and major changes, and work towards a gradual increase in the size of unemployment benefits paid to job seekers who choose to enter one of these frameworks, so long as they are outside the workforce. The healthy individual's obligation to invest in work in order to assure the fulfillment of his basic needs and

those of his family does not relieve the state of its duty to curb the growth of a poor working class. The state must ensure that reductions and exemptions enjoyed by allowance recipients when entering the labor market are not cancelled immediately but rather scaled down gradually. All steps taken within the efforts of returning job seekers to the labor market and raising low-level wages go hand in hand with a policy focused on reducing the number of illegal foreign workers, as will be discussed below.

In summary, the principle of individual liberty arises from the discussion in this chapter. Its translation into policy guidelines includes the following components:

- A fundamental commitment to the existence of a safety net that assures a proper level of subsistence, as manifested in an increase of allowance payments; anchoring social rights in law; expanding baskets of social services; and ensuring a pension for every retired person;

- A fundamental commitment to safeguard each and every person from being arbitrarily denied his source of livelihood. In other words, regulating the closure of factories and honoring the principle of job tenure with the exception of cases where this principle has been misused;

- A fundamental commitment to policy that continually strives to reduce social and economic disparities, as manifested in a differential distribution policy for reducing gaps in the level of education, health and personal welfare services between different sectors in society.

This chapter has presented the main principles of the social policy that is currently needed in Israel, based on the assumption that a renewed balance must be struck between the individual's rights and his duties. Anchoring social rights in law is contingent upon the obligation of every healthy individual to contribute to the society in which he lives, either through activity in the labor market or through activity in social markets, i.e. volunteer activity. Government support for the individual must be contingent on the degree of the individual's contribution to society. At the same time, a differential distribution policy and expansion of baskets of social services will make

it possible to substantially reduce social disparities and strengthen the human infrastructure necessary to maintain a free economic regime within a properly functioning democratic system. The ways proposed here for joining the labor market and social markets ensure, in addition to reducing economics and social disparities, that a framework will be created to educate a citizen who is more socially responsible.

5. ON LAW AND ORDER: PROTECTING THE SOCIAL FABRIC

In the past decade, the State of Israel has faced unique and global trends, which have affected its social security and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. This chapter deals with the threats to the social fabric and national infrastructure used by social forces (electric, gas, water and aviation sites and more). The proposed policy will mainly address coping with the problem of crime and the issue of illegal foreign workers.

The expansion of cyber-terrorism (for example, dissemination of viruses through computer networks), the increase in the number of illegal foreign workers, an increase in depositing crime-generated funds in Israeli banks or purchasing property with such funds, as well as attempts by organized crime to penetrate the highest levels of the political establishment – all these are examples of what is currently happening here. The high permeability of international borders on the one hand, and the ineffectuality of politicians and public officials dealing with these issues on the other, have created comfortable conditions for a rise in the level of crime in Israel and the possibility of criminal elements taking over national infrastructure. As mentioned above, this does not refer only to conventional crime, but mainly to exposing the civilian sector to threats of "information warfare," which include possible attacks on computer systems. The development of cyber-terrorism, which makes use of advanced technology in order to target individuals or the public, exposes many agencies in Israel to threats of this kind. Vulnerable agencies include government ministries, the Bank of Israel, the Israel Police, the Israel Security Agency, El Al, Mekorot, Zim, Bezeq and others.

The fact that public information and communication systems are exposed to the activity of elements that are not legitimate users currently makes it easier to steal information, disrupt, destroy or prevent the availability of information, retrieve material that could compromise the right to privacy, and damage electronic devices by disrupting or destroying them. The dissemination of computer viruses constitutes a danger that carries great potential for damaging national computer infrastructure and other infrastructure, and could lead to their paralysis and collapse. Also, one must not underestimate the severity of the danger of cyber-terrorist organizations attacking cellular communications infrastructure, power plants and other national infrastructure, and the possibility of strategic and military secrets reaching foreign hands.

The issues of conventional crime and cyber-terrorism must be incorporated into the state's array of strategic considerations. While these crimes do not damage the state's physical borders, damage to its virtual borders could also have disastrous results, especially if various elements succeed in finding security breaches that enable them to penetrate computers without the knowledge of their operators, break into systems that control national infrastructure and direct these systems to perform incorrect actions. Activity of this kind could have social consequences, especially in terms of damage to national infrastructure.

The Israel Police must rally and concentrate its resources, skill and experience so that it is able to track down organized crime and cyber-crime in Israel. In addition, efforts should be made to refrain from forming special-purpose units for this issue (such as the Unit for Sensitive Information Security in the Prime Minister's Office), or changing the purpose of advisory agencies (such as the National Security Council) to make them into executive agencies in this sphere, with the exception of setting up secret databases that include data on the property or health of the state's residents (e.g. the Israel Money Laundering Prohibition Authority). The National Security Council and the Israel Security Agency should formulate an information security doctrine for the public sector in Israel, and prepare professional guidelines for governmental and public agencies in Israel to implement. However, the defense of national infrastructure should be placed exclusively in the hands of the Israel Police, and it should be guaranteed a proper level of resources to carry out these tasks in an efficient and effective manner.

Since the growth in the business activity of organizations in the electronic arena expands the possibility of compromising the privacy of those who operate in this arena, it is necessary to establish a committee advising the prime minister on safeguarding privacy on the Internet. This committee's mandate will focus on developing rules for protecting privacy and defining procedures for supervising their implementation. Special attention should be directed to preventing the possibility of retrieving personal information held by banks in Israel.

As far as the issue of illegal foreign workers goes, for over a decade Israel has been carrying out a policy enabling the extensive importing of cheap labor from foreign countries. This policy has two main consequences: Firstly, no worker with borderline qualifications in the Israeli labor market is protected against competition

with foreign workers and, secondly, Israeli workers with borderline qualifications cannot work under the same conditions as foreign workers in the industrial and services sectors (construction, hotels, nursing). An unlimited supply of foreign workers creates pressure to lower wages and causes the displacement of local workers who cannot support their families on such low salaries. This is a policy based on a distinctly antisocial view, which makes it difficult for unskilled workers to play a proper role in Israel's economic growth. There is no doubt that this strategy constitutes one of the great policy fiascos of Israel's governments in the past decade.

A social policy that bases itself on values of liberty (mainly the recognition of the urgent need to deal with problems such as poverty and indigence) and law and order (mainly an emphasis on law enforcement), as well as the awareness that "the poor of your own city take precedence" (Bava Metzia 71), must immediately reduce the number of illegal foreign workers, lower the profitability of employing licensed foreign workers, and take firm action to carefully safeguard their rights.

The policy must include the following components:

- Increased control of borders;
- Raising the tax imposed on employers of foreign workers;
- Legalization of illegal foreign workers for a fixed period, after which they will receive a one-year work permit. Upon the conclusion of this period, they will commit themselves to leave the country;
- Imposing significant taxes on employers of illegal foreign workers who have not joined the legalization program;
- Deporting foreign workers with a criminal record;
- Carefully safeguarding the rights of legal foreign workers.

This policy should be implemented by the power of the State of Israel's responsibility for the livelihood of its residents. This is a moral and social responsibility that should be an inseparable part of the policy advocated by any party with social awareness.

In summary, the principle of law and order arises from the above discussion. Central guidelines for social security policy include the following:

1. Placing the defense of national infrastructure in the hands of the Israel Police and ensuring a proper level of resources so that it will be able to fulfill these tasks in an efficient and effective manner;

2. Reducing the number of illegal foreign workers, while carefully safeguarding the rights of workers who reside in Israel legally.

A policy intending to protect the social fabric means tending to the problem of crime and the issue of illegal foreign workers. The continued neglect of these problems constitutes a significant threat to the infrastructure within which the social activity takes place. The proposed policy guidelines serve as a starting point for activity which focuses on upholding law and order in society.

6. INTERGENERATIONAL JUSTICE: ON QUALITY OF LIFE AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTUR

Israel has many characteristics of rich nations. However; these are accompanied by features, primarily in the fields of infrastructure and the environment, which position Israel among the ranks of the least developed of countries. This chapter will deal with the policy that needs to be implemented in order to raise the existing infrastructure to a level suitable for a rich nation. In addition, the necessary policies in each realm will be detailed.

Main Problems

Israel is significantly lagging behind other developed countries in its level of infrastructure in the realms of transportation, water and connection to sewage and wastewater purification systems. In addition, the state maintains a low level of environmental preservation, mainly in the spheres of air pollution and pollution of water sources. Despite the unusual growth rate of the population in the past decade and high spatial density, state leaders have not succeeded in adapting infrastructure and environmental services to these processes.

Another salient problem in Israel is related to the level of law enforcement. At the legislative level, Israel is a developed country for all intents and purposes. Planning and construction laws and the Ministry of the Environment's regulations are among the most advanced in the world, but in practice these laws are not enforced. For example, the Ministry of Environment's Radiation Monitoring Division, which is responsible for an approximate 5,000 antennas scattered through Israel, consists of only one employee! In another example, a conditional permission for affixing a cellular antenna is automatically issued before installation, and the citizen is almost powerless to oppose it.

These issues of infrastructure and environmental quality are an inseparable part of the individual's well-being. The ceaseless attention to problems of national security has shunted aside the treatment of these issues, and the result was not late in coming: The growth rate in individual well-being in Israel has remained relatively low compared to the growth rate in human capital, higher education and health.

This situation must change! It is true that economic growth is the key national objectives. However, economic well-being that does not lead to raising the quality of

life for all of Israel's citizens undermines its importance as an overall goal. It is clear to all that even a high standard of living, if accompanied by unreasonable traffic jams at fixed places and times, excessive air pollution at fixed places and times, and other severe environmental hazards – is harmful to residents.

It is necessary, then, to ensure rising quality of life for all, along with maintaining a reasonable balance between development trends and preserving a stable environment. Ensuring quality of life for all constitutes a commitment not only to today's citizens; maintaining a balance between society and the environment constitutes a commitment to the next generations, and to the Jewish people's historical and cultural heritage as well. The duty to preserve our environmental resources and to develop them without substantive damage to environmental and historical heritage lies at the heart of the term "intergenerational justice."

An infrastructure and environmental policy based on a social perspective must assure a high level of accessibility, from the aspects of distance and cost, to centers of employment, culture, nature and landscape. Implementation of these goals is only possible if we adopt the principle that market forces are to play a central – but not exclusive – role in raising the quality of life of all of Israel's citizens, and in improving social infrastructure. Developing infrastructure that facilitates accessibility to centers of employment, culture, nature and landscape will not be limited to providing a response to market demand, but rather will express a development policy based on social justice. This policy rests on reviving the urban center as an environment offering "culture for all," while addressing the consequences of this policy from an environmental standpoint. In the Arab sector, this depends on turning Arab cities - and Jewish cities with a significant proportion of Arabs - into centers of employment, administration and public services.

Principles of the Required Policy

Thus far we have discussed the principle of preserving and improving the face of the country for the next generations and ourselves. The meaning of this principle is as follows:

1. Recognizing the principle of "sustainable development" which requires adjusting the needs of the present to take into account the needs of the

future, and "sustainable consumption" which revolves around recycling and charging fees for waste disposal;

2. Ensuring a high level of accessibility, in terms of distance and cost, to centers of employment, culture, nature and landscape;

3. Increasing equality between women and men, Jews and Arabs, and residents of the center and the periphery, with regard to use of national infrastructure.

Policy Guidelines

In the Sphere of Transportation Policy

- The entire country should be turned into a single employment region, by means of strengthening public transportation, particularly rail transportation, and making use of fast above-ground and underground railway systems that reach large urban centers. In making decisions on the location of the rail infrastructure, an effort should be made to avoid as much as possible the excessive exploitation of regions populated by disadvantaged sectors of the population, and to minimize environmental damage.

- Daytime parking fees should be raised for private vehicles in large cities, to encourage use of public transportation.

