



THE UNITED WORKERS PARTY OF ISRAEL

For Zionism, Socialism, and the Brotherhood of Nations

A good slogan breathes the essence of a movement. Such is Mapam's slogan: For Zionism, Socialism and the Brotherhood of Nations.

Zionism is the movement of Jewish national liberation; it strives to convert a scattered people into a productive nation on its own ancient land. Socialism provides the ideology and method for the achievement of national libe-

A Specific Problem

As a consistent working-class party, Mapam is true to the analytical method of scientific socialism. The most brilliant interpreter of Marx's teachings in terms of the Jewish people was Ber Borochov, a Jewish labor leader who was active at the turn of the century. Mapam adheres to the broad outlines of his approach.

Borochov compared the occupational structure of the Jews in dispersion to an inverted pyramid. Whereas among normal people in their own homeland the base of the pyramid is a rooted working-class and peasantry, the Jewish pyramid stands on its apex. It has

ration as well as social emancipation. Thus, Mapam's outlook is founded on the synthesis between pioneering Zionism and militant Socialism — between constructive activity and class-struggle. The third element of the slogan — Brotherhood of Nations — is an attribute of the first two, but had a special significance for Israel, a Middle Eastern land with a prominent Arab national minority.

almost no working-class base in town or country for the Jews are today primarily an urban middle-class people.

The free professions and commerce are increasingly typical Jewish occupations and the large city attracts the major Jewish concentrations — about 40 percent of Jews in the U.S.A. in New York, over half of the British Jews in London, for example. The abnormal economic structure of the Jewish minorities everywhere makes their position uniquely vulnerable in times of social ferment and upheaval.

The concentration of production stimulates the majority culture and may

Part of
Mapam Street Procession
on May Day



give advantage to the majority in the competition over jobs. At the same time it weakens the ties of the national minorities with their mother cultures. Under such conditions, if a minority is to preserve its national integrity, it must return to its homeland. The Jews, being without a territory of their own, were helplessly tossed in a whirlpool of assimilatory attraction and minority repulsion.

This, in addition to religious discrimination, contributed to the upsurge of *anti-semitism*, which led to pogroms and finally, under the Hitler regime, came the monstrous attempt to solve the "Jewish Problem" by the extermination of an entire people. Thus, national independence, which was synonymous in the special conditions of the Jewish people with territorial concentration in Israel, became a vital historical necessity during the second world war. The only way in which the Jews could contribute to the building of Socialism would be through national self-liberation.

Today, seventeen years after the establishment of the State of Israel, 85% of the Jewish people are still scattered in the Diaspora. The Zionist movement counters anti-semitism and discrimination by defence of Jewish rights every-

where and through working toward the gradual concentration of the Jewish people in its land.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND ZIONISM

Many of the most difficult problems which occupy the attention of present-day Israel can be traced directly to the influence of 1892 years of dispersion, dating from the exile of the local Jewish population by the Roman invaders in 70 A.D.

Scattered among other nations, the Jews were denied by law the possibility of normal productive economic life, and limited in choice of livelihood to commerce and crafts. They were perpetually estranged and kept suspect by ruling powers, as convenient scapegoats in case of need. A line of anti-semitic persecutions stretches from the Ptolemies in Egypt, through the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, the expulsions, the blood-litels and the Ghettos of Europe — to the unmatched horror of the Nazi period, which was kept in focus by the trial in Israel of the Eichmann beast, and by recurring instances of neo-Nazi, anti-semitic manifestations in various parts of the world.

The dispersed sections of the Jewish

people lost contact with each other during their long exile, and began to develop along different lines of language, culture and history. But the persecution which they suffered as a result of their peculiar social and religious status in the community kept alive the embers of their longing for the distant homeland. From time to time messianic movements would arise, leading to abortive attempts to resettle the Jewish people in Israel. But only with the advent of the Zionist movement, founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897, did these aspirations take on the appearance of a modern political mass-movement. It took the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazi genocide-machine to raise the Zionist solution of the Jewish problem to a plane of prime concern for remaining Jewry and for the civilised world. The "Ingathering of the Exiles", the creation and fortification of the State of Israel, and the establishment of a normal productive base for Jewish national existence are now among the major tasks of the Jewish people in our day.

Mapam is of the opinion that the right of Jews to immigrate to Israel is universal. It applies to all those countries where the Jews live, including, of course, both the U.S.A. and the

U.S.S.R., where the major concentrations of Jews are to be found. As regards Soviet Jewry, Mapam stresses their right to enjoy a full national and cultural Jewish life as indeed is granted by the Soviet Government to all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Mapam believes that those Soviet Jews who wish to join their brethren in Israel should be enabled to do so. The Party stresses that the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union must be completely divorced from any connection with the East-West conflict or the Cold War.

THE GOAL — AN OVERALL CHANGE

In order to achieve territorial concentration of the Jews, it was necessary to build a *national home*. This implied, in terms of Israel, the conquest of neglected lands; and this in turn called for a *productive people*. At the turn of the present century, a pioneer movement rose to the task of converting a people of shopkeepers and sweatshop workers into a nation of farmers and builders — of effecting a *social transformation of the Jewish people*.

