

in the 1979-1980 period, to growing flowers under plastic hot houses for export to Europe involved unexpected competition within the EEC which forced several settlements to liquidate their assets.

But not all the settlers' problems are economic in nature. There are certain ideological-organizational dilemmas which face Jewish settlers which even the massive injection of subsidies (declared by the Jewish National Fund in 1980-1981) (al-Hamishmar, 29.3.1981) were unlikely to solve. Those problems can be summarized as follows:

- a. The political heterogeneity of Israeli movements sponsoring Jewish colonies in the Valley made it difficult for the various blocs of settlements to coordinate their demands to the government in a way, for example, that Gush Emunim has done in the West Bank highlands. (Only Mapam's Kibbutz Artzi has abstained from creating settlements in the Valley).
- b. Since most Valley settlements are made of moshavim and moshavim shiftui (fifteen out of 21 in 1978 -- Morgenstern, 1978:9) rather kibbutzim, their capacity to draw internally cohesive plans and to articulate these plans effectively at the national level have been weakened by the personal interests of individualized farming. This also posed an economic problem reflected in the inability of the settlements to properly utilize capital intensive mechanization in a manner that communal farms have done elsewhere.
- c. Dependence on Arab labour in both the initial construction of housing for the settlements and in agricultural production has been a continued source of embarrassments for the settlers'