- An international civilian airport should be built at Nevatim, to be operated by a private franchise-holder, as well as rail infrastructure that will make it possible to reach the center of the country more quickly.

In the Sphere of Land Policy

- A land distribution arrangement should be implemented that is based on the recommendations of the Milgrom Committee;

- Action should be taken to reduce the negative impact of the Trans-Israel Highway project;

- Planned "build your own home" projects should be cancelled;

- Open areas in the National Outline Scheme, NOS 35, should be preserved through stringent legislation;

- Construction of new shopping centers outside cities should be prohibited. Instead, these should be built along transportation centers as part of the cities themselves;

- Municipal property tax paid in rural areas should be equalized to municipal property tax paid in urban areas;

- Arab and Jewish rural localities should be developed in an "evacuation and construction" method, with low to medium height construction;

- New cities should not be built, with the exception of 2-3 localities for Bedouins in the Negev and the unification of large Arab local authorities located in close proximity to one another;

- Building restrictions in office areas should be lifted, with the exception of construction near sites which contribute to the city's character;

- A maximum rate of building rights should be utilized in projects that have already been built, and construction should be upgraded by added building percentages in the city center;

- Permits for high-rise construction should be granted (up to 30 stories), especially alongside public transportation routes;

- Medium-rise dense construction (up to 6 stories) should be encouraged, while connecting the inner areas into one large courtyard;

- Enforcement and supervision of illegal takeover of state lands should be increased; and future development efforts should be directed towards the south of the country.

In the Sphere of Water and Sewage Policy
- Desalinization infrastructure should be developed;
- All localities in Israel, including unrecognized Arab localities, should be connected to sewage infrastructure;

- The majority of wastewater should be treated in accordance with the required level;
- Action should be taken to preserve Israel's coasts and efforts should be invested in cleaning streams and water sources.

In the Sphere of Air Policy

- Increase supervision with regard to deviation from toxic gas emission standards by vehicles and industrial plants;
- Use of ozone friendly products should be encouraged;
- The existing system for monitoring transportation air quality should be expanded;
- Emission standards for hazardous substances should be improved;
- The enforcement system for emission standards for hazardous substances should be reinforced;
- A taxation policy should be adopted that will reduce air pollution from vehicles.

In the Sphere of Hazardous Substances

- Protective measures surrounding concentrations of hazardous materials should be improved;
- Transport of certain substances should be restricted to predefined roads and times;
- Transport of hazardous substances should be carefully supervised, and applicable laws enforced;
- Strategies should be developed for dealing with accidents involving vehicles transporting hazardous substances;
- Factories should be encouraged to recycle hazardous substances and burn them under supervision on factory grounds, despite the high cost of this solution.

In the Sphere of Waste Policy

- For-pay waste disposal sites should be set up within the boundaries of local authorities;

- Such sites should not be located near disadvantaged neighborhoods;

- Significant penalties should be imposed on people caught dumping waste outside these sites;

- Education for separating trash and recycling should be enhanced, while creating proper infrastructure.

In the Sphere of Noise Policy

- Restrictions on takeoff and landing hours of planes at Ben-Gurion Airport should be expanded and enforced;

- Regulations for preventing random and local noise should be enforced.

In the Sphere of Open Areas Policy

- Open areas should be carefully preserved, and anchored in stringent legislation;

- "Tranquil areas" should be declared-as in the British model-mainly near areas populated by disadvantaged sectors of the population;

- The rural community should be strengthened, along with rehabilitating localities in distress and underdeveloped localities;

- Jerusalem should be strengthened but without damaging nature and landscape values;

- Extensive areas should be declared nature reserves, and open areas should be developed within interurban boundaries for leisure and sport;

- Energetic action should be taken to significantly improve the environment in declining areas.

In summary, this chapter presented the infrastructure and environmental problems in Israel, focusing on practical policy guidelines that should be carried out in order to solve them. Continued neglect of these issues is causing deterioration in the quality of life of the State of Israel's residents, and irreparable damage to this generation as well as subsequent generations. Deferring treatment of these problems should end, and they should be addressed seriously and with the intention of implementing a policy which takes the next generations into account.

7.   TOWARD AN INTEGRATED POLICY OF SECURITY AND SOCIETY

It is not surprising that in the State of Israel security comes before all else. Therefore, a significant portion of the state budget which should serve, at least in part, for social policy is currently allocated to homeland security. As a result, important social projects remain on the drawing board, while others are either cancelled or reduced in scope. Such a situation creates an obstacle in the government's attempts to increase the public well-being, and raises questions as to the necessary ways of circumventing it.

One simple solution is to utilize security projects for social purposes, and concurrently utilize social projects for security purposes. The first way will enable the government to implement necessary social policy, since its goal will have added security value. The second way – utilizing social projects for security purposes ─ will create a situation where social projects will be implemented with a relatively high level of certainty, while achieving a security goal.

A number of examples will illustrate this conceptual turnabout. An (underground) mass-transit system such as the one planned for the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and an underground road system like the one planned for Haifa (the Carmel tunnel) are intended to meet the demand for modernized public transportation. These are social projects of the first order, but can also be used for security needs by preparing them in advance for use as shelters against conventional and non-conventional weapons. Such planning will enable civilian use in peacetime as well as an emergency shelter in the same project. Parallel to the use of these transit systems as a shelter in emergencies, it will be possible to use them to transfer casualties from an area under attack to hospitals, and ensure a safe connection between different parts of the cities.

This approach can also be applied to shelters. In many neighborhoods built in the 1950s and 1960s, shelters were not built attached to residential homes but rather large public shelters were built, which are neglected for the most part. These gaps in shelter construction can be used for social goals – public shelters can be converted into public libraries, galleries, daily meeting places for the elderly and more. These uses, aside from creating a meeting place, will lead to the ongoing maintenance of the shelter, and thereby make a worthwhile contribution to security.

Another example is the National Parks Project. In many regions of the country, there are forests and nature reserves which suffer from neglect and pollution on the one hand, and from recurrent cases of arson on the other. The Israeli vacationer is afraid to visit these regions because they lack adequate security. These problems can be solved by establishing a foresters' unit in the Israel Police (similar to the Forest Rangers in the United States) to achieve a double purpose: Guarding the region against various polluters, and at the same time preventing arson and safeguarding the wellbeing of visitors.

There is not enough room here to list the many possible scenarios that exist when adopting this approach. What is common to all of them is the low cost involved in their implementation and the great benefit that they stand to bring to society. A government with social commitment must show a minimal level of initiative and promote such combined projects.

8. FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: TOWARDS A RIGOROUS REGULATORY POLICY

In recent years, we have witnessed an unprecedented trend of recognizing and bolstering human rights. The place of human rights in the legal system has been recognized by the Supreme Court since its early days, and the court has established certain rights, such as the freedom of occupation and the freedom of expression, and demanded that any violation of these rights be done only through an explicit legislative provision. With the expansion of rulings to all matters (i.e., the "everything judgeable" doctrine), and the trend towards issuing judicial decisions with broad implications, this tendency has been strengthened. Nevertheless, at present the legislator still has the last word.

A significant step forward was taken in 1992, with the legislation of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty, as well as Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. This "constitutional revolution" enriched the discourse on human rights. In its wake, the court permitted the annulment of any new act of legislation that stands in contravention of the protected basic rights. These developments took place along with extensive legislation protecting rights and sectors, such as equality of women's rights, employment rights and more. There is no doubt that it is correct and proper to place individual rights as an important and valid criterion for the legitimacy of the state's actions, but this is insufficient without enforcement. After all, we cannot imagine a proper government that does not endeavor to enforce laws protecting these rights. Let us not forget that the rule of law is responsible both for the legality of government and for applying the law. Laws in and of themselves are no more than a hollow protective wall against social anarchy. Enforcement is what constitutes the protective material in this wall, and as such ensures that state order will be upheld.

This concept of the rule of law is a formal one, since it focuses on enforcing the law in its existing form. It is a narrow concept, but we must not ignore the fact that at its base lays a basic commitment to social justice. It is enough to examine the failure to enforce environmental laws in Israel, laws related to women's status, the Minimum Wage Law, the Right to Alternative Civil Burial Law, the Equal Rights for People with Disabilities Law, the Work and Rest Hours Law, the Second Radio and Television Authority Law, and rulings determining financial liabilities – to reach the conclusion that we face a fundamental problem.

Along with the problem of the failure to enforce social laws, there is a problem of regulating the various agencies that are contracted to provide social services. Over the past decade, the state has become part of the international economic system, characterized by capital movements at a global level and an evaluation of economic conditions in the state by interrelated economic markets. We discussed this situation of globalization at length in Chapter 1. It is important to note that the State of Israel, similar to other Western countries, has adopted a series of basic values, headed by cost cutting, efficiency and efficacy, as the basis for designing and implementing policy. Moreover, the state has adopted the contract as a central instrument of policy for fulfilling these values. The state has begun to employ workers on a contractual basis, to outsource services to private contractors and non-profit organizations (e.g., foster care and treatment services for the mentally disabled at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs), and entered into joint projects with private companies on the basis of a contract (Trans-Israel Highway). If, in the past, the state was the sole supplier of public services and directly involved in their management, today it largely focuses on financing and regulating the services, leaving their provision to the volunteer and private sectors.

There is no doubt that it is proper and correct to make the values of cost cutting, efficiency and efficacy into important criteria for the legitimacy of the state's actions, but this is not sufficient without supervising how this policy is actually implemented. Governments must ensure that private companies and non-profit organizations (NPOs) are rigorously regulated, since they provide a growing portion of public services and products. In practice, we see that there is currently fluid and inconsistent supervision of contracts made between the state and public service providers.

The formal concept of the rule of law applies first and foremost to government agencies. Part of their role also consists of regulating schools, hospitals, prisons, and government-owned companies. Yet, the expansion of human rights in Israel, along with the increase in the provision of public services by private companies and NPOs, significantly expands the state's responsibility in terms of regulating these service providers. This responsibility is an inseparable part of the rule of law.

The question now asked is, what happens in realms where a regulatory regime exists? The regulatory regime in each government ministry has always been characterized by an irrational demarcation of powers, general weakness in terms of infrastructure and enforcement ability, and low ranking on the scale of a government

ministry's priorities. An example of irrational demarcation of powers is the supervision of meat, poultry and fish. This supervision "falls between the cracks" – between the Ministry of Agriculture which is responsible for the products until they enter the marketing system, and the Ministry of Health whose responsibility begins from time of the products' entry into the marketing channels. The result is the penetration of Listeria bacteria found in meat, silicone found in milk and more. An example of general weakness in terms of infrastructure and enforcement ability can be found in activity required by the Protection of Privacy Law, and mainly the inability to impose sanctions on organizations that refuse to cooperate with regard to improper use of databases. The result is evident in the ability of organizations to crosscheck information between different databases, receive data which the people who submitted the information did not intend to be held by one of these bodies, and additional failures. There is no doubt that such cases illustrate one of the great dangers threatening the privacy of citizens due to improper use of databases.

Most government ministries do not employ systematic regulation of the quality of services provided by government bodies or sub-contractors operating on their behalf. Most have not yet established binding quality standards that would enable them to guide service providers, and also examine their behavior in retrospect. In addition, provisions have not yet been set out in the regulations regarding reporting requirements on services provided by government organizations, the period of the report, the conditions in which the services were provided, the status of the equipment, inventory, the nature of agreements with external contractors and other information. This means that government ministries, which are in charge of supplying services and have a duty to ensure that service-providing systems, whether government units or sub-contractors, provide the public with high-quality service – have not yet established a rigorous regulatory policy. Another outcome is that the only means currently used by most government ministries for monitoring the quality of services is the submission of complaints from the public. The State Comptroller's Report (52B) confirms these arguments with regard to the Ministry of Health's supervision of health funds, and with regard to supervision in other government ministries.

