Each question also has a Question type (VAR = $QType) that that is either (I) an internal social decision or (E) an external political or economic decision. Players get one question from each question pool per Decade.

Ideally: 8 - 10 questions / decade. Randomly asked 2 / decade => 20 QUESTIONS

* 1. **1916-1925:** Founding of Kibbutz
  2. **1926-1935:** Growth & British Mandate
  3. **1936-1945:** Arab Uprising & WW2
  4. **1946-1955:** War of Independence
  5. **1956-1965:** Immigration & Industrialization
  6. **1965-1975:** Six Day War & Social Change
  7. **1976-1985:** Power Shift and Economic Crisis
  8. **1986-1996:** Intifada & Oslo Accords
  9. **1996-2005:** The Rise of Start-Up Nation, Second Intifada
  10. **2005-2015:** Renewal or Collapse?

**Included are the effects on the main variables (P**opulation**, S**olidarity**, R**eputation**, E**conomy**)**

**INTRODUCTION**

Welcome to Palestine!

TK days , you said goodbye to your family in their village in Tsarist Russia. After a sea voyage, you disembark in the port city of Haifa. The dry, hilly landscape looks alien to your eyes.

You arrive with a loaf of bread, a small purse of currency, and a dog-eared copy of *Old New Land—*Theodor Herzl's vision of a new state for the scattered and oppressed Jewish people. You left your home to fulfill his dream here in Palestine.

The Turkish customs agent demands to see your visa. You show him the creased paperwork and he clears you for entry. You wander through the streets and souks of Haifa. Arab pedlars mind shops and show off their wares. The forested heights of Mt. Carmel rise from the Mediterranean shoreline and the hectic activity of the port. In cafes and hostels, you meet newly arrived Jewish pioneers—-young idealists like yourself—and debate work prospects and the vision of settling this land.

The next day, you visit the Palestine Office and present a letter of introduction to the administrator.

\”Welcome! We need young pioneers to build a new country,\” he says. \”Let me ask you a few questions before we assign you to a settlement group, yes?\”

You nod.

\”What kind of youth movement did you belong to in Russia?\”

* + \”Marxist,\” you say. \”I believe in the international revolution of the working class!\”
    - S+, R+, E-
  + \”Socialist,\” you tell him. \”I want to live from each according to his ability to each according to his need.\”
  + \”Labor Zionist,\” you explain. \”As Herzl wrote, 'If you will it, it's not a dream.' I've come to build a home for the Jews.\”
    - S-, E+
  + \”Religious,\” you say. \”Our people's return to the Promised Land is divine will.\”
    - S+, R-

[Answer = $Ideology]

[SOURCE: Gilbert: 56 - 4 federations]

He scratches down your answers on a file. \”Taming this land isn't for the weak of heart,\” warns Shmule. \”Ask yourself: where in Palestine do you want to begin?\” He rolls out a map across his desk.

* + \”North,\” you say, \”toward the mountains beyond Lake Kinnereth.\”
    - R+, E-
  + \”East,\” you decide, \”into the legendary Jezreel Valley.\”
    - S+
  + \”South,\” you tell him, \”along the coastal plain of the Mediterranean.\”
    - R-, E+

[Answer = $Geography]

You journey first to a training farm outside of Haifa, operated by the Palestine Office, where learn how to care for animals and till the land. For a year, you work in the city's port during the day to raise money and plan your future with new comrades from your youth movement. Together, you will work as a collective and vote on all decisions as a group.

You will live as absolute equals. You will build a village. You will found a nation You will heal the world.

Finally, you receive official news of your next destination.... and begin the journey to a new frontier.

**1910-1918: Founding of Kibbutz**

Five days later, you arrive at the plot of land that has been purchased by the Jewish National Fund in the [North / East / South]. You strike your tents. You break ground. As night falls, you join hands with your [NUMBER] comrades and dance the *hora,* round and round under the pale the light of a million stars. The silence steals your breath. Here, you realize, you will live as equals and settle Palestine.

The next morning, dawn breaks and the real work begins—along with the first of the kibbutz's many decisions.

\”We need a name for our village,\” says Naftali, one of your members. \”What do we call it?\”

* + You suggest that your group name your new home Kibbutz [ENTER: $NAME]
  + You let the group vote on a name: [$NAME = Shalom]

And so begins the legend of Kibbutz $NAME in the Land of Palestine.

**Questions: 9**

A few months later, you face your first serious dilemma...

\”I want to learn how to raise cattle,\” announces Miriam, one of the few women on the kibbutz, \”and I've met an Arab farmer in the next village who is willing to teach me.\” The other members agree in principle that men and women are equal in your new society, but many have concerns about Miriam's unorthodox request. What do you decide?

* + \”Yes,\” you suggest. \”Let Miriam learn how to keep cows if it helps the kibbutz.\”
    - Miriam thanks you for the vote of confidence and within months has started a profitable cowshed. [E+, R+]
  + \”No, it's too dangerous,\” you advise. \”If she must raise cows, let her go back to the kibbutz training farm for tutoring from our own people.\”
    - [S-]
  + \”Cattle-raising is a messy job better left to the men,\” you say. \”Perhaps Miriam could be of more help in the vegetable garden?\”
    - [P-]

[SOURCE: Kibbutz Degania & Miriam Baratz]

A married couple celebrates the birth of the first child on the kibbutz. But suddenly you face a dilemma: The new [\”boy\” or \”girl\”] is no more the property of [his / her] parents than he / she is \”owned\” by the kibbutz. So who should name the child? The General Assembly gathers to decide. What do you recommend?

* + \”The parents should name their child, of course,\” you say.
    - The parents thank the members and thef first-born child of the kibbutz is welcomed into the world. [P+]
  + \”The traditional family is just a tool of the bourgeoisie!\” you argue. \”As a commune, we must vote on a name together so the child will know that we all care for [her / his] welfare.\”
    - The committee names the boy \”Benzion,\” although the family eventually leaves the kibbtuz for a town where life is less restrictive. [R+, P-]

[SOURCE: Kibbutz Degania, interview with Shay Shoshany]

On your new plot of land, you discover that trees have been planted previously by hired Arab labour. This fact bothers many of your comrades. \”The land will not be hours unless we develop it with our own hands!\” declares one of your founders. What do you do about the trees?

* + \”Who cares?\” you say. \”Nobody will remember who planted the trees in a year. Let's focus on the future not the past.\”
    - The trees stay. You plant more. The kibbutz grows. [E+]

[Myth of Degania]

You discover that the land bought for your kibbutz by the Jewish National Fund has displaced the previous tenants, several Arab farm families. Do you give these fields back?

* + \”Yes,\” you tell your comrades, \”we should return all of the property to the families who once farmed it.\”
  + \”No,\” you decide, \”the land was bought legally from its original owners and is now ours to cultivate.\”
  + \”No,\” you advise, \”but we could rent some of the fields back to the farmers at reasonable rates.\”

[SOURCE: Joshua Sobol, The Night of the 20th]

War breaks out in Europe and spreads south to Palestine. The Turkish military authorities block Jewish immigration, restrict imports and exports, and look upon your new village with suspicion. You struggle to feed the members of your small kibbutz let alone expand its operations. Many recent Jewish immigrants are expelled or flee Palestine, leaving you feeling even more isolated. How do you respond?

* + \”We need to coordinate our production efforts with other kibbutzes,\” you suggest. \”Only by working together will we survive.\”
  + \”Dark clouds are coming,\” you warn. \”We must set up a militia to defend our settlements and even fight against the Turks.\”
  + \”We need more manpower,\” you say. \”Let's coordinate illegal immigrants into Palestine to replace workers who have left.\”

[Gilbert 30-31 -- Jaffa Group, military unit]

A newly arrived member takes a cigarette break at the end of every furrow that he ploughs. His idleness annoys several of the founders who think he is a poor pioneer. They want him removed. What do you do?

* + \”Yes,\” you agree. \”Every kibbutznik must pull his weight—he must leave.\”
  + \”No,\” you say. \”Our philosophy is 'from each according to his ability to each according to his need'—so we can't force anyone to work faster.\”

Arab brigands ambush and wound a kibbutznik a few miles outside of the kibbutz. The attack stirs distress throughout the community. How should you protect the kibbutz?