In order to overcome the natural obstacles which at first confronted

them, and transform urban types into villagers and productive workers, special forms of settlement were innovated. Both *moshav*, the small-holders' settlement, and *kibbutz*, the purely communal settlement, were based on *collectivism* and *class-conscious volunteer workers*. Pioneer Youth Movements, such as the Hashomer Hatzair which formed the base for the creation of Mapam, were caught up in the revolutionary fervour of the post World War I period. Inspired by Borochov's Socialist-Zionist analysis of the Jewish national anomaly, they began to organise Jewish youth in Eastern Europe, and later throughout the world, for the purpose of building collective settlements throughout the land of Israel.

The United Workers' Party — Mapam — established in 1948 — joined these pioneer settlers with urban wage-workers in the fight for a socialist society in Israel, the only framework which could provide a rational, planned economy, and also guarantee the hegemony of the newly-formed working-class. Mapam's kibbutz movement (Kibbutz Artzi — Hashomer Hatzair) is today the largest in Israel.

STAGES TO SOCIALISM

Israel's independence was achieved

through struggles, ingathering of the exiles, construction; it was an historical imperative recognised by UN resolution. But national independence did not complete liberation. A majority of the Jewish people is not yet concentrated in its homeland; the mountains and Negev regions are still largely unpopulated; the process of creating a productive, self-sufficient Jewish nation has a long way to go. Ber Borochov (who died in 1917) could not have foreseen this situation. It remained for Meir Yaari, General Secretary of the United Workers' Party, to follow through the Marxian analysis in terms of the modern Israeli scene.

Since national independence preceded national liberation, it was clearly impossible to enter immediately upon a decisive battle for socialist liberation. There was a need for *stages of struggle*, in the process of socialist-zionist realisation.

First Stage

(a) The achievement of national independence. This has been largely accomplished by the creation of the State of Israel, following the anti-imperialist struggle of Palestinian Jewry against Great Britain.

(b) National cooperation between the Jewish working class in Israel and the Jewish masses at large in accomplishing national liberation: the concentration of the majority of the Jewish people in its land and the creation of an economically and politically independent Jewish center in Israel, where the new Jewish national type would live productively.

Second Stage

Intensification of the class struggle and the creation of a socialist regime.

The cooperation of the Jewish working class with Jewry throughout the world helps bring immigrants, settle them productively and unify the people in defense against foreign aggression. It did not, nor was it intended to do away with the class struggle.

Mapam recognises that there are different roads to Socialism, according to the different historical conditions pertaining in the case of every people and land. Though Israel is a capitalist country, its Zionist upbuilding has brought about a situation in which important aspects of its economic life are now dominated by national capital and by the organised workers' movement. As can be seen from the box on the

following page, public ownership has already proved its superiority in many sectors, while in others — such as kibbutz and moshav agriculture and kibbutz industry, self-governing workers' enterprises hold their own in competition with capitalist factors. These strongholds of working-class independence serve as a foundation for the future image of a Socialist Israel.

Mapam takes the lead both in building and consolidating these Socialist cells and in promoting the class-struggle of the workers. The Party struggles against the tendency to desert the working-class which is characteristic of our immigrant society. It fights against the trend to put the workers into an under-privileged sector where dog eats dog and the choicest bones go to those smart enough to let the other fellow do the dirty work. It stresses that if it pays to be anything but a worker in Israel, the consequences will be far-reaching not only for the workers but for the whole Israeli economy and society.

With a dispersed people returning home and a land in which the Jews must rely on their own productive work in order to prosper, the road to Socialism will of necessity be influenced by

the specific conditions facing the young Jewish working-class and progressive forces. The theory and practice of Mapam as the pioneer of Israeli Socialism are deeprooted in the historical experience and in the daily struggles of this people, building its future under the specific conditions of a nation deprived of a normal existence for many centuries.

Public Ownership

The Government, Histadrut, and public Zionist bodies such as the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund control key sectors of the economy and account for nearly half of the net national output.

90% of the land is in public and government hands.

60% of Israeli agriculture, excluding the citrus industry, is cooperative (kibbutz or moshav). Mineral resources, electric power and water are either government or public controlled.

75% of the capital invested in oil prospecting and production comes from government and public-owned sources.

35% of Israeli industry is evenly divided between the Govern-

ment and the Histadrut. There are almost no private interests in basic industry.

40% of the building industry belongs to the government (mainly immigrant housing) or the Histadrut. The largest building and public works contractor is the Histadrut's Solel Boneh.

100% of bus companies are driver-owner cooperatives.

Railway transportation is a government monopoly.

100% of air transport is owned by the government (95%) and the Histadrut (5%).

63% of Israeli shipping is in the hands of ZIM lines, financed in equal parts by the Histadrut the Jewish Agency and the Government; the other 37% is divided between Histadrut, public and private industries.

Most public services are government-run; education is nationalised. The overwhelming majority of medical services are in the hands of the Histadrut and the Government; the other section is partly public-owned.

Agricultural marketing (Tnuva), Commerce (Solcoor), Insurance (Hasneh), and Finance (the Workers' Bank), as well as other major sections of the economy — find the Histadrut in a central and often controlling position.

It should be noted that almost everything connected with large profits is primarily in private hands: banking, commerce, metropolitan real-estate, light industry, citrus-growing.

BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, Hashomer Hatzair and Left Poalei-Zion (Mapam had yet to be formed) pressed for Arab-Jewish cooperation in establishing a solution, but those few Arab forces ready to cooperate were brutally destroyed by the reactionary Arab leadership. British colonialist intrigue also played a more than negligible role in blocking the road to Jewish-Arab cooperation. As a result, *partition* became the only possible solution to the deadlock. It was the Arab states' failure to agree to even this solution which led to the war of 1948, and contributed to the appearance of the resultant Arab refugee

problem and the continuing Arab hostility to the State of Israel.

Mapam has consistently advocated positive steps towards the achievement of peace, first and foremost the granting of complete equality to the Arab minority in Israel. Mapam-led campaigns have shaken the foundations of the military administration in the Arab community and gained for Israel's Arabs equal membership rights in the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor).

Mapam supports Israel's right to territorial integrity and self-defense. Its members played a leading part in the Palmach troops (partisan-type units organised from among the progressive forces in the Jewish community) in the War of Independence, and in other units; its settlements were a living barricade which held off the invading Arab armies. But Mapam does not agree to *military involvement* with imperialist interests as evidenced by the Party's disagreement with the Sinai Operation. Mapam calls for relaxation of tension through agreement by both sides.

While Mapam opposes chauvinist voices at home, it must be recognised that the root of the Israeli-Arab dispute lies in the refusal of most Arab leaders

to recognise Israel's rights as a sovereign State whose political independence is not a matter for negotiation. Rejecting the pro-Western orientation of the Israel Government and pressing for a policy of neutralism and non-alignment, Mapam stresses that the presentation of Israel as a creation, or tool, of Western imperialism is a crude distortion of the historical facts.

The State of Israel was founded as the result of a decision of the United Nations and the struggle of Jewish Palestine against British imperialism, which backed Arab efforts to crush it at birth.

The United Nations decision to partition Palestine between independent Jewish and Arab States linked in economic union was accepted by the two largest powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., in one of those moments when both saw their interests in the same light. It was neither an Imperialist nor a Communist plot but rather the recognition of an historical necessity, supported by the East and the West together.

It was the Soviet Union and her allies which led the fight in the U.N. for the creation of Israel and which armed the

Jewish forces defending that decision. Thus it was the Soviet spokesman, Gromyko who declared in the U.N. on May 14th. 1947, that "it is necessary that we concern ourselves with the urgent needs of a people who have suffered such great hardships as a result of the war, in connection with Hitlerite Germany; it is the duty of the United Nations... The experience of the past, particularly during the Second World War, has shown that not one state in Western Europe has been in a position to give proper help to the Jewish people and to defend its interests, or even its existence... (This) explains the aspiration of the Jews for the creation of a state of their own. It would be unjust not to take this into account and to deny the Jewish people the right to the realisation of such an inspiration".

Statements like that of Algeria's Ben Bella that "we will destroy Israel as we have destroyed French imperialism" or of Egypt's Nasser and East Germany's Ulbricht condemning "the aggressive plans of the imperialists, who established Israel to serve as a bridgehead against the rights of the Arab people and its struggle for freedom and progress" — only serve to fan the

flames of hatred and war in the Middle East.

When such sentiments, supporting "Arab rights" and ignoring the sovereign rights of Israel, are voiced in international forums like the Peace Movement or the W.F.D.Y. (to which Mapam is affiliated), only the chauvinists on both sides of the borders can be satisfied. Since extremism begets extremism and violence begets violence, the interests of peace cannot be served by such one-sided and distorted points of view.

The principles of the peace movement are founded above all on the conception that disputes between nations must be solved by peaceful methods and not by force of arms. Recurrent threats to Israel's very existence as a State enjoying territorial integrity are in obvious contradiction to peaceful negotiation as a method of solving this particular international dispute. All who believe in peaceful co-existence should understand that this must begin at home. One cannot link the demand for peaceful co-existence in the world with threats to destroy by force of arms a neighbouring member of the U.N.

To Endure

Brotherhood is essential, but even

more basic is the question — how to continue existing in the peculiar political and security situation Israel faces! Here is a small Jewish community in the midst of seven Arab countries, four of which share 1053 Km. of borders with Israel. (In addition, Israel has 198 Km. of shoreline). This, together with the Arab refugee problem, leads to a very insecure security situation, the more severe in view of the existence of armistice agreements in place of peace.

In order to exist, Israel must progress; in order to progress there must be a large immigration from all the countries and regimes of the Dispersion.

The job of creating a homogenic people from the Jews of widely different backgrounds, and at the same time tapping the country's undeveloped economic potential, demands all of Israel's energies. Under the circumstances, claims by certain Arab leaders of an Israeli trend toward territorial expansion are unfounded on objective fact. Regional tension is exploited by most Arab rulers in order to divert the attention of the masses from their own problems.

It is the conviction of Mapam and

other progressive circles that the uninterrupted progress of the State of Israel is dependent on a stable peace with the neighbouring countries. The Arab masses need peace too, but they have yet to overcome their vulnerability to nationalist incitement by Arab rulers and to the divide-and-rule tactics of foreign powers.

Peace can be achieved, once the two sides finally get down to direct negotiations, based on recognition of each other's sovereignty. Mapam welcomed, therefore, the statements by President Bourguiba of Tunisia in the Spring of 1965 about Israel-Arab relations. Bourguiba stated that Israel is a fact with which the Arabs must learn to live, that there can be no military solution and that whatever settlement is reached will have to be reached on the basis of direct negotiations. This approach appears to be something of a breakthrough in the hitherto unbreachable wall of Arab-Israeli animosity.