The ministries' contention that this is caused by a lack of budget for establishing supervision units and recruiting trained personnel does not hold water. This constitutes an ongoing surrender of government ministries to pressure by labor unions

(for example, the Israel Medical Association) and other lobby groups which delay or prevent systematic supervision and monitoring from being applied to the performance of government institutions or organizations providing services on their behalf. Directors general of government ministries often yield to pressure on the part of these organizations or on the part of the minister in charge, and "temporarily halt" quality control examinations or refrain from initiating such examinations. One example of this is the termination of a survey on the quality of psychiatric treatment in 1997. To illustrate the problems involved in initiating investigations of this sort, there is the cooperation agreement signed in 1997 between the Israel Medical Association (IMA) and senior officials at the Ministry of Health, which determines that the IMA would be a partner in approving the implementation of quality control surveys regarding its performance. This agreement was sharply criticized by the State Comptroller in his annual report from 1999, in which he wrote that as a result of the agreement the Ministry of Health had lost its independence and exclusive discretion.

As a consequence of this state of affairs, government ministries do not fulfill their public duty and at times even their legal duty to carry out systematic monitoring of the performance level of service providers. Government ministries fail consistently in monitoring the quality of service given to the public, and lend a hand to turning the trade unions into a key partner in supervision and monitoring processes. Moreover, the frequent crises encountered by the banking and insurance systems, in particular with regard to the ramping of banking shares, embezzlement at the Trade Bank, and the actuarial deficit of the Histadrut pension funds, have caused immense economic damage to the public, particularly to disadvantaged sectors. Existing supervisory bodies have frequently failed to address the dangers posed by the power of companies wielding great economic influence, and consumers stand powerless to exercise their rights in light of these regulatory fiascos.

Establishing the rule of law depends upon making a structural change in the government system in Israel, the goal of which is to neutralize "irrelevant considerations" in regulatory decisions, and strengthen the powers of regulatory mechanisms. In other words, establishing the rule of law requires detaching regulatory decision making, as much as possible, from political considerations. This would constitute a practical guarantee for ensuring individual rights and serve as a link between individual rights and reforming the society and state. In order to carry out

such a detachment, it is proposed to make a comprehensive reform of the structure, powers and budgeting of the state's regulatory arm.

Required Policy Guidelines

First and foremost, there must be a rationalization of the regulatory system, which will include removing regulatory functions from within the different government ministries to a small number of independent government agencies (e.g., public utility authorities; public service authorities), while anchoring in law their duty to implement policy in accordance with guidelines to be established by the government. A uniform design should not be determined for the structure and powers of the regulatory agency, its scope of discretion in applying its powers or its degree of independence from the government, since these variables should be adjusted according to the sector under supervision. It should be ensured that a regulatory authority will be established in all cases where transferring the executive functions of the government ministry to executive agencies or other bodies will cause the dissolution of the government ministry. Accordingly, a situation should be avoided in which redundant powers are assigned to the government ministry and the regulatory agency. In addition, it should be legislated that the regulations remain stable over time, in such a manner that will enables companies or any other organization to operate in an environment characterized by a high level of certainty. As a rule, the duty of the regulatory authorities to implement government policy should be anchored in legislation, unless there is a special reason to guarantee a high level of independence to the agency. It should be noted that it is currently accepted in most Western countries for public utility regulators to enjoy a high level of independence from the government in order to assure greater certainty for investors. The writer does not accept this position as a general approach, and believes that as a rule the minister in-charge or the government in the absence of a responsible ministry should give general guidelines to the regulatory authority, as in the case of executive agencies.

Each regulatory agency is required to establish criteria and standards regarding the level, nature and quality of the basket of services that it believes citizens should be given continuously over time, and to enforce these standards. In relevant cases, the regulatory authority should establish rules for calculating the real cost of services and formulas for updating rates. The regulator will be able to grant licenses which will

stipulate threshold conditions for receiving the license and the duties of those regulated to meet the standards set out from time to time by the regulator.

The regulator will issue information to the public regarding the quality of the public services they are given in comparison with the accepted standard around the world. The principle of transparency in the activity of these authorities will be anchored in law, as well as the involvement of consumer organizations in the decision making process. In addition, regulators must be given effective enforcement powers, including the ability to impose ongoing duties of accountability on those regulated, powers to revoke its license in case of a violation and powers to impose administrative sanctions ("civil sanctions").

Possible examples of such authorities:

Public Service Authority – Health. The authority will be established along with the abolition of the Ministry of Health (after incorporation of government hospitals) and its transformation into a health authority.

Public Service Authority – Communication. The authority will be established along with the privatization of Bezeq. The Ministry of Communications will become a communications authority, which will consolidate the regulatory powers currently held by the Ministry of Communications, the Council for Cable and Satellite Broadcasting and the Second Radio and Television Authority Council.

Public Service Authority – Welfare. The authority will be in charge of regulating those firms and NPOs who are contracted to provide services outside the home (hostels, family day-care centers for the elderly, rehabilitation residential facilities, emergency centers for children at risk, institutions for the mentally disabled and homes for the aged), services in the community (day-care centers, afternoon child care facilities, family day-care centers, treatment centers for alcohol abusers, centers for treatment and prevention of domestic violence, hotlines for the elderly, consultancy and guidance services for the mentally disabled), and nursing services in the home of the elderly and child adoption.

Public Service Authority – Local Authorities. The authority will regulate the provision of a "basket of local services" by local authorities and the implementation of criteria (uniform and equalitarian) related to the distribution of public funds to public institutions. The basket of services and procedure for distributing funds will be determined by the Ministry of the Interior.

Israeli society has been severely harmed by the existing failures in the enforcement of social laws and in the regulation of social services provision. This situation must change according to the proposed policy guidelines, i.e., a rationalization and de-politicization of the regulatory system, concurrent with a rigorous enforcement of social laws.

9.   TOWARD A NEW POLITICS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Right Way to Social Justice was written out of a desire to deal with the decline of Israeli society and the clear indifference of the political and economic elites towards this process. There is no doubt that the solution to social problems lies in creating a credible political alternative which views the reduction of the scope of poverty and existing socio-economic inequalities as the state's political-moral commitment to its citizens, particularly vulnerable groups in society. In this part of the platform, a political alternative will find the foundations of an economic program that challenges the attitude of the traditional parties towards solving the problems of Israeli society.

This challenge is based on pragmatic solutions to fundamental dilemmas concerning the role of the state: Limited or extensive involvement in social realms; the balance between the individual's rights and obligations; a centralized versus decentralized structure of providing social services; enforcing laws versus the continuation of the existing situation, and more. The change proposed here will be perceived by many as non-radical. Indeed, this is a realistic, sober and pragmatic change, which preserves the institutions of Israeli society, in which rights and freedoms secured at great effort are embedded. *The Right Way to Social Justice* does not call for the painstaking implementation of a doctrine, but rather for intelligent and creative management of a renewed balance between free market activity and government activity, and between the individual's rights and his duties. The solutions proposed in this section emphasize that the government is autonomous in the spheres in which it decides to act. Only the decision to act is needed, and now is the time to make this decision. The state must take direct initiative in the social realm since no other way out is apparent. This is, then, a political-ideological decision – preferring social objectives and promoting the Israeli nation-building process by implementing a comprehensive program of social reform.

Part II

Society
The Right Way to Social Integration

10.   INTRODUCTION

The Right Way to Social Integration deals with the right of every individual in society to citizenship, that is, the right to social participation. This right is related to the ability of people with disabilities to enter through the same door by which everyone else enters, rather than through a side door; the ability of a blind person to use public transportation with confidence, knowing that the stations will be announced each time the vehicle stops; the ability of an individual to love whomever he or she desires without being subject to boycotting or ostracism due to stigmas, prejudice and the like. This section of the book, therefore, focuses on those citizens who are currently at the margins of Israeli society – individuals with a physical or sensory disability (such as blindness or deafness), a mental or psychological disability, as well as people suffering from prejudice, stereotypes, negative images and stigmas (members of the homosexual community, single-parent families, senior citizens, released prisoners and rehabilitated drug users among others). The goal of this section is to propose a method of integrating these citizens into the center arena of activity in Israeli society.

The ideas and policy proposals that are developed in this section are derived from Ronald Dworkin's concept of "equality," which recognizes the basic right of all individuals in society to receive equal treatment from the state,[14] Ze'ev Jabotinsky's concept of the individual, which is best expressed in the saying "Every individual, a king," and Menachem Begin's social heritage. Begin's opinion on the issue of social exclusion may not have been defined explicitly, but it can be derived from the policy he implemented during his term as prime minister. Begin provided the Israeli public with the key to revealing the essential questions related to coping with the problem of social exclusion. Is exclusion the problem of society or the problem of individuals? Is there importance to strengthening the common anchors (i.e., values) in society in order to solve the problem, or should each social group be enabled to care for the individuals belonging to it who suffer from social exclusion? Should we act towards social reform, or perhaps wait until the permanent borders of the state are determined? The social reforms implemented during Begin's term of office provided the answers

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[14]   Dworkin Ronald (2000). *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

to these questions, and enabled this writer to define his "one society" concept and attribute it to Menachem Begin. Based on this model, the Right Way to Social Integration presents a reasoned approach to coping with the problem of social exclusion in Israel.

The policy proposals detailed in this section do not detract from the deep and serious commitment of the *Right Way to Society* to act towards integration of new immigrants, particularly from the former Soviet Union republics and Ethiopia, into Israeli society. The central condition for their assimilation is the acquisition-funded by the state-of language and social resources. In cases where persons who belong to these vulnerable populations suffer from social exclusion those policy guidelines proposed below which are relevant, will apply to these individuals.

11. WHY IS A "RIGHT WAY" TO SOCIAL INTEGRATION NECESSARY?

Social integration is a matter of social vitality or social death for a very large number of individuals who suffer from social exclusion. Social exclusion refers to the interaction between a person with a disability or a person who is different from his environment. This is a process which takes place when a group of people places obstacles in the way of others by shaping the world exclusively according to its own way of life, without taking into account the disabilities of other people, or the limitations of society in its treatment of people with different characteristics than the norm. This course of action lays the ground for a dangerous social process, in which sidelined individuals are distanced from social attention and their path to the use of social resources necessary for their development is blocked. In Israeli society, these may include individuals with a physical or sensory disability (such as blindness or deafness), a mental or psychological disability, and people suffering from prejudice, stereotypes, negative images and stigmas (such as racism, sexism, chauvinism, negative attitudes towards senior citizens, released prisoners, rehabilitated drug users, single-parent families and members of the homosexual community,) in the Jewish and Arab public alike.

Ten percent of the total population of the State of Israel (about 600,000 people) is characterized by a disability, be it physical, sensory, neurological, psychiatric, intellectual or otherwise. Another ten percent are included in the population aged sixty-five and above (about 600,000 people), and by 2010 this portion of the population will increase by twenty-two percent, to reach 732,000 people. Estimates as to the exact size of the homosexual community range between eight to ten percent of the general population. The population of single-parent families constitutes about twelve percent of the population of families with children in Israel. National Insurance Institute statistics indicate that the number of children living in single-parent homes is 178,000 (out of 2,172,000), or 8.2 percent of the total number of children in Israel. The population of released prisoners who served at least half a year in prison between the periods of 1988 and March 2002, numbers some 78,000 men and women. The number of rehabilitated drug users stands at about 15,000 people.

Awareness of the phenomenon of social exclusion has increased in recent years due to the processes of globalization and individualism as well as the change in the structure of the traditional nuclear family.

The process of globalization bears with it far-reaching cultural, social and economic consequences. It increases the dominance of economic forces over political forces, erodes the welfare state, and wears away at the core of national culture, which is the basis of social solidarity in a democratic nation-state. In conjunction, globalization generates pressure upon governments to reduce the resources which are channeled into coping with various forms of social exclusion.