* + \”We must show strength and retaliate,\” you say. \”Let's find the attackers—or anyone who helped them—and make them pay.\”
  + \”Ignore the incident,\” you caution. \”It's just part of settling Palestine. Soon order will be restored to this land. We have more important priorities.\”
  + \”We need to organize,\” you say, \”Let's set up a meeting of nearby kibbutzes and start a defense militia.\”

[SOURCE: Kibbutz Degania]

An eccentric middle-aged immigrant from Russian named Aaron arrives on your kibbutz. He has no interested in becoming a member but asks to volunteer as a labourer in your fields. He speaks in philosophical aphorisms. \”We have sinned through not working,\” he says of the Jewish people. \”But collective life will be the very basis for the creation of the individual form of self.\” Nobody knows quite what to make of this bearded interloper.

* + \”I think Aaron should leave,\” you say.\” He is a distraction from our real work, and pioneering is not the work for old men.\”
  + \”He's harmless,\” you argue. \”Let him stay.\”
  + \”He speaks great truths!\” You tell the assembly \”We must pay attention to his words and follow his philosophy—he will lead us all to greatness!\”

[SOURCE: A.D. Gordon in Degania]

Greta, a young immigrant from America, wears pressed clothes and tells the general assembly that the kibbutz ought to buy new drinking glasses for the dining room. Some of the other women complain about her \”airs and fancies\” and wonder if Greta is cut out for pioneer life.

* + \”No, she'll do fine,\” you advise, \”and perhaps we could do with some new glassware.\”
  + You take Greta aside and explain that a good kibbutznik is never showy or materialistic.
  + \”Yes, she doesn't have the mettle for the kibbutz,\” you agree, and recommend that the members ask her to leave.

[SOURCE: Christopher Warhurst's book, anecdote about Golda Meir]

Rachel, a young woman who helped to found the kibbutz, returns from Russia after nearly a year. She had been prevented from returning to Palestine because of the Great War. She is excited to be a pioneer again and volunteers to look after and teach the children on the kibbutz. However, a few months after her return, a doctor diagnoses the difficulty she has breathing as incurable tuberculosis. Several members worry about Rachel infecting the children or other kibbutzniks.

* + \”I’m afraid she can't stay in her condition,\” you say, and recommend that she be expelled from the kibbutz to get treatment elsewhere.
  + \”We can't exile one of our own,\” you argue, and suggest building a sanatorium on-site to help care for Rachel.

[SOURCE: Poet Rachel Bluwstein and Degania]

You quickly realize that the land you have been assigned is poor for farming but strategically chosen to set the borders of a future Jewish nation. The extra work to make the rough ground fertile—if even possible—seems daunting, especially when you can see lush fields in the distance that would make for more productive agriculture. What do you do?

* + \”We have been given a mission to settle this land,\” you tell your comrades, \”and we will btoh defend this land and make it bloom.\”
  + \”This is a farce,\” you declare. \”We must alert the Palestine Office of its mistake and ask that we be relocated to a better plot of land.\”
  + 'Oy, what can we do? We are here, so let's make do,\” you say. \”But perhaps we can look into leasing some of those better fields once we make a go of it here...\”

[Imagining Zion review, reviewed by Mordecai Lee]

After several years, your fields and farming operations provide now more than just sustenance and you harvest enough to sell and distribute. A member recommends that your kibbutz join a new co-operative purchasing and marketing operation. What do you think?

* + \”Yes,\” you agree, \”coordinating our efforts with other farms makes economic sense.\”
  + \”No,\” you say, \”we can make a better profit by marketing our products on our own.\”

[SOURCE: Near,46]

**1919-1936: British Mandate & Arab Uprising**

INTRO:

Your small commune in the middle of nowhere is now a full-blown community. With its victory in the Great War, Britain has drive out the Turkish and now rules over Palestine. The Balfour Declaration's promise of a a home for the Jews in the Middle East has given your fellow pioneers hope that every day brings you one step closer to fulfilling Theodor Herzl's dream. Still, life on the frontier isn't easy. Even with financial support from the Jewish Agency, sustaining your kibbutz remains a struggle: drought, disease, long days in the field. It's no wonder that confidence wavers in some of your comrades. How can you build utopia in this new land? How can you feed the new arrivals to your home? And then you hear rumours that not all your neighbours welcome the ever-growing kibbutz movement...

**Questions: 10**

**Internal**

News of anti-Zionist riots by Arab residents in Jerusalem, Jaffa and other towns teach your kibbutz. Local Arabs also attack nearbykibbutzes and villages upset by the expansion of Jewish settlements in the region. A one-armed veteran of the Russo-Japanese and Great Wars arrives with a small Jewish militia to defend the area. \”I need volunteers to help build fortifications and track down Arab attackers,\” he says. \”Who will join the cause?\” What do you tell him?

* + \”You can take our bravest young men as volunteers,\” you say. \”A strong response to the attacks will let the Arabs know we are here to stay.\”
  + \”We can defend ourselves,\” you tell the Assembly. \”And perhaps it's best if we don't provoke more violence by joining this militia.\”

[Joself Trumpeldor & Tel Hai, Gilbert 44]

Two members of your kibbutz committed suicide in the past year—one boy and one girl. The long hours of work, the separation from their families, the forbidding conditions in a foreign land were all too much for them. The strain is showing on your comrades. Other members want to relocate to a less remote location.

* + \”Yes,\” you agree, \” we should move the kibbutz to a better part of the country.\” [$Geo = new, Rep = -5]
  + \”No,\” you argue, \”we are pioneers and must settle this frontier, whatever the cost.\” [Pop = -2, Rep = +5, Sol = -2]

[Henry Near history]

A young novelist travels from Germany to volunteer on your kibbutz. He plans to write about the heroic struggle of the pioneers in Palestine as they prepare the ground for a new Jewish nation. He might be a good writer, but he is a slow worker who complains about conditions in your settlement. After a few months, he requests to be a full-time member. What do you decide?

* + \”We should accept the novelist,\” you tell the assembly, \”as I’m sure his work skills and attitude will improve with time.\”
  + \”Our literary comrade is unsuited to the harsh reality of pioneer life,\” you say, and recommend that he be dismissed. He can write his books back in Berlin.

[Arthur Koestler]

Several of your members are ardent Marxists who believe the international revolution is near. Zionism, they feel, is a distraction from this global transformation, and they want to leave Palestine to start a commune in the Soviet Union—the new utopia for the working people. They want other kibbutzniks to join them. What do you tell them?

* + \”We came to change the world, so we should support our young dreamers in their visions, too,\” you say. \”Anyone who wants to join their Soviet commune is welcome to leave—and return to the kibbutz at a later time.\”
  + \”Don't be fools!\” You tell the young revolutionaries. \”There is nothing for the Jewish people in Russia or Europe. Our future—and the future of the working people—is here in Palestine. Don't bother coming back when your commune fails.\”

[Near 143]

The spring rains and summer sunshine have produced a bounty in your fields. Now the harvest requires more help to bring in before the crops go to waste. Do you hire outside labour?

* + \”Yes,\” you tell the assembly, \” we must hire local Arab farmers so our efforts don't spoil in the fields.\”
    - [Sol = -5, Rep = -5, Econ = \*1.1]
  + \”Yes,\” you argue, \”but we can you bring in Hebrew labour from the recent immigrants to Haifa and Tel Aviv. Send word to the Jewish Agency. [Pop = +10, [Rep = -5, Econ = \*1.05]
  + \”No,\” you warn. \”This was not the way we hoped to settle the country—this old way with Jews on top and Arabs working for them. We will work extra hours and harvest what we can.\” [Sol = +5, Rep = +5, Econ = \*.95]

[Near 154]

Your founding families are divided about the best way for the kibbutz to grow. \”If a Jewish immigrant wants to be a kibbutznik, we should take them,\” argues one side. \”Anyone can be trained.\” Others members disagree. \”Early education is vital,\” they respond. \”We must only take new members from our own youth movements, so they are ready to be kibbutzniks.\” What do you recommend?

* + \”We should not turn anyone away who wants to join us,\” you say. \”Let them prove they are good kibbutzniks through their work.\”
  + \”Communal life is not for everyone,\” you tell the Assembly. \”New members need educational preparation through the youth movement, otherwise they will distract from or even disrupt our work.\”

[Social Utopias of the Thirties]

**Only if Pop >=** 40

Your population has grown so quickly that you can no longer hold the General Assembly around a table in the dining room. People struggle to share their opinions. Meetings go on for hours. Has your kibbutz gotten too large for communal life? Some members recommend splitting the settlement and starting a a new kibbutz on nearby land. Others believe that growing is the only way to survive as a community and make an impact on the future of Palestine, even if it makes governing the community more challenging. What do you recommend?

