

Teddy holds the fort

Eight days from now Teddy Kollek will seek reconfirmation from the people of Jerusalem for his singular approach to the problems of his city. One afternoon last week he allowed Abraham Rabinovich to corner him in his office

WITH 77 richly-lived years behind him, Teddy Kollek is still learning astonishing new things about life and about himself — like the possibility that in a time of chaos a public man can admit that he has no solution at all to offer.

The outbreak of the intifada, which seemed to unravel all he had done as mayor of a united Jerusalem over 20 years, had driven Kollek to despair and back — but not all the way back.

"In a sense, in the last few years I have stopped thinking (about a solution)," he said in an interview. "The solution here will come in 200 years, in 500 years, if it is in 30 years so much the better. You've got to work from day to day and respond in the most intelligent way every day."

Cornered in his office in the middle of the afternoon at the end of last week, the mayor leans back heavily in his chair and seems to be fighting a losing battle to keep his eyes open. He has been on the go since 7 a.m. and will keep going till close to midnight.

"He's still outworking us all," says an aide.

As a concession to time, the mayor has been punching the time clock just inside the City Hall entrance at 7 a.m. these winter days instead of 6:30 as he used to. He also no longer drives at night after cataract operations on both eyes. This means that instead of driving his car himself on his nightly rounds after his regular driver has finished the day's work, he has a night driver as well.

First elected in 1965, Kollek is now campaigning for his sixth term as mayor. It is an almost invisible campaign, bereft of stormy issues or of any serious opposition for the mayor's post. Kollek's campaign has been deliberately low-key to avoid stirring up antagonisms that might leave post-election scars. The only burning questions are whether East Jerusalem Arabs will vote in significant numbers and, if they don't, whether his One Jerusalem list can retain its majority on the city council.

"The next five years will revolutionize the city," says Kollek.

A large number of major development projects will come to a head during the coming term. Construction will finally begin this summer, *insh'allah*, in the Mamilla district which has been standing derelict in the middle of the city almost since Jerusalem's reunification in 1967. The municipal stadium is likewise about to move off the drawing-board, to the great relief of Kollek who regarded as a personal failure his inability to honour his pledge to build one for the city's sports fans in the face of *haredi* opposition.

A new convention centre incorporating Binyanei Ha'Uma will make Jerusalem more attractive for international congresses. A new new city hall campus is expected to transform the downtown area within four years. Ambitious plans have been drawn up for southwest Jerusalem near Manahat including a major shopping centre, a new municipal zoo and a new railway terminus to replace the existing one opposite Mount Zion. The mayor has played a central role in such development projects,

particularly in the mobilization of funding. IN THE PAST, he played an even more active political role in trying to incorporate East Jerusalem into the united city. He brought Moslem, and Christian, leaders to meet with Prime Minister Levi Eshkol even before the minefields were cleared in 1967 to receive a pledge that their religious rights would be honoured and that there would be no interference with their holy places.

He was active in formulating long-term political solutions such as a borough plan that would give the Arabs considerable control over their own areas. He suggested that the municipal boundaries be extended to include Ramallah which would then serve as capital of a Palestinian entity so that the Palestinians could claim to have a capital in Jerusalem too. He met frequently with Arab leaders in East Jerusalem and innumerable small ways he sought to ease the Arab population's fears and to mitigate their sense of being a conquered people living in a city where others made the rules.

The outbreak of the intifada, he admits, shocked him, despite the cautionary statement he had always been careful to insert in his speeches during "the fat years" to the effect that the Arab question in Jerusalem was far from resolved. "At the beginning of the intifada I was in absolute despair. I didn't expect this amount of violence. Today I'm still pretty down but I think I'm able to see things more realistically."

More than one year into the Palestinian uprising, he has no illusions about coming up with a magic political formula that will speedily integrate his constituents into one body politic. "In the beginning we had lots of thoughts. I'm not a writer. I can't think in theoretical terms about solutions that cannot come about. For years the government has been immovable."

"Where will the solution come from?" he is asked.

"From life," he answers. Life, it is clear, includes the Jews, the Arabs, Washington, the rest of the world, time, and permutations of human and political interaction that cannot even be anticipated.

Meanwhile, the mayor is grateful for small mercies. "I sincerely believe that with all the limitations of a united city, Jerusalem is still better than when it was divided."

That morning, he noted, he had been on the Temple Mount with two senior government legal officials to examine complaints



(Joel Fishman)

by right-wingers "with disturbed minds" that the Moslems were effacing Jewish archaeological remnants and building without a licence. They had walked around there, he noted, without police escort.

The intifada had had less of an impact on Jerusalem than on the West Bank, he notes. "We made a lot of unnecessary enemies (by heavy-handed action) but we have had only two Arabs killed in the city." The Arab municipal workers "did not miss a single day" of work during the uprising, he said, Arab workers have continued turning up each day at West Jerusalem plants, and municipal projects in the Arab neighbourhoods have continued virtually without interruption. He, himself, has carried on driv-

ing in Arab Jerusalem throughout the intifada, often alone, and he has not been stoned or otherwise molested, he says. He also continues to meet with East Jerusalem Arabs, albeit less frequently. These meetings, however, have not been of a kind to kindle optimism.

"I had dinner last week in East Jerusalem in the home of an Arab contractor. There was a man there, a writer, from one of the great Arab families of Jerusalem, visiting from abroad. The food was excellent and he was a most tolerant man but he said 'What proof do you have that the Temple actually stood on the Temple Mount?'"