The process of individualization exemplifies an approach that places the individual in the center, while reducing the importance and weight of the collective. This process is not detached from the process of globalization, since the latter promotes a neo-liberal approach, which supports private enterprise and a market economy and opposes state intervention in the individual's realm of choice. These processes have macro-social consequences, namely the weakening of social bonds, and the subsequent decline in social solidarity, which together lead to situations where people suffer from social exclusion. This includes a feeling that their problems do not occupy a prominent place in the national set of priorities, and therefore their chances of improving their lot are close to zero.

The change in the family structure, which is manifested in diminished family cohesion (increase in the divorce rate and in the number of single-parent families), accelerates a micro-social process in which the basic community system is weakened. In other words, what is undermined is the social safety net – the family – that had, up until now, undertaken a sizeable part of the support and care for family members who are socially excluded and, according to the Third Way ideology, is the one that should provide care for those in need.

One of the prominent outcomes of these changes is a decline in the willingness of individuals to act (without recompense) on behalf of the family and community or, in other words, a decrease in social capital. Social capital is known to serve as the adhesive that binds together individuals in society. The dwindling willingness to contribute to the family and community, and the state's failure to intervene in order to halt this trend, reflect the indifference of the state's leaders towards the future of Israeli society and underscore the need for shaping policy that will solve the problem.

The fact that the *Right Way to Social Integration* originates in the national-liberal camp primarily symbolizes a challenge to the path of the Israeli Left, which advocates coping with social problems through multi-cultural politics. This is an approach according to which the State of Israel is considered composed of different cultural groups – divided along ethnic, gender, class or national lines. Each of these groups builds its own self-history in order to reinforce its group identity, and seeks autonomy in the management of its affairs. In conjunction, each group struggles with the other groups over the resources of the state, whose involvement in economic and social spheres gradually decreases and whose resources are transferred to non-profit associations closely linked to the different cultural groups, for the purpose of establishing independent educational institutions, sector welfare mechanisms, independent media channels and more. This is, in essence, a "politics of identities," which supports the empowerment of cultural groups. The outcome of this process is that responsibility for the care of populations who are socially excluded is transferred from the hands of the state to organizations linked to cultural groups or political parties. This principle of activity was accepted by the left-wing government headed by Ehud Barak. The basic guidelines of the Barak government stated that "the Government will respect the cultural differences of all groups and try to strengthen that which is shared between them. The Government will implement the principle of multiculturalism and, in this spirit, work to set up channels of communication, given the fact that we are one people." This approach is also supported by academic circles identified with the political Left and receives noticeable coverage in the media, which dedicates considerable space to clarifying questions of personal and cultural identity, and emphasizes the battles of cultural groups seeking to promote their identity. Alongside the importance of these movements in formulating an alternative agenda, there is the fear that their activity will strengthen the centrifugal forces in the state, since it includes elements that contradict both the aspiration to social justice and the aspiration to social integration and leads to pitting the groups against each other in a struggle for state resources.

Moreover, the approach of the Left to coping with social problems, which tends towards multiculturalism, stands in contradiction to the opinion that favors reinforcing shared anchors in Israeli society. It ignores the existence of shared interests among all individuals of society and the existence of a common cultural core, thereby contributing to an increase in the political power of sector parties, which are bolstered

by division and separation in society. These parties promote a "politics of hate" that contributes nothing to the individual at the margins of society.

The Right Way to Social Integration recognizes and respects the cultural diversity of Israeli society. However, it is cognizant of the fact that the tendency to emphasize this line diverts attention from issues related to social stratification. Furthermore, placing an emphasis on cultural diversity could sabotage social policy, since instead of shaping and implementing, for example a policy of promoting women that focuses on the Israeli woman, a multicultural approach would call to shape and implement a promotion policy for the Mizrahi[*] woman, the Ashkenazi woman, the Ethiopian woman, the woman from the states of the former Soviet Union, the lesbian woman, the bisexual woman and the transgender woman. Along with the recognition of women's rights, regardless of their ethnic affiliation or sexual tendency, such a situation could overburden the executive branch of government and cause it to remove the issue from its agenda.

As mentioned above, the second section of this book presents an alternative to the left-wing approach which currently dominates public discourse, and proposes increasing the responsibility of persons who are socially excluded with regard to managing their lives, as well as the moral obligation of citizens, voluntary and business organizations and state institutions to solve the problems of these individuals. The proposed alternative does not deal with issues related to the standard of living of people who are at the margins of society, i.e., claims related to the distribution of resources under the responsibility of the state (this realm has already been discussed at length in Part I), but rather focuses on issues mainly related to quality of life. Some of the issues to be addressed include accessibility of people with disabilities to public institutions, places of leisure and public transportation; integrating released prisoners and rehabilitated drug users into the workforce; integrating senior citizens into public systems; increasing education and advocacy for coping with issues related to members of the gay and lesbian community; and integrating socially excluded individuals in policy-making related to their problems.

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[*] Translator's note: The term Mizrahi refers to Jews originating in Muslim countries, as opposed to Ashkenazi, referring to Jews of European or Anglo-Saxon origin.

12.   PREMISES AND PRINCIPLES PF ACTION

The policy guidelines that will be presented in the twelfth chapter are based on a number of premises. The first is that the source of a disability is in society rather than in people with physical or mental disabilities, senior citizens, single-parent families, released prisoners, rehabilitated drug users or members of the homosexual community. We live in a disabling society. For example, schools, workplaces, shopping centers, banks, movie theaters, synagogues and residences are planned and built for the most part by people without disabilities for users without disabilities. An additional problem is the lack of acceptance and openness on the part of society towards these groups, who live with a sense of being rejected and unwanted, and therefore find it difficult to develop a positive attitude towards life and the society in which they live. The prevalent mechanism for preserving this situation is a policy of disregard, meaning a lack of attention by various state authorities to the needs of the disabled individual, a lack of enforcement of laws intended to benefit these individuals, and more. State authorities thereby contribute to preserving the existing situation and constitute an inhibiting factor for changes which take place in civil society.

A second premise is that social exclusion is not inevitable, and does not have to thoroughly and permanently characterize Israeli society.

A third premise is that one cannot aspire to social justice and the reduction of socioeconomic disparities, while ignoring individuals who suffer from social exclusion and without a response to their special needs. In other words, one cannot aspire to social justice while a conflict exists that undermines the foundations of social solidarity (This will be expanded upon below). Only the combined aspiration to social justice *and* social integration affords the necessary ability and sensitivity for cooperation between individuals in society-a fundamental condition for a stable democratic regime.

The fourth and perhaps most important premise relates to the basic right of all individuals in society to receive equal treatment from the state.[15] People are not born with equal ability, rather with equal rights to happiness and wealth. In other words, this does not refer only to the right to compete in the economic market and attain

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[15]   Dworkin, ibid.

sought-after wealth, but also the right to free speech and the right to do all the things that a citizen is entitled to do which cause him or her happiness. Such a premise leads to two principles of action that the government should adopt. Firstly, it should implement laws and policies which ensure that the future of each and every citizen does not depend on his or her gender, origin, age, disability or economic situation. Secondly, the government should do everything in its power to enable the individual's future to depend on his own decisions and choices. Only a government which adopts these principles, and attempts accordingly to distribute resources held by the individuals in such a way that will enable each individual to build a life of value according to his preference and priorities, can claim to have a policy that affords equal treatment to each and every individual in society. At the same time, each person bears responsibility for his own decisions and choices. If an individual becomes wealthy as a result of the decisions that he has made over the course of his life, this does not detract from the principle of equality in any way. The principle of equality is the supreme value from which the rights of individuals in society are derived, and it provides the legal and social response to all manifestations of discrimination. Alongside the right to equality of individuals who are socially excluded, one should not undervalue their right to dignity, freedom and self-determination. The elements mentioned above constitute the infrastructure for the rights of these individuals and set out a worthy goal for the state and the majority of the population.

The moral obligation to fight for the integration into society of those who are at its margins stands at the center of *the Right Way to Social Integration*. At a general level, this is a commitment based on Ze'ev Jabotinsky's approach to problems of economics and society, and in particular his assertion that the economic discussion cannot be detached from the social discussion: these two aspects are integrally linked. On an individual level, Jabotinsky places the individual at the center of his outlook, and explicitly determines the connection between the individual and society:

> In the beginning God created the individual; each person is a king equal to his fellow man… society was created for the benefit of individuals, not the reverse! And the end of days, the vision of the Messianic age, is a Paradise for the individual… While "society" has

no other role than to assist the fallen person, console him and uplift him…[16]

The commitment to fight for the integration of individuals who are at the margins of society is also based on the normative approach of Menachem Begin, which can be described as the "one society" approach. This approach is based on four components. First, the State of Israel is currently at the stage of society-building, and there is great importance to strengthening the common anchors in society while there is still an opportunity for change. Second, social exclusion has repercussions for society as a whole. A moral society must view the problem of those excluded as the problem of all of society, and it is society's moral obligation to cope with this problem. Third, in the Israeli reality of a cultural conflict between parts of society, a "one society" policy must cope with the problem of social integration while honoring the cultural heritage of those who are at the margins of society. The battle for honoring the cultural heritage of the individual must, therefore, be combined with the battle for equality. Finally, contrary to the position of contemporary post-Zionists, who advocate coping with problems in a serial manner (i.e. solving the problem of borders before solving social problems), the "one society" approach presents an alternative that advocates solving problems together (solving the problem of borders in parallel with solving social problems).

As described earlier, the "one society" approach that is based on these components was manifested in Project Renewal, initiated by Menachem Begin, and mainly in the establishment of mechanisms for including neighborhood residents in making decisions in this project. The project succeeded in building bridges between many members of underprivileged groups who suffered from social exclusion and the people and organizations which are at the heart of activity and creativity in Israeli society, and all this within the framework of a market economy. Menachem Begin's approach was also manifested in the expansion of the Compulsory Education Law to Grades 9 and 10, and expansion of the Free Education Law to Grades 11 and 12. These initiatives emphasize both the authority of the state to act firmly on questions that determine the fortitude of Israeli society, and the necessary nature of a policy of

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[16] Jabotinsky Ze'ev (1936). "The story of my life, part 1," *Selected Writings*, vol. *Diaspora and Assimilation*, Tel Aviv: Shlomo Saltzman, p. 44.

social integration based on meeting the needs of individuals at the margins of the market and society on one hand, and preserving the principle of equality on the other.

The problem of social exclusion may be handled based on four overall principles: The right of every person to equal treatment and non-discrimination on the part of the state; the right of every person to a new beginning; the obligation of every person, insofar as his condition enables, to take responsibility for his life and contribute to society, and the moral obligation of society (i.e. citizens, business organizations and volunteer organizations) to lend a hand in the effort to integrate into it individuals who are socially excluded. The "one society" policy calls for turning Israel from a disabling society into an inclusive society. This is a call for more willingness on the part of social actors to partake in the integration of socially excluded individuals. This is also a call not to judge people according to a single aspect of their lives – their race, gender, past, age, sexual inclination or disability.

Support for a "one society" policy constitutes a vision of an inclusive society. Israel will be an inclusive society when people with physical or mental disabilities, senior citizens, single-parent families, released prisoners, rehabilitated drug users and members of the homosexual community will be able to attest to the fact that they live in a society that appreciates their lives and works consistently towards their participation in society. Achievement of this vision means assuring that all individuals in society without exception will have meaningful interaction and partnership based on values of dignity and equality with government agencies, civil society organizations and individuals in society. People with disabilities will be integrated into community life according to their abilities, will win appreciation, their diversity will be recognized and their human rights will be upheld.

The policy set out in this chapter for changing the situation, was designed in consultation with non-profit associations dealing with social integration. In addition, the experience of other countries was examined, such as New Zealand, the Netherlands, Sweden and others. While drafting the policy guidelines, an attempt was made to learn and consider their implications on society and the individual in the present and future. In other words, before raising each proposal at the individual level, the various possible implications for society as a whole were considered. Similarly, before raising each social proposal, its possible effect on the individual was considered. It should be noted that the majority of proposals are not based solely on a

financial solution. Israeli reality has shown more than once that a generous financial allocation is no guarantee for the success of policy.