* + \”Intimacy is the heart of communal life,\” you argue. \”We must split the community into  Kibbutz $Name A and Kibbutz $Name B.\”
  + \”Only by growing will we build a nation—and change the world,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We must try to attract more new members and expand the kibbutz.\”
  + \”A community is like a plant,\” you explain. \”It will find the right size organically. If we keep getting bigger, that's good. If not, that's fine, too.\”

[Near 159]

**External**

The global economic crisis is affecting Palestine, too. Many Jewish immigrants are returning to Europe. Several of your members see no future on the kibbutz and threaten to leave unless conditions improve. They want to seek work in a nearby town or private farm, where they can earn more money for the kibbutz.

* + You agree to let them work outside the kibbutz
  + You insist that they continue to work with the rotation of kibbutz jobs

You need to drain a swamp so that the kibbutz can add more fields, but the work is beyond the physical capacity of your members. How can you complete the work?

* + You break from your philosophy of \”self labour\” and hire help.
  + You ask a neighbouring kibbutz for aid in exchange for half the field.
  + You delay this engineering task until you can recruit more new members.

You want to move beyond subsistence farming, but you must decide on which type of cash crop to plant.

* + \”Oranges are like gold!\” you tell the General Assembly and suggest planting citrus trees.
  + \”A tobacco plantation would be more lucrative,\” you argue.
  + \”Forget farming,\” you say. \”The future is in industry! We should open a metalworks factory or a tannery.\”

[Near, 132 & 159]

The Zionist Executive recommends ending financial support for kibbutzes in Palestine to focus on other methods of settlement. Your members are uncertain whether your community can survive on what you produce in your fields.

* + \”We must be self-sufficient some day,\” you argue, \”so let's turn this crisis into an opportunity and become independent of outside funding.\”
  + \”We are the vanguard of Zionism,\” you tell the assembly, \”and so the Executive must provide kibbutzes the support to grow and establish settlements. Let's lobby the Executive until they change their minds.\”

[NEAR.... 132-143]

**1937-1945: World War 2 & the Holocaust**

Darkness spread across Europe. The Nazis rise to the power in a spectacle of brown shirts and broken glass. You urge remaining family members to leave before it's too late. For many, it will be. The depressed economy of Palestines exacerbates tensions between the indigenous Arab population and new Jewish colonists like yourself. Then there is the strain of living together and making decisions as equals that will affect the survival of your small village. Finally, the release of the White Paper by the British Government—which goes back on the promise of a Jewish homeland—dashes your hopes. A shadow seems to fall wherever you look. War is on the horizon. Who knows what the future will hold— or whether you can shape your own destiny?

**Questions: 7**

A member hears a strange whistling sound one night and discovers that Hannah, another member, has acquired her own tea kettle—in contravention of the community's rules of sharing everything. \”What does it matter\” she replies. But many members worry that if members start having tea in their own rooms, they won't go to the common room and mingle with their friends and fellow members—and the social glue of the kibbutz will lose its grip. What should you do about the \”problem of the tea kettle\”?

* + \”If Hannah wants her own kettle, so be it,\” you say, \”but we should never cross her threshold again. If she wants to be alone, we will leave her alone.\”
  + \”There's an easy way to correct this mistake,' you explain. :We should simply confiscate the kettle so we have an extra in the common room. It will make gathering there even more attractive.\”
  + \”Enough with this foolishness,\” you insist. \”Let's just buy a kettle for everyone who wants one and stop squabbling about minor matters.\”

Your kibbutz has expanded in population faster than in its facilities. You now have a problem with what members discretely call \”the third one\”—an extra kibbutzniks who must share the same apartment as a married couple due to lack of space. This situation was fine during your community's pioneering years, but now members are complaining about the lack of privacy.

* + \”What a bourgeois issue!\” You argue. \”We have more important priorities than private rooms for every couple. We will build new apartments when we can afford to—and not a moment earlier!\”
  + \”Yes, families need their own space,\” you agree. \”Let's borrow money so we can add extra apartments.\”

[Near 186]

The kibbutz has grown so much that sometimes decision-making as a community can be unwieldy. The rule of the majority has also made some members feel ostracized by the democratic process. Are there better ways to manage your community?

* + \”Yes,\” you argue. \”We should give power to smaller committees of members and let these groups make decisions in their respective areas.\”
  + \”Yes,\” you tell the assembly. \”The tyranny of the majority must be broken—let's develop a system of consensus decision-making in which 50 % plus one is *not* a mandate for change.*\”*
  + \”No,\” you say. \”Direct democracy is the heart of our community. Everyone has their say at the assembly and everyone can vote on decisions—every decision.\”

[Near 193]

The Haganah, the Jewish paramilitary forces, has been stockpiling weapons to defend against Arab attack and in case war breaks out in Palestine. A unit has cached a large number of rifles and explosives beneath the floorboards of a building on the kibbutz. The British Army has been trying to defuse violence by confiscating weapons. A squad of soldiers arrives at your gates and demands to search the kibbutz. What do you do?

* + \”We cannot lie,\” you tell them. \”We were forced to store weapons for the guerrillas. We will let you take them.\”
  + \”We are peaceful kibbutzniks, but feel free to search the grounds,\” you say. \”But please don't disturb our children in their studies.\” By then, the kibbutz kids have been moved into the building that conceals the munitions, where they pretend to pore over their books.
  + \”You have no rights to trespass on our community!\” you shout to the British soldiers. \”Cross that gate and we will defend our kibbutz by force!\” And you will.

[Gilbert, Ben Shemen, Shimon Peres 103  also: yagur gilbert 133]

Several young members want to join the Palmach underground and train as part of the Jewish resistance. They hope to be sent to Europe and parachute behind Nazi lines. What do you tell them?

* + Try to dissuade them — the kibbutz needs their manpower more than ever.
  + Support their desire to protect the Jewish people against the Nazi threat. [Pop = -2, Rep = +5, Econ = \*0.98]

[Sureka Braverman]

You can't ignore the discontent in the Arab towns and villages across Palestine. Violent riots and attacks have pitted Arabs and Jews against each other—and the British colonial forces seem powerless to stop its escalation. You thought you'd come to a \”land without a people for a people without a land.\” This clearly was at best half-true. What should your kibbutz do about what politicians and pundits call the \”Arab question\”?

* + \”We have come to settle the land of Palestine in preparation for a Jewish state,\” you argue. \”That means a commitment to Jewish labour and a conquest of our ancient homeland through farming and fieldwork. Let politicians deal with the problems of our Arab neighbours.\”
  + \”The kibbutz has always worked for equality,\” you say. \”In a future Jewish state, we must make sure there is parity between Arabs and Jews.\”
  + \”Any state in Palestine must be bi-national!\” You say. \”A country shared equally by the Arab and Jewish peoples, united by the solidarity of our workers. And we must resist any attempts to divide us.\”

[Near ??]

The whole world is suffering under the Great Depression. The Jewish settlements in Palestine are no different. A kibbutz in your $Ideology federation is struggling financially, on the verge of dissolution, and requests help. What can your kibbutz offer?

* + \”We are not rich but we cannot let a fellow commune suffer,\” you argue, \”so let's offer [X — random] lira as a long-term loan.\”
  + \”We can't afford a financial loan,\” you suggest, \”but we can send some of our members to help as workers and advisors.\”
  + \”Alas, we are struggling along with the world,\” you tell the assembly. \”We have nothing to give right now other than our moral support.\”

A trio of Jewish guerrilla fighters arrive at the kibbutz in the middle night and ask to be taken in and hidden from authorities who are persecuting them. The next morning, British soldiers arrive. \”We're looking for terrorists from the Irgun organization,\” an officer demands \”They sabotaged a convoy and killed one of our men.\” What do you do?

* + \”That's awful!\” you lie to the soldiers. \”But we've neither seen nor heard anything about terrorist activities in the area. We'll be sure to let you know if we do....\” And then you arrange for the trio of guerrillas to be spirited back to their headquarters hidden in a farm truck the next day.
  + \”We are just peaceful kibbutzniks...\” you tell them. \”But you are welcome to search a kibbutz in case anyone slipped through the wire in the middle of the night.\”
  + \”I think we can help you solve this unjustified crime,\” you say, and then you order the three fighters brought out and released into the custody of the British.

The kibbutz needs to expand outward, but there is disagreement about how—and why—to plan the additional buildings. Some members believe building defenses against Arab attacks is paramount. Others insist that architecture must be used to promote community. What do you think?