While Bourguiba's statements included some basic proposals which we consider to be unacceptable (such as that to return to the borders proposed by the U.N. in 1947, and the repatriation of all Arab refugees) their positive

significance lies in the fact that a respected Arab leader was bold enough to break the united wall of Arab hostility and threats, and suggest a peaceful bi-lateral agreement. This is a vindication of Mapam's view that it is possible to promote an Israel security policy consistent with an active struggle on behalf of peace.

AN EXPLOITED TRAGEDY

At the close of the 1948-9 War of Independence, during the retreat of the Arab armies, the local Arab population was exhorted by nationalist instigators to leave the territory of the new State of Israel; they were promised a quick return in the wake of the triumphant Arab armies. Many allowed themselves to be duped while others fled during shifts in the line of battle. The post-war years found them in refugee-camps, for the most part denied free movement and job opportunities, exploited as a political trump card.

Mapam has approached this problem from the beginning in a sympathetic and constructive manner. It suggests that within the framework of a general peace agreement Israel should be ready to contribute to the solution of the refugee problem by participating in an

international fund for the resettlement of the majority of refugees in the Arab countries and by the acceptance of an agreed number of refugees in Israel.

Fair Share of Water Resources

In the arid Middle East, the apportioning of water rights is a question of more than ordinary political importance. In Israel, where 80% of the water reserves are in the north of the country, a special problem arises of transferring the waters of the Jordan from the North (Lake Kinneret) to the South (the Negev area). A national pipeline, consisting of canals, pipes and tunnels, is now in operation.

For her part, Israel was prepared to accept the plan put forward by the American mediator Johnston for dividing the Jordan waters between Israel and the Arab States. The latter originally accepted the plan, but finally rejected it because it implied recognition of Israel's existence and of her rights in the area.

In reaction to Israel's pipeline, which in no way threatens the Arab States or challenges their right to a fair share of the water, the Arab leadership has decided to divert the Jordan waters so as to prevent Israel from using them

for peaceful irrigation purposes. Israel can under no circumstances agree to this threat to her natural rights. Mapam proposes to approach this grave problem through political channels rather than through the use of force, through diplomatic activity in order to persuade all concerned that the Jordan waters need not and must not be mixed with the blood of Jews and Arabs alike who need it in order to irrigate their fields.

This policy has been explained to the Israeli public under the slogan "Water — yes; preventive war — no!"

THE FIVE-POINT MAPAM PEACE PROGRAMME :

Mapam outlined the following peace plan in the Spring of 1965.

1. Immediate negotiations should be undertaken for a solution to the refugee problem, the assumption being that with the coming of peace a minority of the refugees will be absorbed within the boundaries of Israel, while the majority will be rehabilitated in the Arab States with the aid of a development programme to be financed by international agencies, by the State of Israel, and by the neighbouring countries.
2. An immediate agreement will be

4th Congress
of Mapam (Israel),
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reached on bi-lateral de-nuclearisation as a first step toward the general disarmament and neutralisation of the area.

3. An agreement will be reached on the objective of the confederative association between the neighbouring States and the State of Israel, the latter's complete sovereignty to be scrupulously observed.

4. As a first step and decisive phase in this confederative association, the State of Israel should strive to achieve economic partnership with Jordan regardless of the political system prevailing in that country. Only *cooperation on a basis of equality* with the State of Israel can ensure Jordan's full independence, the exploitation of the Jordan River's waters for the rehabilitation of the refugees, the exploitation of the Dead Sea, two-thirds of which belong to Jordan, while the third under our control is already pouring millions into the State Exchequer. We must guarantee to Jordan free access to the sea. All this could inaugurate a new period of peace, with uninterrupted development for both the State of Israel and Jordan. What should not be determined in advance

is by what stages the formation and strengthening of the bonds between the two segments of the geopolitically natural unity which constitutes the whole of 'Eretz Yisrael' is to take place.

5. Before all else, the Military Administration should be abolished and an equal regime for all Israel's citizens established, a regime free of exploitation, restriction and intimidation. This equality to be guaranteed to the Arab minority in our country, will serve to ensure that instead of the peril of *Irrendenta* and a Fifth column, a bridge to understanding and peace between us and our neighbours will be erected.

PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE

The fourth Congress of Mapam in 1963 accepted important political resolutions pointing the way forward to the neutralisation and to the demilitarisation from nuclear arms of the Middle East. The following are brief extracts from these resolutions:

"Neutralisation of the region must be based on the following:

1. U.N. and great power guarantees for the sovereignty of the countries and their territorial integrity.

2. Guarantees by the powers to do away with military bases and competitive armaments within the region.

3. Non-intervention by the great powers in the internal life of the region's countries.

4. Guarantee by the countries of the region to maintain a policy of neutralism and non-alignment.

The Congress asserts that political integration or military affiliation, direct or indirect, with one of the great powers, is in direct opposition to the vital interests of the State of Israel, which is located at a global crossroad, and of the Jewish people, scattered among different blocs and regimes.