In order to turn Israel into an inclusive society, the strategy includes a number of policy guidelines supported by detailed actions related to socially marginalized people, volunteer and business organizations and state institutions. The goals of the policy are:

- To encourage and educate towards a non-disabling society;

- To ensure the rights of individuals who are at the margins of society;

- To provide the best possible education to individuals at the margins of society;

- To provide socially marginalized individuals with opportunities for employment and economic development;

- To foster leadership among socially marginalized individuals;

- To foster at a national and municipal level a public service that is aware and responsive to the special needs of socially excluded individuals;

- To create long-term support systems focused on socially excluded individuals;

- To support activities aimed at enabling individuals who are socially excluded to continue their daily routine in their homes and environments;

- To support the choice of a way of life, leisure activities and cultural activities by individuals at the margins of society;

- To collect information regarding the needs of individuals who are at the margins of society;

- To enable children and youth in socially marginalized families to lead a full and active life;

- To support families providing long-term care for individuals who are socially excluded.

The proposed policy would include the development of a system that would enable people suffering from social exclusion to purchase various services to be

offered by non-governmental organizations and the private sector. The individual, or members of his family looking after him (if he is not competent enough to make a decision), would choose when and how to take advantage of the proposed services. The state would thereby avoid direct provision of services to these people. Its role would focus on determining the basket of services and setting prices, eligibility criteria, standards for service provision and supervising service providers. This system would shift the emphasis from service provision by the state to service provision by community and business organizations, while leaving the responsibility and supervision in the hands of the state.

The "one society" policy will be examined according to its success in

- Implementing legislation pertaining to the rights of individuals suffering from social exclusion;
- Creating meaningful partnerships based on values of mutual respect and equality between people with disabilities and government agencies and civil society organizations;
- Creating a change in public attitudes for greater tolerance towards people who are different;
- Integrating individuals who are socially excluded into society;
- Ensuring equal opportunity for people with disabilities and respecting their decisions;
- Working to develop methods for evaluating the abilities of individuals suffering from social exclusion;
- Working to compensate families who provide support to individuals who are socially excluded;
- Upholding the individual rights of citizens who are at the margins of society;
- Offering equal treatment to individuals who are at the margins of society;
- Ensuring the vitality of community services provided to people with disabilities, so that these individuals are able to live within the framework of their communities.

While post-Zionism decries social solidarity yet proposes no alternative, the "one society" policy recognizes the fact that the deeper the social exclusion experienced by individuals, the more solidarity they need. *The Right Way to Social Integration* wishes therefore to build coalitions in order to promote the integration of these individuals into the center of society.

13.   THE RIGHT WAY TO SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Goal 1: To encourage and educate towards a non-disabling society

Responsibility of the state and moral obligation of volunteer organizations

- To develop anti-discrimination programs at the national and local levels;
- To integrate individuals who are socially excluded into the development of anti-discrimination programs;
- To implement anti-discrimination educational programs;
- To acknowledge and respect the achievements of people suffering from social exclusion;
- To include the perspectives of people who are socially excluded due to physical or intellectual disabilities in ethical and bio-ethical discussions (i.e., questions that arise from the progress of biological research, especially research related to the human genome);
- To encourage an ongoing dialogue on issues of social exclusion;
- To promote cooperation between the Ministry of Education and advocacy branches of organizations representing individuals suffering from social exclusion, and integrating them into school programs. For example, integrating senior citizens into the battle against violence in schools.

Moral obligation of business organizations

- To contribute funds to organizations who deal with anti-discrimination education;
- To acknowledge and respect the achievements of workers suffering from social exclusion.

Goal 2: To ensure the rights of individuals who are at the margins of society

Responsibility of the state

- To enforce human rights and basic human freedoms with regard to individuals suffering from social exclusion who live in a shelter or therapeutic facility;

14.   TOWARD A NEW POLITCS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Like all other people, socially excluded individuals aspire to a good life. However, they encounter great obstacles on the way to achieving this life, which so many take for granted. These obstacles are created when we build a society that does not consider the disabilities of those who are different, tends to stigmatize individuals who do not follow accepted paths, and ignores the basic right of each person to a fresh start. Our society is organized in such a way that assumes that we can all observe signposts and markings, read instructions, hear messages, reach buttons, open heavy doors and maintain stable moods. Our society assumes that all its components must act similarly, and anyone who deviates from this norm must be relegated from the mainstream. We also forget that the margins of society are no less important than its center. Opinions, ideas and an alternative agenda are formulated at the margins of society, which the center will probably reject due to its popular and homogeneous uniformity. At times, the answer to various problems lies in these very ideas.

In the present situation, reality generates no hope for socially excluded individuals. Neither will the increase in the power of cultural groups change anything in the situation of those who suffer from social exclusion, except on symbolic issues. However, those who believe that Israeli society is a fragile society are wrong. Also wrong are those who underestimate the strength of the solidarity in Israeli society despite its internal schisms, and the strength of the potential forces that lie in every person and are reflected in the acts of those who contribute of their time and money to promote the participation of vulnerable individuals in the flow of life. However, even if these forces are currently familiar with the social map, they lack a social compass to guide them in caring for the population that is at the margins of Israeli society. The Right Way to Social Integration offers a compass for caring for this population. The program is intended to change the existing situation and outline a path for strengthening the power of inclusion rather than exclusion, while recognizing that individuals suffering from social exclusion deserve support for achieving greater autonomy.

Part III

Nation
The Right Way to Nation Building

15. INTRODUCTION

The trends of crisis in the realms of justice and social integration are closely connected to changes that have taken place in recent years in the cultural platform for civil solidarity in Israeli society, that is, the ties that have evolved between individuals in society that create a sense of solidarity, affiliation and mutual responsibility. With the weakening of shared anchors in society and the national ethos, which previously contributed to creating staunch social solidarity, the sectoralization of society has deepened, bringing with it indifference on the part of the high and middle classes to the situation of the vulnerable and socially excluded sectors.

The weakening of the cultural platform for social solidarity followed the neglect of several disasters that overtook Israeli society. These included, *inter alia*, corruption of the Hebrew language due to a massive "invasion" of American culture and the transformation of Israel into a branch of the "global village"; the failure to inculcate the deep ethical foundations of our shared national culture and a resulting increased alienation of secular society from Judaism; and the development of a "post-Zionist" social ethos, which leads to detachment from the national, cultural and social commitments of Zionist and Jewish fulfillment. Indeed, the State of Israel – not Israeli society – still embodies the Jewish-Zionist combination through its sovereign status in a national territory that guarantees the existence of a Jewish and secular way of life, and an open shelter for all Jews. However, there is a gradually exacerbating disintegration of shared cultural identity in Israeli society. This process also has an effect on the connection between Israeli society and Diaspora Jewry, since the increased alienation of secular society from Judaism ruins both the bridge between the conflicted parts of the people, and the connection between people living in Israel and abroad. The deeper the alienation between the ultra-Orthodox core and the general public, the more the center of gravity of the definition of Jewish identity shifts towards alienation from religion and an internalization of the values of a materialistic and hedonistic affluent society.

This cultural crisis reflects the social crisis that we reviewed at length in the two previous sections, and its sources are identical. Firstly, a lack of trust between religious and secular Jews that threatens to tear apart the living fabric of society in Israel, and stems from a struggle between different approaches over the state's Jewish identity. Secondly, a rift between social groups that stems from culturally-based

mobilization, along with an aggravation of tensions between immigrant communities resulting from their absorption process. These tensions are aggravated due to short-term political compromises and ad-hoc political achievements that severely harm large populations. Moreover, the cultural crisis is intensified due to the neglect of education for values, culture and appreciation of the Hebrew language. These processes are faced by an Israeli leadership lacking a social backbone, and who do not understand that cultural and ethical neglect, as well as corruption of the language, do not constitute cultural depletion – but actually suicide.

As a response to these challenges, *the Right Way to Nation Building* proposes as its flagship project to strengthen the Zionist connection of the Jewish existence in Eretz Israel (i.e., the Land of Israel) by renewing and reinforcing the achievements of the Zionist revolution's formative stages. The assumption is that greater social solidarity – the central goal of Social Zionism – is of great importance in implementing a social breakthrough. The latter necessitates broad support within the population, and such support can only be built when a high level of social solidarity exists. Only the nation state can achieve such an extent of support, and the way to achieving it requires creating a national ethos of nation building – Social Zionism – that focuses on enhancing inculcation of the Hebrew language in Eretz Israel and the Diaspora, establishing Eretz Israel as the center of global Jewish culture, instilling national commitments in Israel and the Diaspora, and introducing a social contract that regulates relations between religious and secular Jews. This approach views nationality as a vital tool for strengthening the social solidarity necessary to stimulate a move towards fundamental change at the national level, and was developed by British philosopher David Miller.[17]

Fortifying the achievements of the formative stages of the Zionist revolution should be based on two foundations: Protecting the Hebrew language and promoting its inculcation, and ensuring Israel's Jewish-Zionist nature while keeping it a democratic state. While the State of Israel is the political manifestation of the principle of Jewish continuity in Eretz Israel, Israeli society is the practical manifestation of this principle. Therefore, action must be taken to strengthen the broadest and most resilient unifying factor in Israeli culture – the Hebrew language.

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[17] Miller David (1997). *On Nationality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This is necessary to increase unity between the segments of Israeli society and stimulate a creative process of Israeli and Jewish cultural revival. This approach stems from the thought of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, who contended that language is the strongest connecting factor between person and nationality:

> In national education, language is the essence and content is peripheral […] the connection, the inseparable connection, the connection that can withstand any mass and any historical upheaval, the necessary connection between the individual and the nation is language – the language in which the individual has become accustomed to thinking his thoughts and experiencing his emotions.[18]

The Right Way to Nation Building therefore proposes to protect the Hebrew language by legislating a law roughly similar to the law existing in France, expanding the study of Hebrew grammar in schools, and instilling the Hebrew language among Diaspora Jewry.

The second foundation is based on the awareness that the national identity is poised in constant tension between Jewish heritage and modernism, or modern global culture. This tension can serve as a source for the vitality of society only if it is able to integrate into itself the ultra-Orthodox core, which is necessary for Jewish identity; to promote a social contract between observant and secular Jews; and to strengthen Jewish society in the Diaspora.

The implementation of a policy for strengthening the solidarity of Israeli society must be done in light of the overall goal of achieving equality of rights and opportunities for women in all sectors of social life. Without achievement of this goal, there is no point in strengthening the mechanisms of solidarity in any society whatsoever.

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[18] Jabotinsky Ze'ev (1936). "The language of education," *Selected Writings*, vol. *Diaspora and Assimilation*, Tel Aviv: Shlomo Saltzman, pp. 298-299.

16.   "ONE SOCIETY": FACT OR FICTION?

The State of Israel never had a dominant culture of egocentric individualism, in which individuals view the state only as an instrument for protecting their individual rights. On the contrary, since its inception the state was based on a sense of partnership and affiliation among its citizens, and on the stability of the extended nuclear family. Due to these basic characteristics, it succeeded in mobilizing its resources in times of crisis and overcoming obstacles and emergencies. There is no doubt that the sense of partnership and affiliation on one hand, and the stability of the family unit on the other, constitute a fundamental component of the vitality of Israeli society.