* + \”We must be ready to defend our village,\” you say. \”Let's add a tower and a stockade and a high perimeter fence to ring the community.\”
  + \”Our buildings shape us as much as we shape our buildings,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We should create an organic master plan with our communal dining hall as the centre—literally and figuratively— of the community.\”

[Architectural trends...]

**1946-1955: Independence & Immigration**

**Questions: 6**

The British authorities restrict immigration from Jewish Holocaust survivors to Palestine. These refugees are smuggled across the borders anyway. Some are captured and are being held in a coastal detention camp. What do you do?

* + \”There is little that we can do in our distant community,\” you say, \”except protest the detentions and hope that the British come to their senses.\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”We must take action, whatever the risks! Let's send our best men and women to help coordinate a rescue of the refugees!\”

[Gilbert 130, Atlit and Beit Oren]

As tensions rise, and the Jewish leaders in Palestine prepare for possible independence, many of your smartest members are requested to join the cause—as military and political leaders in Tel Aviv. But your workforce is stretched then already, and you worry about the effect of this \”brain drain\” on your community's economy and spirit. What do you tell them?

* + \”Nation-building takes precedence,\” you advise. \”We can make due in your absence. Go to the city and lead us to independence. \”
  + \”Someone else can work in the offices of the Zionist Agency,\” you say. \”Our community can only remain strong if we stay together. A battle will come to our gates so enough—and we need all the sgtregnth we can muster.\”

[Perese & Kollek -- Gilbert 144]

The proposed Partition Plan would divide Palestine between the Arab and Jewish quadrants. The map looks like a jigsaw puzzle, but at least your settlement falls within the proposed Jewish territory—and will help to define its future border. The Jewish government-in-waiting supports the plan. Leaders of Arab nations reject it. Your own members are not 100 per cent in agreement. What do you tell them?

* + \”It is what we always dreamed of—a nation of our own,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We won't get a better deal.\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”We are giving up the Galilee and the Biblical heartland of the Jewish people. We must demand—or fight for—more of the Promised Land.\”
  + \”Dividing this land only divides the working people,\” you caution. \”We must have a single socialist state that unites the Jewish and Arab peoples!\”

[Benny Morris, The Left Looks @ Itself]

Several members are awarded reparations from the German government for their families’ losses in the Holocaust. How should the money be distributed?

* + \”The money should go to the kibbutz's general account to benefit all members,\” you say. \”Even money from the Holocaust, we must share.\”
    - The General Assembly decides to claim the reparations for the general account. Most of the members who were to receive the reparations accept this decision. Several, however, leave the kibbutz rather than accept the decision.
      * [Pop = -10, Econ = \*1.1, if $Ideology = M, Sol = +5 and Rep = +5; if S, Sol = + 5]
  + \”This money is different,\” you argue. \”Let those whose families have suffered most from the *Shoah* keep the Germans' money.\” [if $Ideology = M, Sol = -5 and Rep = -5; if S, Sol = -5]

[Near, 191]

In the height of the 1948 War, you notice Arab villagers fleeing with their belongings toward [Syria / Lebanon / Jordan / Egypt]. They've been told that the advancing Jewish armed forces will force them to leave—and perhaps worse. Their children are crying in the backs of their wagons as they pass your gates. What do you do?

* + \”Yes,\” you agree. \”You are probably right. We can't promise what will happen when the army arrives. You should reach safety as fast as you can.\”
  + \”We wish you would stay,\” you tell your neighbours, \”but if you must go, please take some food and money to help on your way. We will watch over your village until you return.\”
  + \”Your fears are unfounded,\” you assure the villagers. \”You may stay with us and we will assure your safety when the army arrives. They will let you return your village when the the fighting is done.\”

**1948**

In 1948, Arab legionnaires lay siege to the kibbutz with tanks and cannons. After several days, their forces nearly overrun the perimeter fence. You are running low on food and ammunition. What do you do?

* + \”We are the defenders of the frontier!\” you tell your comrades. \”We must keep fighting to the end.\”
  + \”Evacuate the women and children now,\” you say to the Assembly, \”and let's also send an emissary to Ben-Gurion in Tel Aviv to beg for reinforcements.\”
  + \”Our enemies are at our gates and we must retreat,\” you advise. \”We must abandon the kibbutz and live to fight another day.\”

[SOURCE: Degania, Kfar Etzion, etc.]

**1950 <= $YEAR <=1955**

Your kibbutz acquires farmland abandoned by nearby Palestinian farmers who fled to [Lebanon or Jordan]. What do you do with the land?

* + \”We must leave it untouched,\” you say. \”It's not our land.\”
  + \”We should turn it into a park,\” you suggest, \” for all the people in our region—Jews and Arabs—to enjoy.\”
  + \”We must add to our fields and feed our people,\” you tell the General Assembly. \”Let's cultivate the land and farm it as its former owners did.\”
  + \”The kibbutz needs to expand,\” you argue. \”We must use this land to build rooms for new members.\”

An ideological schism has split the entire kibbutz movement. On one side, some kibbutzniks believe in the Soviet philosophy of international revolution and state socialism; on the other side, many members want to distance the kibbutz from the USSR and forge a new kind of socialism. The debate has sparked loud arguments in the General Assembly and the dining hall and editorials in the kibbutz federation's newspapers. It has reached the point that members on both sides have stopped talking to each other and even want to split the kibbutz in two.

* + \”Can't we all just get along?\” you tell the two sides. \”Let's try to meet and resolve our differences.\”
  + \”If we really can't agree, then we must split,\” you say. \”But let's try to part amicably and fairly, like two a husband and wife who don't want to hurt their children.\”
  + \”Fools! You are walking down an ideological dead-end,\” you tell the opposing camp. \”You deserve whatever you get.\” You demand that the kibbutz split in two immediately and stop speaking to the other side to avoid tainting your own members anymore. Also, you get members to lay a line of barbed wire across the dining room as a reminder of the schism. be

[Meuhud vs. Ihud, Mapai vs. Mapam]

**1956-1965: Coming of Age**

**Questions: 4**

For years, a quiet kibbutznik has written novels in Hebrew that have become popular in Israel and even translated and sold overseas. He requests an extra day off from his regular work schedule to devote to his writing his books.

* + \”Yes,\” you agree. \”Supporting our members’ creativity is important.\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”Every member must work the same amount and get equal free time for leisure activities—otherwise envy will tear our community apart.\”

[Amos Oz interview]

The new Jewish State welcomes hundreds of thousands of new immigrants every year. Many are poor Mizrahi Arab Jews cast out from Arab countries in the wake of Israel's independence. Prime Minister David Ben Gurion demands that kibbutzniks do their part and absorb these immigrants as members. What do you recommend?

* + You agree to take a dozen new families from Iraq and Tunisia as new members.
  + You say that you kibbutz isn't ready for such large-scale absorption but you agree to hire new immigrants from nearby towns as laborers and factory workers for kibbutz operations.
  + You feel that ideological consistency is more important than just taking new members at random. You decline the government's demands and insist on only taking new members who have come through your kibbutz's youth movement.

Several members want the kibbutz to invest more time and money into improving the gardens surrounding residences. Others, however, think members shouldn't be wasting work time on ornamental flowers and should focus instead on the agricultural work that fees families and pays bills. The idea will be put to a vote.

* + \”If we are to truly make the deserts—and mountains—bloom, then let's plant gardens, too,\” you agree. \”We can make such a small sacrifice to live in a beautiful home.\”
  + \”What next? White picket fences?\” you scoff. \”If people want to live like the bourgeoisie, they can move to America. We must work to provide for everyone's needs first.\”

[Garden City]

Your kibbutz has grown organically into social, work and education zones with the dining hall as the central hub. Where do you suggest re-investing the profits from the most successful harvest in several years?

* + \”We should buy more land and farm equipment,\” you say. \”The kibbutz is meant to feed a growing nation.\”
  + \”Children are our future,\” you argue. \”Let's improve the children's houses and school.\”
  + \”We have lived like rock rabbits in tiny warrens for too long,\” you tell the Assembly. \”It's time to expand everyone's living quarters.\”
  + \”We can't stay farmers forever,\” you warn your comrades. \”A factory will provide meaningful work and a better living. Let's add one now.\”

Your founding generation has grown too old to work in the fields under a hot sun. They still want to contribute to the kibbutz, however. It's becoming increasingly costly to support your social program as kibbutzniks age. Who ever worried about retirement when you were building Utopia? What do you do about your elderly members.