The Party will continue to struggle for a change in Israeli foreign policy, for non-alignment and independence, for an effort toward seeking realistic and progressive ways to a peaceful agreement between Israel and the Arab countries, and a strengthening of peaceful tendencies in the region and the world. There is a threat that atomic arms will find their way into our region, and with them will penetrate the danger of havoc and destruction which could jeopardise the very existence of the peoples who inhabit the region.

It is an illusion to assume that this type of arms represents a deterrent

factor, maintaining peace in the region... on the basis of a balance of terror. Here, perpetual fear of a surprise attack could lead to acts of desperation, mass destruction and annihilation. So long as atomic weapons remain the sole realm of the great powers, it can still be hoped that humanity will succeed in avoiding the cataclysm of nuclear war. This hope would fade were atomic weapons to fall into the hands of small states in various regions of the world, including ours. Concern for the peace of this region and of the world obliges us to do all in our power to achieve an Israel-Arab region free from nuclear arms... Israel must initiate an energetic campaign for non-penetration of nuclear arms into our region, and the prevention of their production within it. Israel should announce that she is prepared for an agreement on the bi-lateral de-nuclearisation of the region by mutual or U.N. control as agreed upon by both sides."

Israel and Germany

Mapam warns against the danger to peace evident in neo-Nazi manifestations in West Germany; the appearance of Nazis in central positions; the mushroom growth of the Bonn Army and

the training of its military cadres and scientists in various parts of the world; the re-emergence of the ill-famed cartels as a major force in world economy; Bonn's refusal to remove her atomic scientists from Egypt, where they are involved in preparations to wipe out the State of Israel and thereby take over where Hitler left off in Germany's attempt to solve the Jewish problem once and for all.

Mapam opposed the establishment of diplomatic relations with Germany. It considers that as long as that country has done so little to wipe out Nazi influence in its government and judiciary, as long as it has expressed its readiness to forget the past without punishing the war-criminals and as long as it dreams of a 'revanche' which could again threaten the peace of the world, it is too early to normalise relations between Israel and Germany. Only a peace-loving Germany which has repudiated its Nazi past and done everything possible to atone for its indescribable crime against the Jewish people can expect to establish normal relations with Israel, the Homeland of those Jews who escaped the fate of six million Nazi victims.

Mapam conducts a permanent cam-

paign for peace through Parliamentary and public activity, active participation in the Israel Peace Committee, and through international contacts. It maintains fraternal relations with left-socialist parties throughout the world and is active in representative socialist world-organisations.

Mapam is an active participant and supporter of "New Outlook", an English-language monthly devoted to Arab-Jewish understanding.

Contact with the Nations of Asia and Africa

"The State of Israel should cultivate relations of understanding and friendship with countries on all continents. At the same time, she must make every effort to establish herself with the Afro-Asian expanse, wherein she is located.

Israel has supported a long line of struggles by African and Asian peoples for political independence, and has granted them constructive aid of great importance in the fields of economy, education and health. But in order to stabilise her position in the Afro-Asian expanse, she must follow a policy of non-alignment, neutrality and consistent struggle against every vestige of colon-

ialism, which blocks the road to national and social liberation of peoples." (from resolutions of Mapam's 4th Congress).

INTEGRATION OF A PEOPLE

The giant influx of one million immigrants since the establishment of the State and the continuation of this immigration are making it possible for Israel gradually to normalise its economy. But the welding of immigrants from both Western and Oriental countries into a unified entity presents problems which complicate this process. The Oriental Jews, now half the population, are at an obvious disadvantage in facing up to this age of large-scale economic operations and complex technology. But they are far from ready to submit to a subservient role. The encouragement and advancement of this growing section of the community is one of Mapam's most important occupations.

It requires all the strength of the Jewish community, in Israel and abroad, not only to bring the immigrant to the land, but to provide him with living-quarters, a place of work, means to learn the language, and the opportunity to integrate within the Israeli culture-at-large. The adaption of Diaspora Jews

to a life of productive endeavour and their social integration is a most fundamental task of modern Israel.

Mapam members, especially the women's section, have been conducting intense activities connected with assuring equality to immigrants and under-privileged social groups, guaranteeing the education of their children, and helping them individually in adjusting to their new lives.

In the conditions of Israel, community integration cannot be achieved without attacking the social polarisation which has been growing sharper year by year. Statistics show the rapid accumulation of wealth among 30% of families, in whose hands 55% of the total national income is concentrated. At the other end of the scale, we know that the poorest parts of the population receive less and less of the national income.

The vast majority of under-privileged, under-paid, badly-housed and poorly educated people in Israel are mostly Oriental immigrants, hired workers in town and country who are discriminated against not — as some demagogues claim — because of their lands of origin, but because they are at a disadvantage within the class structure of Israeli society, where the social dis-

parity and class polarisation are eating away at the more egalitarian foundations of pre-state Israel.

Mapam demands better wages and conditions for productive workers and agricultural laborers, and a lowering of the income-gap. The struggle for the type of society which would give the productive worker and the pioneer farmer a fair share of the country's wealth is in fact synonymous with a genuine effort to push community integration. Class polarisation is incompatible with community integration; the 'merging of the exiles' can only be speeded up in a society founded upon the Socialist conception of the dignity of labor and fair shares.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS

Both manual workers and the intelligentsia in Israel have a vital interest in the sort of regime which will stop a small minority from enriching themselves at the expense of the working people. The Finance Minister recently announced that Israel has 2,000 home-grown millionaires — a luxury which our weak economy cannot afford. Mapam would wage an all-out struggle against speculators and financial mani-

pulators. It would cut down the exaggerated profits of merchants and middlemen, of real-estate sharks and other get-rich-quick capitalist circles.