Yet this vitality was damaged to a large degree due to the failure of the state absorption policy. The "melting pot" policy demanded of the immigrants, mainly those who came from Islamic countries, to adopt the codes and norms shaped in the days of the veteran Yishuv[*] and accept its cultural premises, which were largely devoid of religious heritage due to the process of secularization that it had undertaken. The lack of a more traditional content, which could have served as a common denominator between immigrants from Islamic countries and absorbing residents from the veteran Yishuv, still feeds feelings of rage and bitterness among those immigrants. In addition to the failure in building bridges between immigrants and the absorbing generation, state leaders failed to create links between the secular and the religious segments of society. If during the period of the Yishuv cooperation existed between religious and secular movements, in which a consensus was reached on the immediate objectives of Zionism, then today an open battle is being waged over the identity of the state, which at times reaches the point of verbal and physical violence between these two blocs. Wherever there are points of friction between religious and secular Jews, we will find quarreling parties on either side.

The buildup of bitterness and feelings of deprivation created due to failures of the absorption policy soon became an instrument for mobilizing public support in the battle between different cultural groups over the definition of collective identity, the allocation of resources and the rules of the game. In time, a new generation of leaders and social entrepreneurs arose, who intensified the factors separating the different

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[*]   Translator's note: The Yishuv is the term for the Jewish population of pre-state Israel.

groups and fueled the social tension between them. The leaders of these groups created a connection between the emotional intensity of Jewish-religious identity, Mizrahi identity and Russian identity, and feelings of deprivation and social segregation, with the feeling that becoming organized on the basis of this identity justifies a demand for control of resources. The connection between these two elements damages the vitality of Israeli society.

Much has been written about the cultural battles in Israeli society. The prevalent argument is that the failure of the "melting pot" concept should be viewed as the beginning of the end of the feeling of affiliation and social partnership. *The Right Way to Nation Building* argues that the failure of the "melting pot" concept should actually be viewed as an incentive for strengthening the shared social anchors, in other words, strengthening the components of solidarity in Israeli society.

A number of key components serve as shared social anchors in Israel: Judaism and Jewish tradition, the Hebrew language, common history, the love for and connection with Eretz Israel and its landscape, the ingathering of exiles and co-existence of different dreams with regard to life in Israel. It is these shared anchors that constitute the basis for the "one society" approach. There is no doubt that additional components exist, but due to the dearth of space this document will focus briefly on these features.

Judaism

Jewish society in the State of Israel shares a single religion and a single faith. Israel's Declaration of Independence contains a reference to the vision of the prophets of Israel, and in the Foundations of Law Act from 1980 there appears a legislative demand (under certain conditions) to make use of Jewish heritage according to the values of peace, justice, freedom and equity. The state flag also has Jewish significance, as does the state emblem. The national anthem, *Hatikva*, speaks about the yearnings of the heart of a Jew. Official state holidays are also the holidays of Jewish tradition.

Affiliation with Judaism, its symbols and its derived tradition, are shared by all Jews. Every Jew encounters Jewish tradition over the course of his life, both in religious events ranging from birth to death – circumcision, *pidyon haben* [redemption of the first-born], bar mitzvah, marriage, dedication of the home and mourning; and in

his daily life, according to the Jewish calendar – Sabbath, holidays, the three pilgrimage festivals, fast days and days of mourning. According to a study carried out by the Guttman Center and the Israel Democracy Institute for the Avi Chai Foundation, a substantial portion of Israel's citizens, about 16%, live their lives according to Halacha, or Jewish law, following Jewish customs and rituals. A critical portion, some 62% according to this study, defines itself as "traditional."

Jewish tradition and Halacha are multifaceted, and together constitute the cultural essence of Judaism. Judaism includes ethical precepts, a broad popular tradition and a deep and rich cultural heritage. The ethical precepts of Judaism make up a moral code that is familiar and binding to every Jew, religious or secular. There is no doubt that values drawn from Jewish sources such as "saving a life overrides the Sabbath," "all Jews are responsible for one another," safeguarding the basic rights of strangers, widows and orphans, and particularly values pertaining to the importance of family – are values that are familiar to and shared by all Jews.

The observance of commandments related to Jewish holidays also serves as a unifying factor between religious and secular. This does not necessarily refer to the observance of a traditional Passover Seder (according to the Guttman Center survey, this is celebrated annually by 85% of the Jewish population), affixing a *mezuzah* on the doorpost (98%), or lighting a Hanukkah menorah with the accompanying blessings, but rather the ceremonial nature of the holidays. This includes a family gathering for the holiday dinner, reciting blessings together, reading the Haggadah and fulfilling other commandments related to the holiday. Like the Seder night, over the years Yom Kippur has also become a day that lends a special flavor to the relations between people – for the secular population as well. In this context it is important to note the broad consensus in the Israeli public regarding the important role that the state plays as an agent of socialization for Jewish tradition and heritage. Children educated in preschools and elementary schools absorb Jewish tradition from a young age while studying Torah and Jewish holidays. Jewish culture also draws a large part of its strength from religion. Hassidic tales, proverbs of the sages and literary works of leading figures such as Shalom Aleichem, S. Y. Agnon, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Bialik and Alterman are drawn from the world of Torah. Contemporary songwriters such as Naomi Shemer also make use of Jewish sources for their songs. These cultural works serve as a broad common basis, since the history and tradition of the Jewish people are intertwined in them.

It is important to remember that it is not the state's concern to deal with the specific manner in which each individual observes the Jewish commandments, especially since there has never been an homogenous version of Judaism. Each individual finds his way of observing the commandments. What is important is the fact that Judaism has a central backbone from which different customs have evolved, and it is the element that unifies the Jewish people in Israel and the Diaspora.

Hebrew Language

The Hebrew language is the broadest unifying factor in Israeli culture. It serves as an entry key to Israeli society and to the history of Jewish and Israeli culture. Over the years, the Hebrew language has preserved the shared memories of the Jewish people. It served as a vessel for conveying the historical memory from one generation to the next, and also bore within it, and continues to bear, the wealth of Jewish heritage. In this context, it defines the identity of the Jewish people. All parts of Israeli society make daily use of the Hebrew language, and it constitutes a backbone that defines culture, politics and behavior.

There is no doubt that in recent years changes have taken place in the nature of the Hebrew language. The massive "invasion" of American culture and with it the challenge posed by English as an international language, have led to a devaluation and at times debasement in the status of the Hebrew language. The national language is now interspersed with English words, and at times even daily speech is corrupted. This phenomenon is not caused by the effect of in-depth social processes, but rather carelessness in the use of language.

History and the conservation of Tradition

The history of the Jewish people is a continuum of past and present and a vision for the future that is anchored in the memory of the past. One cannot sever the connection between these links; each period is connected to the period that preceded it as well as the one that follows. Such a connection constitutes a unifying factor for the people no less than the factors mentioned until now. Let us first examine Jewish history. This rich and diverse history, which begins in biblical times and continues in a protracted two thousand-year exile, is fraught with events that constitute the heart of the Jewish essence: Years of persecution, torture, pogroms and Holocaust, along with

extended periods of creativity and spiritual uplift. Jewish history is continued by the State of Israel, with its many wars. Many households in Israel have lost a family member in wars or acts of hostility. Bereavement on one hand and national revival on the other bind together the individuals that make up Israeli society, and constitute a significant part of the roots that each generation receives from its precursor. Each generation is a continuation of the previous one. There is a broad consensus, expressed via education, creative arts and the like, that society as a whole cannot allow itself to stray from its roots and detach itself from its past.

Eretz Israel and its Landscape

Eretz Israel and its breathtaking landscape are at the center of the concept of homeland for most of Israel's citizens. Israel is the dream embodied, and the elements that bind and unite the people with their land are varied. For one it is the land of his forefathers, and for another it is the new Jewish state. For one it is a homeland and a "land flowing with milk and honey" since he was born here and this is the landscape of his youth, and another has a historical right to the land, and a memory of forefathers who lived underneath the fig tree. In any case, this is homeland landscape, which arouses longing in every Israeli who is located far from his country and its familiar scenery. The landscape of Eretz Israel has deep significance accompanied by a grand historical heritage for each of the major religions and for Judaism in particular. Living in an ancestral landscape that served as a backdrop for ancient events between the Creator and his people, serves as a constant reminder of the nation's heritage.

Multitude of Dreams

What dream is common to all of Israeli society? There is no such dream. Instead, there is a mixture of different dreams belonging to Jews from different times and distant places who have all gathered together in the State of Israel. Here an attempt was made to realize all the dreams: From the dream to serve as a light unto the nations to the opposite dream, to be a people as all other peoples. The socialist kibbutzim arose alongside industrial cities, and like them, tried to fulfill many and varied dreams, hoping and wishing that in the young land all the hopes would be fulfilled. In no other country has an attempt been made to house so many dreams

under a single roof, and certainly no such attempt has been made to fulfill all of them simultaneously.

What is common to all the dreams is the aspiration to create in the State of Israel a united and more just society, since the creation of a new political entity draws upon the experience of the nations of the world with regard to creating a better society, or at least a society as good, as those nations. In addition, the Jewish people, which was a victim of ongoing social injustice and social isolation in many countries throughout extended periods of time, would do everything in their power to prevent such iniquity from being caused to any population sitting in its midst, whether Jewish or of another religion.

The aspiration to create a united and more just society exists, then, alongside different dreams that are not always attainable. Controversy rages over the fulfillment of these dreams, but we must not forget that controversy is a basic foundation of Jewish culture. The Jewish people never reached a consensus between its parties and beliefs, and yet it was always one people. This concept of the people's unity leads to the conclusion that even if a growing battle is being waged over the right to fulfill a certain dream, one can still find at the heart of the public consensus the desire to build a better, more just and more united society.

Immigration Absorption

Since it was founded, the State of Israel has adopted the principle that it must serve as a home for Jewish immigrants who wish to live in Eretz Israel, and also play an active part in bringing over immigrants from countries where Jews are in distress or danger. The Law of Return, the set of incentives granted to immigrants, the absorption network that tended to the needs of immigrants until their absorption and acquisition of the Hebrew language – all these were financed by the state to the best of its ability. Upon the foundation of the state the help offered was limited, but later on the state succeeded in developing approaches to absorption that met the needs of the immigrants, and expanding the economic support network until their integration into society. Today, the Jewish collective provides immigrants with the necessary tools for their absorption until they become an integral part of Israeli society, but still enables them to preserve their culture. This is the essence of the idea of the ingathering of exiles based on the approach of social integration.

There are certainly additional anchors that tie together the individuals in Israeli society, but even the unifying factors mentioned in this chapter attest to the existence of a society with shared characteristics of considerable strength. This common basis serves as a solid infrastructure for a society that can overcome its difficulties and the differences of opinion that exist within it in every sphere, but this basis is not enough to cope with the danger of the loss of solidarity. By the same token, the formulation of liberal and political rights empowering citizens to determine their status through legislation is not sufficient to prevent this danger. Experience and reality show that as movements for individual rights flourished the situation of individuals who are at the margins of the market and society in Israel actually worsened. In order for civil status to become a source of solidarity, basic liberal and political rights must be applied to individuals who are at the margins of the market and society. The price that must be paid in order to achieve this goal is not only a policy of economic redistribution and social integration, but also a cultural policy aimed at strengthening the shared values in society.

In this sense, any move towards social reform must be supplanted by a cultural component to strengthen the solidarity between segments of society. The need for such a component stems from a cultural fear of the danger from within, a fear that has developed in recent years alongside a process of ongoing decline of the cultural establishment as a source of social authority. This establishment, and a majority of its constituents, failed since it did not attach supreme importance to the security of the Jewish people and its unrestricted right to develop its identity. Repeated efforts by the cultural establishment to negate the characteristics of Jewish-Israeli-Zionist identity and its alienation towards the history of the Jewish people contributed to the current rift in most Israeli creative endeavors between the culture of the Jewish people throughout the generations and contemporary culture. Writers and other creative artists have turned into a permanent opposition to the governing establishment, although randomly and without an overall strategy. The intellectual and moral lack of seriousness of these creative artists is reflected both in their disregard of national existential pressures, and their evasion of the need to present society with a positive cultural-national value. Alongside a renewed definition of Zionism, *the Right Way to Nation Building* also proposes a renewed definition of culture, which focuses on strengthening the shared premises and footholds of Israeli society. The hope is that the culture makers of Israeli society will strengthen the ability to pass on symbols, both

religious and secular, from one generation to the next; strengthen the connection between Judaism and humanity; the connection between Jewish revival and national pride; and the bridge between the fundamental experiences of the Jewish people in our generation and the Israeli experience. The hope is that the flourishing of Jewish-Israeli-Zionist culture will lead to social prosperity.