* + \”They can work fewer hours,\” you say, \”but they should still take part in the fields and the factory, in the kitchen and the children's house—just like everyone else.\”
  + \”They have earned a rest,\” you say. \”We will expand the seniors' house and they can rest their in retirement. We can afford to take care of our elders.\”
  + \”Work gives meaning to life,\” you tell the Assembly. \”Let us build a small factory. Who cares if it's profitable, as long as our older members feel useful in their new jobs.\”

[Kibbutz Shamir & Optical factory]

Gossip is the currency of every village. Lately, a rumour circulates that Nir, a handsome bachelor kibbutznik, has been flirting with kibbutz wives—and perhaps more than that—when husbands are away in the Army Reserves. You're not sure how to sort truth from myth in this growing scandal. But something must be done before kibbutz men confront Nir. What do you do?

* + \”We discuss everything at the General Assembly, so let's talk about this problem, too!\” You suggest, and add \”Nir's Flirtations\” to the agenda for the next meeting.
  + You take NIr aside and insist that he focus his romancing on women on other kibbutzes—or he will find himself assigned to cleaning the cowshed for the foreseable future.
  + \”How did we become such bourgeois children?\” you say. \”Our members can conduct their private affairs as they want. No wife is the property of her husband, so Nir has done nobody wrong.\”

[Amos Oz novels]

**1965-1975: Six Day War & Occupation**

**Questions: 8**

An American psychologist wants to stay on your kibbutz and study the effects of communal child-reading on the community's socio-dynamics. He promises not to name your kibbutz when he publishes the results.

* + \”No, thanks,\” you tell the assembly. \”What are we—fish in a fish bowl?\”
  + \”Yes, let him stay,\” you say. \”Let science discover what we already know: the kibbutz way of life is the best way of life!\”

[SOURCE: Bruno Bettelheim's Children of the Dream, 1969]

Parents in your kibbutz want their children to sleep in their apartments rather than in the communal children's house with the *metapelet.* Older members argue that getting rid of the nanny system will end the movement's unique way of educating children—and end the kibbutz too. What do you recommend?

* + Let children sleep in their parents' home and use the children's houses for daycares or other purposes.
  + The children must learn the kibbutz's unique method of education. Retain the kibbutz system of raising kids communally.

The nightwatchman caught young kibbutzniks, recently back from Army service,  selling hash to the young sons and daughters of other members. Parents are angry and demand justice. What do you do?

* + \”We cannot tolerate this aberrant behaviour,\” you tell the Assembly. \”They must be kicked off the kibbutz before they lead more young members astray.\”
  + \”Ah, they have seen so many terrible things in the war, let's give them a break,\” you say, and suggest letting the drug peddlers off with a warning.

Years ago, your kibbutz debated the \”dangers\” of letting individual members keep a tea kettle in their rooms. Wouldn't it destroy the camaraderie built by gatherings in the common rooms? Now the issue returns when several members request TVs in their own rooms.

* + \”It's the way of the future,\” you say. \”As long as they do their work and contribute to the kibbutz, who cares what they do in their own rooms?\”\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”But we can spare some extra money to add colour TVs in the dining hall, the card room, and old-age home for members to enjoy together.\”
  + \”Ack! Enough with the TV talk already!\” you yell. \”Go live in the city if you need to entertain yourself to death with an idiot box! Let's get rid of the one we have.\”

**1950 <= $YEAR <= 1980**

Terror strikes the kibbutz. Palestinian fedayeen fighters launch a surprise attack, infiltrate the perimeter fence, and kill three members as they are heading to work in the fields. This is the first time anyone has been killed on the grounds of your community. Your entire sense of security has been violated. How do you respond?

* + You let young kibbutzniks join a retaliatory raid against a nearby village.
  + You do nothing.The Army can handle security issues. And the attack was a random event unlikely to re-occur.
  + You divert money from your social programs and factory to add an extra perimeter fence, electrify the existing one, and re-assign two regular workers to guard duty.

After the glorious victory of the Six Day War, your federation wants to build a new kibbutz in the Occupied Territories of the [$Settlement = \”Golan Heights\” if $Ideology = M, S, or Z else \”West Bank\”]. Do you support this decision?

* + \”Yes,\” you say. \”These are the new pioneers of Greater Israel. We should send members as advisors to help the new settlers.
  + \”Yes, in principle,\” you say, \”but our kibbutz should focus on tending our own farms and operations.\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”Occupying the Territories will only bring pain to Israel. But there is little that our kibbutz can do about it.
  + \”This is a terrible injustice!\” you rage. \”We must warn the government of this folly and threaten to leave the federation if a kibbutz is ever built on Palestinian territory!\”

One of the mechanics on your kibbutz was tinkering in his garage and invented an electric device to remove hair from women’s legs. He asks the General Assembly to invest in a factory to mass-produce his invention. He is a bit of an eccentric and many of your members dismiss his idea as more folly. What do you advise the kibbutz?

* + \”Yes,\” you tell the assembly. \”It's time to take risks. We should invest the kibbutz’s reserve funds to build a factory and market the invention.\”
  + \”Are you mad?\” you say. \”It’s too risky to spend members' money on such an unproven and superficial gadget!\”

[Source: Kibbutz Hagoshrim, KIA]

War against the Arab nations seems certain as the summer of 1967 approaches. Many of your male members are called up into their Army units. How will the work get done on the kibbutz with so much of your manpower getting ready for war?

* + \”We've made do in the past, we'll make do again,\” you say. \”Defending our nation is the highest priority. We will only return to normal operations when that threat is over.\”
  + \”Jews from around the world are offering their help,\” you argue. \”Let's invite them to pitch in as volunteers in our fields and factories.\”
  + \”Any extra hands are welcome!\” You say. \”Throw open gates. Maybe foreign backpackers want to stay and work for a bit of adventure?\”

A kibbutznik named Uri who fought in the Six Day War and helped to liberate Jerusalem became disillusioned by the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Uri joined several radical left-wing groups in Haifa. The Israeli secret service arrested when he returned from a visit to Syria—illegal for Israeli citizens—to meet in secret with Palestinian leaders. He is being tried for treason and other Israelis are outraged that a kibbutznik is an alleged spy against their country. The name of your kibbutz appears daily in news reports. Some bus drivers even refuse to stop at your kibbutz. What do you do to protect your reputation?

* + \”Uri is a fool and we all are suffering for his delusions!\” You declare. \”We must issue a press release dismissing Uri as a member, condemning his actions and making clear that we think he should face the full weight of the law!\”
  + \”He is guilty only of the naïve optimism of youth,\” you say. \”We must support our fellow kibbutzniks, even if it costs us all. We will help his family pay for all of Uri's legal costs and welcome him back, even if he goes to jail.\”

[Ehud Adiv, cf Yitzhak Rubin]

A group of women approach the executive to complain about their treatment on the kibbutz. \”But this is the most equal society in the world?\” the kibbutz secretary tells them. \”Yes, we all earn the same as everyone else,\” they agree, \”and yet we are only assigned to work in the kitchen or the children's house, as secretaries or shop clerks.\” How do you address their concerns?



**1976-1985: Political and Economic Crisis**

For nearly thirty years, Israel has been led by left-wing governments that kibbutzniks could largely support. That ends in 1977. Menachem comes to power with a right-wing government buoyed by religious voters and new immigrants disenchanted with the elite leadership of the kibbutz movement and other institutions.

**Questions: 6**

The kibbutz has recommended that Moishe, a creative young kibbutznik, attend university in Haifa so he can become a teacher in the regional high school. He seemed receptive at first but now says that he wants to study art in Paris for a year—and would like the kibbutz to pay for his tuition abroad. What do you tell him?

* + \”Yes,\” you agree. \”The kibbutz will fund a year of studies in Paris, as long as you return to the community.\”
  + \”No,\” you tell him. \”The kibbutz needs teachers not painters. You can study art in Haifa while you do your educational training—or leave the kibbutz and pay for Paris on your own.\”

Menachem Begin, the leader of the right-wing Likud Party and new Premier of Israel, gives a speech in which he describes \”kibbutzniks like millionaires lolling about in their swimming pools\” and accuses the movement of not caring about the poor Mizrahi Jews who immigrated from Arab countries. How do you respond to this incitement?

* + Write a letter to the newspaper explaining that, while kibbutzniks might have swimming pools, you are \”hardly millionaires\”—and that you helped to found the nation of Israel.
  + Invite Begin to visit your kibbutz and see how you live.
  + Organize a campaign to get out the vote and stop the Likud in the next election.
  + Ignore the rhetoric and invest kibbutz money into improving the communal swimming pool.