The system of taxation should be radically changed in order to put the main burden on those who can afford it rather than upon the working people, who also suffer from the unsatisfactory ratio between direct and indirect taxation. Through reforms in the wage structure and in taxation, Mapam suggests that within a decade the present 1: 20 ratio between the highest and lowest incomes should be at least halved.

These essential social reforms are part of the alternative economic policy which Mapam proposes in order to cure the economy of its basic ills, especially the steep rise in the balance of payments deficit. In order to approach economic independence, Israel must avoid the economic crisis which threatens when, within the next few years, the influx of various types of foreign aid will be cut down.

Mapam's suggestions include an extensive structural re-organisation in industry founded on preference for economic enterprises capable of holding their own in competitive conditions; preference for basic industries (mines, quar-

ries, chemicals etc.) in order to alter the ratio between light and heavy industry; a new credit policy; the encouragement of State, public and Histadrut sectors in the economy without harming those private enterprises which are genuinely productive and which deserve government promotion. A new land policy would stop the sale of Government lands and prevent land profiteering altogether.

Mapam demands that the Government gives its support to those who are willing to develop industry and agriculture in those parts of the country which are as yet undeveloped, and in those branches whose development demands a pioneering approach. The truth is that private capital isn't prepared to invest in the pioneering development of the economy. The factors able to fulfil this national and socialist mission are the Histadrut and the national economy.

These, and other Socialist measures, could step up the efficiency and productivity of our economy, lower prices, stop inflation, lower the balance of payments deficit, increase national savings and bring about substantial progress towards economic independence. During the next decade, the National

income per capita would be doubled while social reforms would ensure fair shares and vast improvement in the living-standards of the poorer parts of the population.

This programme both answers the economic problems of Israel and introduces essential reforms in its social structure. As such, it is an imperative need both from a Zionist and from a Socialist point of view, ensuring the sort of regime which can absorb new immigration, push forward community integration, and build a society whose image and values will attract Jewish immigration from the Western countries.

Mapam is convinced that without these reforms, not only will the economy be retarded, but an atmosphere of care-erism, selfishness, cynicism and crude materialism could increasingly dominate Israeli society. Needless to say, immigration from Western countries can only be encouraged in an entirely different social climate, which would provide the drawing-power and inspiration for the best elements among Jewish youth all over the world to make Israel their home. This is the sort of Israel, perhaps best exemplified by kibbutz values and achievements, for which Mapam fights.

Guarding the Workers' Interests

Though the State of Israel is only 17 years old, the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) has passed its 45th year. The reconstruction of the country as a home for returning exiles has been mainly carried out by pioneer workers. As a result, the Histadrut became known as "the workers' state in formation"; the political forces within the Histadrut led the workers in establishing and fortifying the state, building the economy from the ground up, and serving in the leadership of the Zionist movement.

As pioneers of construction and socialist creativity, the Histadrut established Hevrat Ovdim (the Workers' Society), which operates in every branch of economic activity: basic and light industry, contracting, commerce, banking, producer and consumer cooperatives, mutual benefit and pension funds, social welfare, vacation and convalescence programmes — and Kupat Cholim, the health fund which gives complete medical care to all of its members. Cooperative agriculture is also organised within the framework of Hevrat Ovdim. These achievements, as well as a large Histadrut educational and cultural net-

work — put the workers in a position where they are able to gain benefits unrivalled in even more developed countries.

The worker's position is today being jeopardised by a growing bourgeoisie and by the leading Mapai circles, which are themselves split between supporters of Ben Gurion and Eshkol. Mapai (a social-democratic party always ready to compromise with anti-labor elements, typified by the slogan, "from Class to People") is the leading party in the government and in the Histadrut as well. Mapai's ruling group does its utmost to bend the Histadrut into a subservient offshoot of the government. The tendency is noticeable in connection with the persistent government efforts to lower the workers' standard of living.

Mapam fights for a democratic and militant Histadrut, independent of the government in its defence of interests of the working-people everywhere — manual and white-collar workers, professionals, men and women, Jews and Arabs. The Party has led the battle against those who would water down the content of the Histadrut, restricting it to Trade Union activity and prepared to hand over other functions to the

government. In Mapam's view, the strength, independence and integrity of the Histadrut are assets which the Israeli working-class must defend both against the Right-wing and against those who would use the power given to them by the workers to weaken the Histadrut.

Unity in Struggle

Mapam, the second largest of the workers' parties, stands first in the defence of workers' interests. Mapam enjoys the support of some 75,000 Jewish and Arab voters and has 9 out of the 120 members of the Israeli Knesset (Parliament) elected in 1961. Added strength is given to the workers' struggle by the pact between the city wage-earner and the independent agricultural worker.

Distinct from other countries, where the peasantry is often associated with political reaction, the kibbutz cultivates nationally-owned land collectively and participates actively in the struggles of the working class. It sends cadres to city branches of the party and has provided aid and work for whole trade branches during extended strike sieges. The Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair, the largest of the three major kibbutz

movements, represents more than a third of the total. Some 90% of the kibbutzim belong to the Histadrut.