"He was also convinced that we wanted to build a state from the Euphrates to the Nile. This was an intelligent man and this is what he believes. It will take generations to overcome this. We are caught in our inadequacies. I have no solution."

IN THE 23 years since he became mayor, Teddy Kollek has transformed the city and has seen its population being transformed as well.

"In my first year, I wanted to put two small gardens in Rehov Antigones in Katamon. A survey was made of families in the area. The response was 'who needs parks?' Today, on a Saturday, you may have 10,000 people in Liberty Bell Garden and thousands of others picnicking in the forests. Look at the number of people who visit the Israel Museum. This is an absolute change in how people spend their free time. People have stopped picking flowers and I think we've educated people to use libraries."

"Look at what has been done to preserve historical sites. It's an achievement forever. But I regard the fact that people now sit in cafes on the Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall till 1 a.m. as being at least as important. It's a much more civilized city now, a well-tended city." He noted the recent development of a bomb-proof dustbin for the city that at last permits the placement of receptacles throughout the downtown area.

THE MAYOR still starts the day with a drive through the city to check out problems, although no longer every day. The day before he had read a small article in *The Jerusalem Post* about an elderly couple who have to cross a stream of water outside their home on rainy days and he had his driver take him there that morning. Upon returning to the office, he gave instructions to his

aide to attend to the matter. He also drove to a plant on the edge of Beit Hakerem to check out a citizen's complaint that the workers were taking up parking space on the neighbouring streets instead of using the plant's ample parking area. He found the complaint justified and contacted the plant.

It is such concern and such attention to detail that has made the left-leaning mayor such a formidable political force in a right-leaning city that the most prominent Likud municipal official (Reuven Rivlin) declined to run against him.

Kollek still receives telephone calls at home from citizens, but much less frequently now that the water and electricity systems are functioning virtually without problems. One regular caller is a woman from Haifa whom he has never met. "She called me after I was beaten up by *haredim* before the last elections to ask how I was. Since then, she has called every single day to speak to me or my wife."

With the completion of all his development projects in the coming term, what would he be leaving his successor to do?

"I'm only bringing the city up to date. There will be tremendous problems for the next 100 years."

As for the choice of a successor — "life will choose him."

ON THE LARGE question, the future of Jerusalem as a united city, Teddy Kollek has likewise pulled back from hard-edged proposals to the fuzzy wisdom of "life".

"What did more harm than anything, was (the Leon Uris book) *Exodus*," he suddenly says. "People expected everybody in Israel to be heroes like Ari Ben-Canaan. We couldn't possibly live up to the expectations. The same thing happened with regard to our Arab situation as well, the feeling that everything was solved. And suddenly this happens."

The mayor does not radiate defeatism or even pessimism, only a feeling that he is hunkering down for the long haul and reorienting his search for political satisfaction to what is achievable.

"I'm trying to convince myself that all that has happened is really natural and that we should have expected it. Look, we just had Arab and Jewish children participating together in the youth orchestra in a concert we gave. Six hundred Arab children took part in a fund-raising campaign for crippled children run by Ilan. Hundreds of Arab women are taking courses we're giving to combat illiteracy. I can give dozens of such examples. So I'm trying to convince myself that everything we have done is still paying off. Maybe these things will go under if the intifada goes on much longer. But I think we've proved something, that even under fire we've been able to achieve positive things."

Life unveils its mysteries at its own pace but if there is anything about it that can be anticipated it is that Jerusalem on Feb. 28 will overwhelmingly choose Teddy Kollek, who will be 78 in May, to lead it into the unknown.

Intifada dreams

THE PALESTINIAN children at the forefront of the stonethrowers are not the "fearless heroes of the intifada" the foreign press likes to describe.

"They are scared young kids who have nightmares and are undoubtedly mentally scarred. But they are the future leaders Israel will have to live with," said Israeli Arab psychologists Dr. Shafik Masalha of Kafr Kara in Galilee and Youssuf Nashef, of Taibe, at the 22nd scientific congress of the Israeli Psychological Society at the University of Haifa this month.

The two young psychologists work in Jerusalem and the West Bank, and Masalha is also at the Hebrew and Bir-Zeit universities.

In 1984 they studied the dreams of 10- and 11-year-olds from the Kalandia refugee camp. In a follow-up study of Kalandia and several other camps last July, the children were given notebooks and asked to describe four dreams.

While in 1984 only 28 per cent had dreamt of "violent confrontation with Israelis," in the second survey, 70 per cent had had such dreams.

Not one child dreamt of peace or contact, even passive contact, with Israelis who ap-

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peared in their dreams only as "occupiers, Zionists, settlers and in some cases as heretics." While in 1984 some still dreamt of verbal confrontation with Israeli soldiers, by 1988 all their dreams were of physical hurt.

The dreams' "central theme was the conflict.

"They dreamt of the Israelis as faceless soldiers — not as Jews, Israelis, or Zionists — entering the world of the child without permission, breaking furniture and beating up their father before tying him up.

"They no longer feel protected at home or in school." The psychologists said the children no longer feel protected by the dominant figures in their lives — parents and teachers. Instead, they seek security in friends of their own age.

"The gap between Palestinian children and Israel is growing because there is no talking, even in their dreams, only aggressive action. The gap between the children and their parents is also growing, as they see them as helpless and unable

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1 Provides evidence at trials (7)

5 See gunmen about in the distance and wonder (7)

23 Tearing off to make notes about journey with political leader (9)

25 Cooking sausage — still (7)

6 Conscience-stricken about jailed worker (9)

7 Greek character not in favour of producing wine (7)

8 A writer may be mere child

Not only for fish and chips