Your factory has grown significantly since it was founded and exports its products overseas. Managers feel that the factory needs a proper Board of Directors to help it grow and attract new capital for expansion plans. It's time, they say, that th e kibbutz operate its factories like a \”real business\”. What do you advise?

* + \”Yes,\” you agree. \”Business decisions need to be made by professional managers and not random kibbutzniks. It's time for a Board of Directors.\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”The factory is a creation of the community and should be run by and for all kibbutzniks. Otherwise, we risk becoming just another profit-seeking venture.\”

A group of young kibbutzniks are disappointed with the kibbutz's loss of its pioneering philosophy and political activism. \”We've become a country suburb of pseudo-socialists!\” they accuse you and other leaders. One day, they announce plans to leave the kibbutz en masse and start their own \”anarchist commune\” in the Desert Negev devoted to absolute equality, no bureaucracy and free love. How do you reply?

* + \”Go live like Lawrence of Arabia!\” you tell the young rebels. \”but you will likely fail like every New Age village in America or Europe. Only the solidarity of the kibbutz philosophy will prevail.
  + \”We understand your frustration,\” you assure the young dreamers. \”That's how the original kibbutz was born. Let's work together to return some of your passion back into our community rather than teaing a part. We are stronger together.\”

[Kibbutz Samar]

You invite the foreign volunteers to participate in a holiday festival on the theme of \”Peace between Arabs and Jews\”. Six British volunteers, all young men, take the stage wearing Arab headdresses and Groucho Marx masks and perform a lewd dance that involves them swinging balloons back and forth in front of their naked man bits. Kibbutz families are shocked and demand that the Brits be thrown off the community.

* + \”Agreed!\” you say. \”They have dishonoured our people and our community. Let their dismissal be a warning to volunteers to take their time here seriously.\”
  + \”Relax....\” you advise. \”We can't expel guests to our home because of a festival on the theme of peace! Let them apologize and then move on.\”

[Bruce's story to me]

Operation Peace for Galilee, launched in 1982, has dragged on for several years and turned into the Lebanon War. Reserve soldiers are sent to the front. A kibbutz-born tank commander is killed in combat. Several of your younger members refuse to serve in the Army if they will be sent to Lebanon or the Occupied Territories. If they become conscientious objectors, they will be prosecuted and face jail time. The kibbutz will also become known as a home for pacifists in a nation at war. What do you tell them?

* + \”Army service is part of every Israeli citizens duty,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We must convince our young members to perform their role, even if they disagree. It's part of serving the greater collective.\”
  + \”If they speak from their ideals,\” you say, \” we should support their views against the war. We will pay their legal fees and accept any criticism from the rest of the country.\”

Your kibbutz accepts its first group of young German volunteers. The new arrivals unexpectedly cause tension on the kibbutz. Several members are Holocaust survivors who lost their families in the Nazi death camps. \”The sound of German being spoken brings tears to my eyes,\” says one survivor. \”Their blonde faces remind me of the camp guards who marched my parents to the ovens.\” How do you resolve their concerns?

* + \”It was mistake to take German volunteers,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We must ask them to leave.\”
  + \”It's a minor issue,\” you say. \”Our members rarely see the volunteers. We will make sure they don't cross paths much during their time here.\”
  + \”Perhaps there is an educational opportunity here,\” you say. \”Let's ask our members to meet with the Germans and talk about their experiences in the deathcamps.\”

**1986-1996: Uprising to Oslo**

**Questions: 4**

After an investigation, the kibbutz discovers that a long-time member named Gilad has been stealing equipment from the factory and selling it on the black market in a nearby town. It feels like a violation of the whole community's trust. Gilad has always been independent and abrasive and isn't well-liked in the community. However, he has a wife and three kids on the kibbutz. How do you penalize his actions?

* + \”This is an unfortunate incident, but we are a forgiving community,\” you declare. \”He must quit working in the factory, but he may stay a member if he wants and work in another district.\”
  + \”He has violated our trust,\” you argue. \”He must serve a one-year suspension as a member. Only after that may he return.\”
  + \”Banishment is the only option for such a major breach of trust,\” you say. \”But his family may stay.\”
  + \”The law is the law,\” you argue. \”Let the police settle the matter-let's have him arrested.\”

[Kibbutz Mishmar HaEmek]

An older kibbutznik is caught by female volunteers spying on them through a hole in the communal showers. They are outraged and want something done. This isn't the first time the kibbutz's \”peeping Tom\” has caused problems in the community. What do you do?

* + \”We will cover up the hole and ask him to stop,\” you tell the volunteers. \”But you must not talk about the incident: he is a member and you are merely guests on our community.\”
  + \”It's time we did something about Moishe,\” you tell the general secretary. \”Let's send him to town for a psychological evaluation. And make sure the nightwatchman keeps an eye on him.\”
  + \”Enough is enough!\” you demand. \”He must leave the kibbutz until he can prove he can leave women alone!\”

It's increasingly hard to convince your members to come back to the kibbutz as members. Why become farmers or factory workers when they can travel the world and then live in Tel Aviv? Life is elsewhere. But your aging kibbutz can't afford not to rejuvenate its membership. What do you do?

* + \”We need to make returning to the kibbutz more attractive,\” you say. \”Offer returning children the newest  apartments and then let's build a disco on-site for parties on Shabbat nights.\”
  + \”Do nothing,\” you advise.\”Our children will return when they tire of the empty materialism of city life. The kibbutz will take them home then.\”
  + \”They've lost their sense of community,\” you caution. \”Let us recruit instead from the youth movement and from foreign Jews who have a stronger passion for Zionism and kibbutz life than our kids.\”

Investment in the stock market offers an opportunity to raise capital to expand your kibbutz and increase membership. Do you invest?

* + \”Yes!\” you say. \”This is a great opportunity to raise funds for the kibbutz.\” [Econ = \*.5 to 1.2]
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”The stock market is a tool for capitalists to control the world—we should take no part, even if it benefits the kibbutz.\” [Rep = + 5]

A new group of [British / Australian / American] volunteers are causing problems on the kibbutz: making noise at night, showing up late or hungover to work, breaking farm equipment \”by accident\”. They are popular, however, with younger kibbutzniks for the parties they throw in the Volunteer Quarter and they work hard when they are sober. How do you resolve the conflict?

* + \”Kick them off immediately,\” you tell the Volunteer Coordinator. \”We can't tolerate this type of behaviour.\”
  + \”Let's expel the worst of the volunteers as an example,\” you suggest.
  + \”This is no big deal,\” you advise the Volunteer Coordinator. \”Foreigners always cause problems, but if they aren't doing anything illegal, who cares?\”

You are one of the last kibbutzes to maintain a children's house for communal child-rearing. Once again, several members demand that their kids be allowed to stay in their rooms

* + \”Yes, you agree. \”We can accept this small change if everyone agrees.\”
  + \”Never!\” You argue. \”Raising our children together has inspired them with the spirit of communal living. It's why our kibbutz has succeeded while others have failed.\”

Arab workers in your fields and factory refuse to come to work in solidarity with a three-day strike called by the PLO to support the Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza. Their actions will cost the kibbutz money. How do you react?

* + \”If they don't want to work, they don't have a job,\” you tell the managers. \”We should hire new employees or replace them with volunteers.\”
  + \”Times are tense and there are worse ways to express their political views,\” you caution the Assembly. \”Let them come back and let's hope the uprising peters out soon.\”

The hyper-inflation and sky-rocketing interest rates has through Israel's economy into turmoil. Kibbutzes have seen their debts skyrocket—including your community's The kibbutz federation is trying to negotiate with the government to get  a bail-out from the banks. What do you recommend?

* + \”We must join the negotiations and get a deal,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We are strongest as a united kibbutz movement.\”
  + \”We're not as bad off as other kibbutzes,\” you say. \”We are better off negotiating on our own terms and not getting stuck paying someone else's debts.\”

[Economic crisis]

The economic crisis forces your financial committee to consider more drastic actions and cutbacks. Where do you begin to reduce the budget?

* + To education and childcare
  + To the dining room and social centers
  + To healthcare and the seniors center
  + To new equipment for the agricultural and factory branches

**1996-2005: Socialists in Start-Up Nation**

A shadow descends again on your country. On November 5, 1995,  after a speech about his hopes for peace in Tel Aviv to a crowd of 100,000—including several of your kibbutz members—Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is shot and killed by a right-wing fanatic. The next year, your fellow citizens elect a right-wing coalition government led by Benyamin Netanyahu. The Oslo Peace Accords fall to ruin. Unrest grows in the Palestinian Territories. And kibbutzniks struggle with their own problems, small and big.