Actually, the bitter edge of class-struggle was not always fully felt during the early years of the State of Israel; this was due to the powerful position of the working class and the lack (until recent years) of a strongly entrenched local bourgeoisie. The current rise of a native government-nurtured bourgeoisie, coinciding with attacks on Histadrut hegemony, foretell an intensified class struggle in the coming years.

While the Right-wing Herut and Liberal Parties are now uniting in a bid for power, Mapai has formed an alliance with Achdut Ha'avoda, a Party which has in the past worked closely with Mapam. Mapam has always favoured Labor unity but unfortunately the new alignment represents the surrender by Achdut Ha'avoda of her independence and of her Socialist values in return for absolutely nothing on the part of Mapai. Without agreement on a minimum political programme, Mapam considers that the new alignment takes the name of Labor unity in vain and merely confuses the issues. The overriding question remains — which direction for the Israel Labor move-

ment: towards welfare-State capitalism or towards Socialism?

Whether in the Government coalition or in opposition, Mapam will continue to fight for those Socialist-Zionist principles to which others may pay lip-service but to which only Mapam remains consistently dedicated in theory and in practice.

FOR GENUINE DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

Israel is a democratic country — unique in its area, and with much to teach other lands searching for democratic forms suitable to the needs of our times. Yet Israeli democracy is a tender seed, not yet deeply rooted and still in need of constant care and worry.

Because of Israel's complicated security situation, various emergency regulations restrict the democratic rights of its citizens. In particular, Mapam has fought a long struggle for the abolition of the military administration in the Arab community. One can record with pride that this campaign has eased the rigours of military law, though its complete abolition has still to be won. However, the expropriation of Arab lands has not been completely done

away with and against this grave injustice Mapam has mobilised public opinion under a campaign slogan 'For development, against expropriation'. The Party is convinced that settlement and development plans can be carried out in Galilee, for instance, without taking over Arab lands in the process.

Other regulations and laws which still need amending relate to the rights of a citizen accused of a security breach and to the freedom of the press.

At the root of the problems of Israel's democracy lie two matters which have been in the centre of public interest — the relation of religion and State and the election system. Israel has no Constitution, preferring the gradual ratification of basic laws largely because of the deep rift between the religious and secular parts of the population. The religious minority, 18% of the voters in the last elections, strives to transform Israel into a theocracy rather than a democracy. Not satisfied with rabbinical jurisdiction in religious matters, the religious leaders seem determined to force the whole population to accept their rule.

The uneasy 'status quo' now prevailing already gives the clerical circles jurisdiction over many areas of life

**Mass meeting
of 30,000 workers
held by MAPAM
prior to the Histadrut
elections in
September 1965**



which rightly belong to the State. Thus in marriage, divorce, burial and in some cases inheritance and education, rabbinical courts rule the whole population. There is neither civil marriage nor divorce. In most of the country, public transport is forbidden on the Shabbat, though taxis and private cars may travel — a glaring case of discrimination against those unable to afford taxis and cars. Heart-breaking cases of the hardships suffered by mixed couples (Jewish and non-Jewish) at the hands of the Rabbis have caused a public outburst against this particular type of discrimination.

Mapam's attitude to this fateful question is that religion and the State should be separated so as to guarantee under Law both freedom of worship for the religious minority and freedom of conscience for the secular majority. Mapam has played a leading role in the work of the League against religious coercion and has been active in the public and in the Knesset in campaigns to prevent the expansion of religious coercion.

Unfortunately, Mapai, the ruling party, has shown constant readiness to give in to the religious demands in order to maintain control of the govern-

ment coalition, in which the religious parties held the balance of power. Mapai must therefore accept much of the responsibility for the present situation, which will deteriorate further unless the appetite of the religious circles is curbed in time.

The system of proportional representation by which Israel's Parliament and Government are elected, represents, in Mapam's views, the best possible system of electoral democracy in Israel's conditions. Mapai, under the leadership of David Ben Gurion, has been pressing for a constituency system on the British model, in the hope that this change would enable the Party to rule the country alone. In the 1961 elections, it was again shown that Mapai is a minority in the country, since they gained 34.7% of the votes (another 4% went to Arab lists associated with Mapai).

Under the proposed change, the majority of the electorate would be disenfranchised; a Party representing a minority of something over a third of the voters would enjoy Parliamentary and Governmental powers quite out of proportion to its real strength. But in addition, Ben Gurion's past record does not indicate that he, or the circles around him, are the safest guarantors

of Israel's democracy. Israel is not immune altogether to the dangers of one-man rule on the De Gaulle model; too great a concentration of power, influence, key positions in the Government and the Histadrut at all levels, from the top to the bottom, in the hands of one group — this is a danger to Israeli democracy.

If the electoral system were rigged so as to establish the ruling party in complete power, this would be a serious blow to the foundations of Israel's young democracy. In our special conditions, deep-rooted parties expressing various streams of public opinion, which have arisen out of a complicated, and in many ways abnormal historical development, cannot be administratively silenced. Unlike Britain, ours is a young and inexperienced democracy, serving a population still searching for cohesion and unity. While opposed in general to a change in the electoral system, Mapam sees special dangers in the type of personality cult which was encouraged around Ben Gurion and which has recently split Mapai and poisoned the political and moral atmosphere of the country. Along with the struggle against right-wing parties, one of which, Herut, has an authoritarian past tinged

with a hatred for organised labor — Mapam calls for a vigorous defence of Israel's democratic forms along with an all-out effort to perpetuate the hegemony of the working-class in unison with other progressive forces in Israel's political life.