This conclusion raises the question "which shared anchor should be chosen to strengthen social solidarity." The answer should be searched for in the nature of the shared anchors. As mentioned earlier, each nation creates a characteristic culture for itself, meaning shared cultural anchors. The source of these anchors lies in the creative genius of the nation. This is what creates the fundamental values of society and its lifestyle. Religion, love of the homeland, immigrant absorption, a multitude of dreams, shared language and shared history constitute parts of national culture. Some anchors are based solely on emotions, such as love for the homeland, its landscape, its language and its religion. Some are based on a firmer basis, such as language, religion and more. The premise at the heart of *the Right Way to Nation Building* is that a people's nationality cannot be based on emotions alone. These serve as a shaky basis for a national society and could disappear in the wake of a massive cultural invasion. Only a national culture that develops over time can serve as a tool for establishing nationality. In this context, language has great importance in nation building since it is the most exhaustive manifestation of national culture, national identity and the spirit of the people. It is also the element that unites all its speakers, the national asset that links between the nation's heritage and its members, and between the various social systems and their members. It is the most important tool for stimulating a process of cultural revival in all fields of creative endeavor.

The Right Way to Nation Building therefore believes in cultural pluralism and in the unifying power of language, which joins together the fragments and lends them a unity beyond all differences. Therefore, it proposes to initiate social change that will include the following:

- A law for protection of the Hebrew language;
- Expanding the study of Hebrew grammar in schools;
- A national effort to inculcate the Hebrew language among Jews living in Israel;

- A national effort to inculcate the Hebrew language among Diaspora Jewry;
- Disseminating language innovations of the Academy of the Hebrew Language through the media;
- Encouraging Hebrew and Jewish creative endeavors in all fields;
- Exporting Hebrew and Jewish creative works to markets abroad.

In the next chapter, we will detail the key principles that will serve as an integral part of the law for protection of the Hebrew language.

17. LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HEBREW LANGAUGE

Creating a Hebrew-Jewish cultural identity is a key aspect of the Zionist revival enterprise in Israel. It is true that Zionism's success in reviving the Hebrew language makes it unnecessary to invent components of the language, but the "cultural invasion" we are facing as part of the "global village" threatens to undermine this achievement, and requires assertive action to protect the Hebrew language and inculcate the principles of Hebrew sentence structure among our young people.

PRINCIPLES OF THE LAW

- The Hebrew language is a central component of the tradition and culture of the State of Israel;
- Hebrew will be the language of study, work, commerce and public services;
- Use of the Hebrew language will be obligatory in cases of proposing, presenting, giving usage instructions and describing the scope and terms of warranty for goods and services, as well as invoices and receipts. The same conditions will apply to any advertising of goods and services on radio and television. The conditions of this paragraph will not apply to the names of unique and characteristic products of foreign origin, which are familiar to the general public;
- Any notice posted on a public highway, an open public space or a public transportation station, which is intended to convey information to the public, must appear in the Hebrew language;
- When signs or notices, as described in the previous paragraph, are subject to translation, the caption in Hebrew must be legible and clearly heard and understandable. The government will formulate exemptions from this obligation for products and services related to international shipping;
- Contracts signed by a public corporation, or a private person holding a position in the public service, must be drafted in Hebrew. These contracts will not include expressions or terms in a

foreign language in cases where appropriate expressions exist in the Hebrew language and are authorized for usage by the Academy of the Hebrew Language. These restrictions do not apply in cases of international contracts where one of the parties is a public corporation that conducts activity of an industrial or commercial nature;

- Anyone participating in an event, seminar or conference organized in Israel by an Israeli citizen or a corporation registered in Israel is entitled to express himself in Hebrew. Documents distributed to the participants before and during the conference for the purpose of presenting the program, must be in Hebrew and may include a translation into one or more languages. When an event, seminar or conference involves the distribution of preparatory documents or working papers to participants, or official publication of working groups, the text or papers presented in a foreign language must be accompanied at least by a Hebrew summary. These restrictions do not apply to events or conferences organized for foreign participants alone, or to events intended to promote Israel's foreign trade;

- Publications, professional opinions and articles distributed in Israel by a public corporation, a private person in the public service or a private person receiving public funds, which are written in a foreign language, must at least include a summary in Hebrew;

- A written employment agreement must be drafted in Hebrew. When the position to which the agreement refers can only be described using a foreign term that has no equivalent in Hebrew, the employment agreement must include an explanation of the term in Hebrew;

- When the employee is a foreign resident and the agreement is a written one, the contract must be translated into the employee's mother tongue, at the employee's request. Both documents will be considered originals and acceptable in court. If inconsistencies are

discovered between the two versions, only the agreement drafted in the employee's mother tongue can be used against him;

- Regulations of commercial companies will be written in Hebrew. A translation into one or more languages may be appended to them. Any document listing the duties of the employee or restrictions that the employee must know for the purpose of proper execution of his job, will be in Hebrew. A translation into one or more languages may be appended to it. These restrictions do not apply to documents received from abroad or written for foreigners;

- Work agreements, union contracts and institutional or corporate agreements will be drafted in Hebrew;

- The language of teaching and examinations, as well as the language of writing papers for advanced degrees, will be Hebrew, with the exception of cases in which the need to teach a foreign language or culture requires the use of another language, or the case of guest lecturers, or cases where the people writing the papers are new immigrants who have been in Israel for less than ten years. Foreign schools, or schools established especially to teach foreign citizens, as well as scholastic institutions of an international nature, will not be included in this restriction;

- Mandatory study of the Hebrew language and study of two additional languages is part of the basic goals of education;

- Use of the Hebrew language will be mandatory on all programs and advertisements of organizations broadcasting on television and radio. This obligation will not apply to films and radio and television productions in the original language version;

- Corporations will be absolutely forbidden to make use of a trademark or brand name that includes a phrase or term in a foreign language, when an equivalent term or phrase of identical meaning exists in Hebrew;

- All beneficiaries or recipients of scholarships from government authorities and institutions will be required to comply with the provisions of this law; failure to comply with the law could lead to

a refund of the payments received by the beneficiary, following a
hearing;

- Violation of the restrictions listed in this law will lead to the filing
  of a complaint against the violator;

- Every year, the government will report to the Knesset regarding
  the activity that has been done to implement this law.

As stated above, this law alone will not protect the Hebrew language. What must be done concurrently is systematic instruction of the language in elementary and high schools, granting a central status to the Hebrew language and literature, increasing Hebrew language study hours, fostering grammatical thinking and knowledge, and mainly reinforcing the connection with Jewish texts.

18.   STRENGTHENING SOCIAL SOLIDAITY

Not in all fields is a societal perspective on public policy contingent upon an in-depth understanding of historical processes. For example, when facing challenges in the fields of transportation, the environment and land policy, clearly solutions must be formulated on the basis of substantive forecasts and on the basis of understanding similar trends in other countries. However, there are fields that fall outside the realm of this statement, and require an understanding of an entire complex of factors that impact the prosperity and decline of nations. There is insufficient room to enumerate these considerations here however, the conclusion that arises from many studies indicates that the State of Israel must currently invest resources so that it will be able to achieve its important goals, which will have a future effect on all aspects of life in the state.

True, there are differences of opinion in Israeli society regarding its "important goals," but in the national-liberal camp these goals include primarily the assurance of Israel's Jewish-Zionist character, along with ensuring its nature as a democratic state. The question that arises at this stage concerns the place of "society" in the process of advancing towards attainment of these goals.

Many argue that a necessary condition for the success of the state in instilling a Jewish and Zionist character is to secure a large Jewish majority in the population. However, in my opinion the proponents of this demographic approach tend to focus solely on the quantitative factor while neglecting the qualitative one. After all, the number of Jews in Israel has a slim possibility of ensuring the Jewish-Zionist character of the state if we create a schismatic and polarized society here, with many members who are losing their Jewish-Zionist character and some who even deny it. The State of Israel cannot bring about cultural growth when trends of alienation, isolation and disengagement are growing in Israeli society; when post-Zionist content is gradually infiltrating the state curriculum; and when the Hebrew language is becoming a corrupt street language interspersed with foreign phrases. The State of Israel cannot lead towards cultural growth in the Jewish world when society is in a cultural crisis. The lack of close cultural ties between the parts of the people scattered throughout the countries of the world only accentuates the missed opportunity that is evident when Israeli society does not turn the country into a place that will

disseminate to Jews the world over the tidings of the revival of Jewish and Israeli culture in literature, dance, theater, music, the media, poetry and many other spheres.

The revival of the Hebrew language – one of Zionism's greatest successes – is not a sufficient condition for ensuring the Jewish-Zionist future of the society in the State of Israel. This is due to the fact that, just as a small "post-Zionist" elite developed that aims for the liquidation of the State of Israel as a Jewish-Zionist state, an Israeli nation could develop that speaks Hebrew and yet is detached from the deep ethical foundations of the shared national culture. This could be a kind of separate Israeli nation that views itself as a nation in the national-ethnic sense as well; one that views the depth of partnership and solidarity existing between religious and secular Jews as equal to the depth of partnership and solidarity that exist between Jewish and Arab Israelis.

The Right Way to Society is committed to reducing socioeconomic inequalities within Jewish and Arab populations alike. It is also committed to a policy of social integration in both populations. However, in the national-cultural context, this Way has no commitment to maintain neutrality with regard to the national aspirations of its populations. On the contrary, the State of Israel is the state of the Jewish people and therefore any action taken to realize the Jewish people's right to self-determination is justified. This refers to activity to preserve the Jewish people and help it flourish, including, *inter alia*, an effort to safeguard the Hebrew language and maintain a Jewish majority within Israel's borders. This argument does not detract from the depth of the commitment to do away with the discrimination and deprivation of the Arab citizens of Israel, but at the same time, they must consent to undertake parallel commitments to fully balance out their civil duties (for example, Compulsory National Service). A strengthening of equality between Jews and Arabs, reflected in differential allocation of resources and in a social integration policy, constitutes a basic foundation of the *Right Way to Society*.

The discussion up to this point gives rise to the argument that if we wish to preserve the mainstays of national culture, we cannot content ourselves with the revival of the Hebrew language. We must act to increase social solidarity, mainly by the following methods: inculcating a social contract between observant and secular Jews; encouraging the entry of yeshiva students into the labor market; and strengthening Jewish society in the Diaspora. Let us now turn to the principles guiding a nation-building policy that aspires to social prosperity.

Principles for a social contract between observant and secular Jews

A social contract between observant and secular Jews will include the following principles:

Law of Return

- A Basic Law: Return will be legislated that will state that any member of the Jewish people is entitled to immigrate to Eretz Israel. A member of the Jewish people for the purpose of the law will be considered a child of a Jewish father or mother according to Halacha (i.e., the collective body of Jewish religious law), or a person who observes a Jewish way of life according to Halacha, or a person who is persecuted for being Jewish;

- It will be possible to join the Jewish people solely by conversion according to Halacha, in a joint conversion school belonging to the three streams of Judaism. There will be joint supervision for this school, and the conversion for its graduates will be according to criteria set by the conversion court, which will operate according to the Shulhan Aruch (i.e., the traditional codex of Jewish law) and Halacha.

Marriage and Divorce

- Civil marriage will be recognized for all those who wish it. However, marital status will be recorded on the person's identity card along with a reference to the Population Register, which will specify all details of the marriage procedure or its dissolution;

- Divorce will be carried out in civil courts and in religious courts. A hearing on the topic of divorce in a civil court will be made contingent on prior termination of the marriage according to Halacha, if the wedding was performed according to Halacha;

- The rights of those who cohabit without marriage will be regulated in contracts.