**Questions: 7**

To save money on food expenses, your financial manager recommends that the kibbutz hires a contractor to run the kitchen, charges members for lunch meals and only opens the dining hall for Shabbat dinners. Many members, however have a sentimental attachment to the dining hall and its three free meals a day.

* + You agree and privatize the dining hall to save money for bigger priorities.
  + You disagree and continue to give all members free meals, even at a loss.

Your kibbutz members no longer want to do field work, while international volunteers are too unreliable and transient. \”We need to shut down the volunteer program,\” says the agricultural manager, \”and hire guest workers from Thailand—they can do the work and they don't cost much. Every kibbutz is doing it.\” At the General Assembly, though, an old-timer reminds the kibbutz of its original motto: \”Neither exploited nor exploiter.\” What do you recommend?

* + \”The kibbutz needs to stay solvent,\” you say. \”We should hire Thai guest workers for the field jobs.\”
  + \”We can't betray our original ideals—'neither exploited nor exploiter',\” you remind your comrades. \”We should use kibbutzniks and volunteers for agricultural work.\”
  + \”Maybe if nobody wants to do field work,\” you suggest, \” the kibbutz should shut down its agricultural operations and focus instead on our factories and professional services.\”

[SOURCE: Samar,  Ketura, Lotan]

The managers of your most-productive factory want to raise capital for expansion by spinning off the operation from the kibbutz and going public on an American stock exchange. Do you agree to sell stocks in your factory?

* + \”No,\” you say. \”It sounds too risky and might make it harder to control the fate of the factory. We would become just another pawn of the capitalist markets.\”
  + \”Yes,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We must trust the judgement of our factory managers. It's an opportunity to grow and support the community.\”

[SOURCE: Shamir]

A few years ago, younger kibbutzniks and new arrivals from America started a recycling program on the kibbutz. Then they created an organic garden and started teaching courses in \”permaculture\” and environmental philosophy. Now, they say that the kibbutz has lost its original political direction and should renew its greater mission by joining the international movement of \”eco-villages\” and investing more resources in their educational outreach programs and alternative energy projects.. Many older members, however, think the ideas of these self-described \”eco-Zionists\” are naïve and flaky. How do you resolve their conflict?

* + \”Socialism is a failed philosophy,\” you tell the General Assembly. \”Environmentalism is the new path to heal the world—and we should follow it.\”
  + \”Let the hippies keep their gardens,\” you reply, \”but we need remained focused on creating job opportunities that will keep the kibbutz alive and out of debt. WE can't afford to divert our resources into pie-in-the-sky feel-good projects.\”

The kibbutz feels adrift. Yes, you have your farm fields and your factories and living expenses paid for by the collective. But something feels missing. You field several proposals for a new project that could be added to the kibbutz that might re-energize its original mission of social good.

* + You suggest that the kibbutz open up its apartments and factories to operate a home for adults with physical and mental disabilities.
  + Another member who is a professional performer recommends turning the old dining room and other lesser used buildings into a \”Dance Village— a studio and training centre for an international dance troupe.
  + Your older members love to garden and tourism might help the bottom line You recommend opening a botanical facility with rare orchids with paid admission to the general public—a Utopia Orchid Garden.
  + Many of the elderly survivors of the Holocaust who joined your kibbutz are reachng the end of their lives. You recommend creating a small museum about the Holocaust and its aftermath on your kibbutz.

[Kishorit, Harduf, etc.]

After a terrible helicopter accidents kills more than 70 soldiers on the border of Lebanon, a group of women from your kibbutz begin a public protest to demand that the government finally bring home its soldiers from a country that Israel first invaded—to chase out Palestinian terrorists—in 1982 and never fully left. The protest catches the public's attention and grows bigger. They march on the Prime Minister's office covered in mud to symbolize the \”morass\” of the Lebanese War. In a backlash to their protests, pundits and letter writers warn that women shouldn't interfere in important military affairs they know little about. Many of your kibbutzniks grow uncomfortable with the intense media attention put on your community because of the protests. What do you advise?

* + \”This is a personal protest,\” you tell the four leaders of the movement, \”so please make it clear that you are speaking as mothers *not* as kibbutzniks. Otherwise it will harm our reputation.\”
  + \”Let them say what they want,\” you tell the Assembly. \”We don't need to agree with each other on every issue.\”
  + \”They have reinvigorated our original vision of peace in this land,\” you argue. \”We should provide the organizers with resources and space to help promote their cause and agitate for change!\”

[Four Mothers]

\”High-technology is the way of the future!\” your business manager insists. He offers a couple of options for your kibbutz to become a high-tech player in Israel.

* + \”How is a village of farmers supposed to compete with high-tech companies in Tel Aviv—let alone Silicon Valley?\” you say. \”Let's stick to what we know—and what we grow.\”
  + \”Our cotton manager has a new idea for a drip-irrigation system to use water more efficiently,\” you say. \”Let's invest in that.\”
  + \”We can repurpose our Kevlar manufacturing plant to produce armor for military vehicles,' you argue. \”The U.S. and Israel will always be in the market for better amor.\”
  + \”Let's retool our bifocal factory to create progressive lenses,\” you suggest. \”Everyone gets older—and better vision is something we're all willing to pay for.\”

[Kibbutz Hatzerim, Sasa, Shamir]

Kibbutz Masada, a community in your same movement, votes to \”privatize\” its communal economy. It will no longer pay members an equal amount no matter what job they do. This act causes a huge controversy across the country. Your movement asks kibbutz leaders for their opinions. What do you think?

* + \”A kibbutz that no longer treats its members as equals is no longer a kibbutz,\” you argue. \”They should be forced out of the movement and lose all privileges.\”
  + \”Change is inevitable,\” you admit. \”As long as they look out for their neediest members, they're still a kibbutz.\”
  + \”That's unfortunate,\” you say. \”If they keep the name 'kibbutz' they should differentiate their new way of life— call it an 'Near-Kibbutz' or a 'Kibbutz Lite'!\”

[Ben Rafael Committee]

An \”economic consultant\” from Tel Aviv approaches your community and offers his services—for a fee—to advise you on improving economic efficiencies. \”I've successfully helped other indebted kibbutzes recalibrate from socialism to capitalism while keeping the community happy,\” he says.

**2005-2015: The End of Utopia?**

As the kibbutz movement prepares to celebrate its 100th anniversary in 2010, Israel's experiment in communal living has much to celebrate. It has many regrets, too. The number of international volunteers has dwindled. The role of the kibbutz in Israeli society has virtually vanished. The population on most kibbutzes has declined and gotten older. Few communities resemble the ideologically pure communes that their founders imagined. And their original utopian ideals seem increasingly out-of-date in a country driven by high-tech capitalist entrepreneurs, nationalistic and war-prone politicians, and right-wing religious settlers. Does the kibbutz have a role in the 21st century? Only you can decide....

Questions: 10

The government is building a new security fence intended to divide the West Bank—and Palestinian infiltrators—from Israel proper. The plan for the fence will cut awkwardly across the kibbutz property. You will lose access to a small farm field and your Arab neighbours will become separated from a much larger olive orchard on the Israeli side of the Wall. How do you react?

* + \”This is the new reality we must accept with the Security Fence,\” you say. \”Perhaps we can convicne the Arab villagers to swap our field for their orchards to make things easier.\”
  + \”This is a violation of our lands,\” you say, \”and the government must reimburse us for the income lost due to the Separation Barrier.\” You recommend a hard lobbying effort.
  + \”The Apartheid Wall is an affront to both our peoples!\” you argue. \”We must unite in protests with our Palestinian neighbours and stop the wall from every being built!\”

One of your young members was serving in the Army on a kibbutz near Gaza when he was captured by the military wing of Hamas. He has been held hostage for nearly a year. Hamas insists that they will only return the soldiers if Israel releases 1,000 Palestinian prisoners. The family of the captured soldier is distraught and demands that the entire kibbutz movement pressures the government for their son's release. What do you do?