One Banner

Mapam preaches brotherhood and cooperation, and practices it as well. It was the first Zionist party to accept Arabs as full-fledged equal members; there has always been Arab representation in its parliamentary faction. The Party maintains the Arab Pioneer Movement, whose members were pioneers of cooperative ventures such as tractor stations, water pumping co-ops and building groups. It educates to a pride in our common land, and in the Arabic language and culture. The Arab Pioneer Youth cooperate with Mapam, its kibbutz settlements and its Youth Movement, Hashomer Hatzair, in training toward a more advanced Arab economy and a socialist way of life. In Mapam's central Seminary at Givat Haviva, Arabs and Jews study together in the only Institute of its kind in Israel.

Youth and Regeneration

One of Mapam's main sources of strength is the pioneer youth movement, Hashomer Hatzair, which educates Jewish youth in Israel and in the far-flung Jewish communities of the world toward the redeeming of the land within the framework of a collective society. Leaders of the Ghetto uprisings, such as Mordechai Anilewicz who commanded the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt, came from its ranks; many survivors fought with the partisans. Haviva Reik, after whom Mapam's ideological Seminary is named, was one of the parachutists dropped behind German lines to bring new hopes of redemption to the remnants of European Jewry. Hashomer Hatzair youth was active in the period of illegal immigration and organised the immigrants for resistance to the British who tried to prevent their reaching Palestine from war-charred Europe; they led immigrant ships including the most famous of them, the "Exodus". They fought bravely in the War of Independence, and enjoy a fine record in the Israel Defence Army as soldiers and officers.

But the greatest achievement of

Hashomer Hatzair is embodied in Kibbutz Artzi, the federation of collective settlements which it founded. These kibbutzim and those of other movements, scattered throughout the country and along its borders, were the greatest factor in establishing Israel's territorial hegemony, not only in defence, as in the case of Negba, Yad Mordechai and Mishmar Ha'emek, but also by redeeming the land and establishing a great network of dynamic communal settlements. In point of fact, the borders of Israel are synonymous with the borders of kibbutz settlement.

Another vigorous contributor to Mapam growth is the Young Adult Section, which organises groups of young working people, students and intellectuals for political action, as well as social and cultural activity.

Mapam's publications include the daily newspaper "Al Hamishmar", weeklies in Arabic and a number of European languages, "Bashaar", its ideological organ and bi-monthly bulletins in French and English for foreign contacts. Mapam owns Israel's foremost publishing house, "Sifriat Poalim" as well as the country's first Arabic publishing house.

Purim
(Fancy Dress Festival)
celebrated
in Kibbutz



What is Kibbutz?

The kibbutz is a socialist society which was built by the pioneers of the Israeli workers' movement to fit the specific needs of Jewish national redemption. It was meant to provide the framework for the social rebirth of the Jew as a worker, and to reclaim the neglected soil of the homeland. Only a supreme collective effort could accomplish this task.

In kibbutz society, all means of production, all public services and all commodities of consumption are owned by the community as a whole. The kibbutz was formed as an agricultural society, since the first objective of the Jewish national revolution was to re-establish the Jew on his native land. Industry is also being developed by the kibbutz as a means of increasing the profitability and absorptive capacity of the collective economy.

Personal property on the kibbutz is limited to immediate possessions, the accent being on group ownership and the raising of the standard of living through common endeavour.

The kibbutz movement today numbers over 80,000 people; its actual influence is even greater than its

numerical strength. Socialist planning and collective ownership have helped to develop large-scale agriculture and advanced industry, both on a very high standard of efficiency and productivity. The kibbutz has always been the pioneer of new areas, helping to absorb immigrants who followed the kibbutz settlers.

The kibbutz has established new forms of socialist creativity, first among them a highly renowned progressive educational system.

As the pioneer of a new society, the kibbutz has established itself in the vanguard of the working class, and takes an active and leading part in its political and economic struggles.

In Conclusion

We have been unable in this pamphlet to give more than an outline of Mapam's approach to the basic problems of Israel and the Jewish people. Many aspects of Mapam's outlook have not been mentioned here, for lack of space, or have been touched upon so briefly that we have been unable to do them justice.

What we have indicated here is that Mapam is a Party faithful to the best traditions of progressive and pioneering Zionism, and militant Socialism.

Mapam shows the way towards the integration of the Jewish people into the forward march of nations, old and new, searching for their own road to national and social liberation. If you would like to hear, or read more about our activities in Israel or abroad, please contact us at one of the following addresses:

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DAN LEON
THE KIBBUTZ



PORTRAIT FROM WITHIN
with a foreword by
Anthony Wedgwood Benn, M.P.

A new pocket-book on the achievements, problems and perspectives of the kibbutz and Israeli Socialism in the 1960's. The most concise and authentic book on the kibbutz in English. Published in 'Israel Horizons' and available at popular prices through Mapam offices everywhere.

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