Sabbath

- The Sabbath is the State of Israel's official day of rest;
- All government offices and educational institutions, banks and services will be closed on the Sabbath;
- Cultural institutions will be permitted to open on the Sabbath, subject to considerations of location and noise;
- Commercial institutions will be permitted to open for business if they are located in industrial areas or on highways, subject to considerations of noise;
- Every worker's right to refrain from working on the Sabbath will be safeguarded, and it will be forbidden to discriminate against a worker on these grounds.

Burial

- Burial in existing cemeteries will be performed according to Halacha;
- Burial in existing and new civil cemeteries (to be built according to demand) will be performed in a civil ceremony, at the choice of the deceased or his family.

Military and National Service

- The Tal Law will be implemented (see added components to the law in the section dealing with integrating yeshiva students into the labor market);
- National service will be expanded for secular young women;
- Ultra-Orthodox young women will be offered a separate framework for national service, based on consent; ultra-Orthodox young men and women will be offered the following tracks for national service:

- Service in life-saving fields, such as reinforcing the Israel Police in its war on traffic accidents;

- Service in the field of safeguarding national resources, such as a task force for preventing the illegal takeover of national land; a task force for guarding the forests of Eretz Israel, and the like;

- Service in the fields of nursing and assistance at hospitals, homes for the aged and prisons;

- Service in the fields of social integration for people with disabilities;

  • Equalizing the rights of people who serve in military service to the rights of those who serve in national service.

Beyond the implementation of a social contract between observant and secular Jews, action should be taken to integrate the ultra-Orthodox population into Israel's society and economy, according to the overriding principle that determines that every individual in the state has a moral commitment to contribute to society. In the context we are dealing with, this is also a religious commitment, as ruled by Maimonides, who stated firmly that "Whoever decides to study the Torah and not do any other work, supporting himself from charity: this person has desecrated God's name, debased the Torah and has extinguished the light of the Law" (Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Talmud Torah, Chapter 3). He was supported on this point by Rabban Gamliel, son of Rabbi Yehuda Hanassi, who stated that "…All Torah study that is not joined with work will cease in the end, and leads to sin" (Ethics of the Fathers, Chapter 2, Mishnah 2).

Principles for integrating yeshiva students into the labor market

In light of the principles set out above, action should be taken in yeshivas, particularly those that are less extreme and more Zionist, to integrate their students into Israel's society and economy, based on the following principles:

  • Recognition that Torah sages, rabbis and heads of yeshivas bear national responsibility for the existence of the Jewish people, and for preserving the framework in which Torah study will be a norm within the Jewish population;

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- Implementation of the Tal Law, which enables those who have reached the age of 23 and studied for several years in a yeshiva to enter the labor market, while adding the following components:

- An additional point of exit from the yeshiva at the age of 21. This point will not be similar to the "deciding year" (i.e. the 23rd year in the life of the yeshiva student, starting from which he will be able to work or study). A person who chooses to leave the yeshiva at the age of 21 will be drafted in a one-year military service, and enter the labor market at the age of 22;

- Forming a professional committee that will deal with irregular cases, including requests for a delayed exit from the yeshivas (at the age of 25 or 28, etc.) that will be submitted by those who wish to receive rabbinical ordination;

- Increasing the awareness of the ultra-Orthodox population towards the expected benefit they can derive from participating in economic life;

- State recognition of the necessity to adapt the labor market to the needs of the ultra-Orthodox, in order to enable them to fit into it without grave damage to their way of life;

- Activity among rabbis and heads of yeshivas to encourage the integration of the ultra-Orthodox population in workplaces where their way of life will not suffer serious damage;

- Activity within the ultra-Orthodox society to ensure respectful treatment for those who enter the labor market;

- Vocational training for the ultra-Orthodox population by private entrepreneurs, under conditions that will not harm their way of life. The training will be financed by the state, and will focus mainly on high-tech fields;

- Activity among employers to ensure respectful treatment for yeshiva students who enter the labor market;

- Instituting the study of English, mathematics and sciences in ultra-Orthodox schools;

- Developing tracks for entering the labor market in non-professional capacities.

Principles for strengthening Jewish society in the Diaspora

The Jewish people everywhere constitute one social entity with a shared cultural and ethical fabric. This does not refer only to the fundamentals of religious faith, but rather to the entire body of values, norms and beliefs that originate in Jewish values, and shape the nature of Jews' lives wherever they are to a significant degree. An approach that treats the Jewish people living in Israel and Diaspora Jewry as a single social entity has implications in terms of public policy, or more precisely, Jewish people policy.

This policy includes the following components:

- Government encouragement for cultural creative endeavors on topics of Judaism and Jewish culture;
- Government encouragement for exporting Jewish and Israeli culture abroad;
- Encouraging the immigration of young people from affluent countries;
- Opening the gates for Jewish youth from abroad to contribute (besides financially) to Israeli society;
- Reaching a compromise on common principles for conversion;
- Implementing a program for converting children of non-Jewish immigrants and their mothers;
- Implementing a program that will enable soldiers in compulsory service who are not Jewish according to Halacha to undergo conversion prior to their discharge.

Strengthening the Jewish people in the Diaspora will be carried out through enhancing the connection with Israeli society. On a practical level, every Jew at induction age should be offered the option to serve in the army or in national service. On a cultural level, the Diaspora should be assisted to preserve its Jewish vitality. This is closely related to the most important achievement of religious Jewry after the

Holocaust, namely the establishment of the largest center of Torah study in the world in Israel. Therefore, Diaspora Jewry should be enabled to enjoy the fruits of this center, by encouraging the immigration of Jewish youth who wish to study in Israel, initiating joint projects for locating gifted pupils and bringing them to Israel, and recruiting emissaries of Judaism for every community abroad, large or small.

Israel's Declaration of Independence determined the formula of a Jewish and democratic state. Some aspire to a high democratic profile with a link to the Jewish people, and some aspire to a high Jewish profile without such a link. A Jewish people policy that is based on a view of the people as a single social entity enables, alongside policy proposals made until now, the strive towards a public policy with a high Jewish and democratic profile.

So far we have focused on the necessary policy for strengthening the solidarity between different sectors of Israeli society. However, it should be emphasized that this policy must be carried out in light of an overall goal: Achieving equality of rights and opportunities for women in all sectors of social life. This goal will be achieved by enforcing laws on women's equality; battling against all kinds of violence against women; acting for the integration of women into the job market (including recognizing child care expenses up to the age of six for working women) and training them for high-income professions; increasing education for gender equality; investing resources for developing the infrastructure for a substantive improvement in women's health; imposing an obligation on companies and non-profit organizations that wish to win government tenders to act in accordance to the rules and norms of the civil service regarding the status of women; imposing an obligation on all government ministries to prepare an appendix in their annual budget books detailing the implications of their budget proposal for the status of women in Israeli society; cultivating branches of sports for women and equal allocation of national resources for women's sports.

The Right Way to Nation Building seeks to achieve a democratic society characterized by a high level of solidarity and equality of rights and opportunities for women in all sectors of social life.

19.   TOWARD A NEW POLITICS OF NATION BUILDING

Anyone examining the profile of Israeli society at the beginning of the 21st century will not find it difficult to observe trends of deterioration that have penetrated Jewish-Israeli society. Similarly, a structural change is taking place in Israeli society due to demographic and political changes, which is creating a cultural barrier between different sectors within Jewish society, and between Jews and the Arab minority. This process of sectoralization undermines the common cultural foundation of all Israelis, since it leads society to adopt multi-cultural structures, and the latter attribute importance to cultural differences and not to shared cultural assets. This process is dissolving the cultural platform for civil solidarity and eroding the necessary foundations for the existence of a common culture. We are thereby losing one of the most noteworthy achievements of the Zionist enterprise.

The Right Way to Nation Building calls for a cultural rebellion, and for a return to the common cultural core of all the state's citizens, by enhancing the inculcation of the Hebrew language in Eretz Israel and the Diaspora, and making Eretz Israel the center of global Jewish culture. At the same time, a balance of interests must be reached that will be acceptable to all parts of Israeli society and Diaspora Jewry. This will be achieved by formulating a social contract between observant and secular Jews, strengthening Jewish society in the Diaspora through reinforcing Jewish-Hebrew education, and securing equality of rights and opportunities for women in all sectors of social life. This chapter has presented the proposed principles for guiding such a move to strengthen the cohesiveness of Israeli society and the bond between it and Diaspora Jewry.

No one likes chasing utopia. Therefore, I have attempted to propose a pragmatic approach for strengthening shared cultural anchors, with the hope that this will lead, if successful, to building shared interests for all sectors in the state. However, it is clear that a fundamental condition for preventing Israeli society from becoming multicultural – from the very risk of it breaking up – is the attenuation of the determined confidence of each sector in its absolute justness and cultural superiority. Rapprochement between the different sectors should be encouraged in a gradual and democratic manner, leaning on a shared social-cultural platform. *The Right Way to Nation Building* constitutes a modest attempt to formulate such a platform.

20. AFTERWORD

Historian Barbara Tuchman argues the following in her book *The March of Folly*: "A phenomenon noticeable throughout history regardless of place or period is the pursuit by governments of policies contrary to their own interests."[19] In recent decades, the breakup of Israeli society has served as a classic example of such a policy, which has been adopted by Israeli governments on the right and on the left. Every social dimension, quantitative or qualitative, illustrates the severity of the crisis, and especially the persistence of the factors working to exacerbate it. Despite the negative results of the socioeconomic policy, which can be seen clearly in our time and not in retrospect, political obtuseness continues to strike the nation's citizens, children, society and culture like a plague.

Political disregard towards the crisis troubling Israeli society attests to the fact that the political elite in Israel have become a kind of "elected aristocracy" that is detached from most sectors of the public. The ballot box provides political legitimacy for these elites, but make no mistake: The good of Israeli society as a whole is not its main concern. Under the umbrella of "Israeli democracy," elected public officials mainly promote personal and sectorial interests, and the results are evident in all realms of policy on a national level. Moreover, the political elite has forgotten that the basis for solidarity in Israeli society is ethical, i.e. Jewish-Zionist, unlike in American society where there is a consensus only on the rules of the game. This difference between Israeli society and American society has fundamental consequences for the socioeconomic policy that must be implemented in Israel – a policy discussed at length in this ideological platform.

The Israeli attraction towards solutions adopted in the United States must not extinguish the "fire of thought" in the national-liberal camp. A close and critical look at the dangers inherent in the capitalist system requires a recognition of its innate tendency to instability – recession or depression; the possibility of the individual's moral bankruptcy; and mainly the chance that the political elite will focus its actions and talents solely on strengthening its own status. In the Israeli context, this situation where the political elite betrays the long-term interest of society, stems mainly from

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[19] Tuchman Barbara W. (1986). *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam*, Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Ma'ariv, p. 11.

the politicians' lust for power, which has deepened the connection between capital and government and led to the implementation of a socioeconomic policy that is based on a growing error. This is compounded by a moral ambiguity that has taken root within the elite and caused it to disregard the moral imperative of a Jewish state to care for its poor. There is no doubt that the democratic system is preferable to any other, but in recent decades Israeli politicians have demonstrated paralysis of thought in all possible fields of policy and an extraordinary skill in getting nowhere. The problem, then, does not lie in the political system, but in the politicians themselves. In a reality where the folly of politicians threatens the existence of Israeli society, and their election process is drowning in commercial techniques of fundraising and image creation, only a political earthquake can halt the dissolution of Israeli society, put a stop to the indifference and despair that have overtaken substantial parts of society, and lead to action towards social reform. This must come in the form of a democratic revival in Israeli society.

The Right Way to Society has undertaken to serve as the ideological basis for creating a democratic earthquake that will spearhead this social breakthrough.