* + \”Unfortunately, no one life is worth the dozens of deaths likely to be caused if Israel releases convicted Palestinian terrorists,\” you say. \”Our nation must stand up against hostage-taking as extortion.\”
  + \”As kibbutzniks, it's best to remain quiet,\” you advise, \”and let the government conduct negotiations.\”
  + \”We must pressure authorities to save your son!\” You argue. \”The kibbutz should organize a march. Our supporters will walk all the way to the Prime Minister's residence and demand he make a deal with Hamas.\”

[SOURCE: Gilad Shalit]

Your Financial Manager calculates that the kibbutz could save money and reduce its expenses if you closed the on-site old-age home and instead housed retired kibbutzniks at a central facility in a nearby town. The elderly residents aren't happy about the idea. What do you recommend?

* + \”Yes,\” you argue. \”The money saved could better support their needs as they get old and frail.\”
  + \”No,\” you say. \”A community needs to take care of all its members, even if it means we all make do with less.\”

[Yitzhak Rabin, interview]

[If Ideology ≠ Religious]

Several new members are Orthodox. They insist the kibbutz should add a synagogue and that the kitchen only serve kosher food. The demands of the religious newcomers annoy many of your older, secular members. Tensions rise. The General Assembly must reach a decision.

* + \”We must change to meet the needs of the Jewish people and the faith of our nation,\” you tell the Assembly and recommend adding the synagogue and kosher kitchen.
  + \”Yes, we can raise money for a synagogue,\” you say, \”but anyone who must eat kosher can do so in their own apartment.\”
  + \”Religion is the opiate of the masses,\” you tell the newcomers. \”Go join a religious kibbutz if you need a 'fix'.\”

A [Bedouin / Druze] Arab family family who sent their children to the kibbutz school, who worked as a nurse and in the factory, and who have lived in the community for several years decide to apply for permanent membership. They would be the first Arab members on an Israeli kibbutz—ever. This fact makes some of your older members anxious. What do you tell them?

* + \”Yes, I agree,' you say. \”The kibbutz has always been a Jewish institution, and we would weaken the solidarity of our community if we open our gates to people who don't understand our traditions and culture.\”
  + \”It's a stain on our movement that it has taken this long to accept an Arab member,\” you argue. \”If a family is fit for our community, it doesn't matter the colour of their skin or the matter of their faith.\”

[Jerusalem Post report, Nir Eliahu on Kfar Saba]

[If Economy < X]

A consultant says that your kibbutz needs to cut costs and recommends that you lay off 90 percent of the laundry staff, stop subsidizing birth control and sell the school’s musical instruments to reduce your debt.

* + \”Tough times require tough actions,\” you tell the assembly and recommend that you implement the consultant's plans.
  + \”A kibbutz that sells its musical instruments has sold its soul,\” you argue. You save the laundry jobs and fire the consultant instead.
  + \”Maybe we can compromise,\” you say. \”Let's cut the laundry staff in half, offer five free condoms a month, and save at least enough musical instruments for a small school band.

[Hulata movie, Israel Oz]

Your population is aging and your kibbutz sits on valuable—and picturesque—country real estate. Increasingly, city-dwellers in Israel's hectic urban centers want to move to the rural suburbs. A developer offers to help build and market a new subdivision on agricultural and divide the profits with the kibbutz. But members wonder how to control who gets to live within your fences.

* + \”This is a bad idea,\” you advise. \”Why would we open our home to outsiders who have no commitment to our core philosophy? We can survive without becoming real-estate tycoons!\”
  + \”Yes, let's open our gates,\” you say, \”but let's due it cautiously. We should interview prospective buyers and only take families who will fit within our community. We might not make as much money but we won't disrupt our kibbutz.\”
  + \”This is a great idea,\” you argue. \”It will bring new life—and new resources—to our community. Let's advertise widely and take any families who can afford a home here.\”
  + \”Let's seize the opportunity,\” you tell the Assembly, \”by interviewing prospective buyers and taking a half-and-half mix of Jewish and Palestinian residents. Our subdivision will be a co-existence community to inspire other kibbutzes!\”

[Shinui debate: Nes Ammim]

Rocket fire from [Lebanon / Gaza] drives your members into bomb shelters. Many flee to safer regions of the country. Israel returns to a state of war—an almost annual occurrence in recent years. The threat of rocket fire and evacuation of many members have a serious impact on your ability to run the operations of your fields and factory. The once-peaceable mood of your kibbutz is also souring. What do you do to calm fears?

* + \”This is no way for people to live!\” You say. \”We established the frontier and now our Army must defend us. Let's call for a greater military response to stop the constant threat of rockets from a terrorist regime!\”
  + \”The threat of violence has always been part of kibbutz life, for better or worse,\” you declare. \”There is little we can do other than stay in our shelters and hope for an end to the conflict.\”
  + \”We must escape the tit-for-tat cycle of violence,\” you tell your members. \”Let's stand up and protest against the endless bombing of [Lebanon / Gaza] and the civilian deaths, There must be another way toward peace....\”

[Nomika Zion and Migvan

In 20015, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon surprises—and divides—the country by ordering a unilateral withdrawal of Israeli settlements from Gaza. Many of the settlers in the Palestinian rest and must be forcibly removed by the Israeli Army. One settlement used to be a kibbutz from your movement. How do you react?

* + You applaud the government's removal of these illegal settlements on occupied land.
  + You condemn the forcible eviction of fellow pioneers, even if you don't always agree with their politics.
  + You don't express an opinion about the withdrawal but you recommend opening your gates to the settlers who have been removed. They can start their lives again in your own kibbutz.

[Kfar Darom]

Times are changing. Israel is now \”Start-Up Nation\” not a country of socialists. Many members now want to end economic equality and receive differential salaries based on market rates. Other kibbutzes have already made *shinui*—\”The Change\”. Do you agree to decommunalize the kibbutz economy and end the radical equality on which the movement was founded.

* + \”Yes,\” you agree. \”It's what members want and it’s the only way to survive.\”
  + \”Maybe,\” you suggest, \”but perhaps we should discuss our options more and find a middle way.\”
  + \”No,\” you argue. \”A kibbutz that doesn't share its wealth equally isn't a true kibbutz. If people want to live like the rest of the world, they can leave the kibbutz.\”

The kibbutz faces an existential crisis. Nobody believes that everyone is equal. Nobody believes your small village can change the world. Even \”kibbutz,\” members say, is a zombie word with no real meaning anymore. \”Who are we fooling?\” they say. \”We are no more special than any other community. Why do we keep pretending?\”

* + You agree. \”Let's fully privatize the kibbutz and sell off all its communal holdings. We can live like neighbours do in any other city—nothing more, nothing less. The kibbutz movement is over. We have entered the capitalist era\”
  + \”Perhaps, you're right,\” you say. \”But we can still live as more than just autonomous individuals.\” You suggest devolving the kibbutz to a moshav—a co-operative community that shares a little but not everything.
  + \”You are wrong,\” you argue. \”Nothing in the history of Israel is more original or more valuable than the kibbutz—even just the idea of communal living. We must keep going to remind the world there is another way to live.\”

[Warhust page 216]

A university student group in the United States targets products from your kibbutz factory as part of its boycott Israel\” campaign. Their protest gets international media attention, and the factory's managers worry that the negative exposure will hurt the reputation of your brand. They demand a reaction from the kibbutz. What do you do?

* + \”Oy, it's just a tempest in a teapot,\” you assure them. \”Let it blow over. These idealistic young *goyim* will move onto other matters in a few weeks.\”
  + \”We must educate these students,\” you say. \”Let's invite the leaders here to see firsthand how well we treat our workers and how the kibbutz remains one of the most progressive forces for peace in all of Israel. They should boycott the settlements—but not factories within Israel.\”
  + \”The boycott movement is just a front for Israel-hating anti-Semites,\” you argue. \”We should call the students out to their university administrators for their ignorance and racism!\”

[BDS 2005]

Massive street protests erupt in Tel Aviv and across the country to protest social conditions and economic inequality in Israel.

A group of young members—grand-children and great-grandchildren of the early kibbutzniks—have decided to go their own way. The don't want to go to university. They don't want join the Army. (They take alternative civil service of become conscientious objectors.) Instead they want to start small communes in impoverished neighbourhoods in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Nazareth. There they plan to take jobs as educators and social workers and improve the lives of new immigrants and your Arab Israelis. Your kibbutz can't afford to lose their youth and energy, though. What do you tell them?

* + \”This idea will never succeed!\” You caution. \”Stay here on your home kibbutz where you can perform similar service will helping your community.\”
  + \”We wish you well,\” you say. \”Yours is the true future—perhaps the only future—of the kibbutz ideal. We only wish we were still young enough to join you...\”