

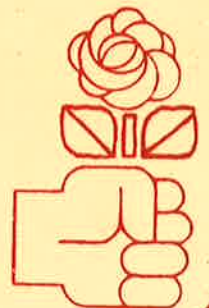


MAPAM

United Workers Party of Israel

an independent socialist party

APRIL
1984
REVISED



The United Workers Party of Israel - MAPAM, was founded in January, 1948, when the Hashomer Hatzair, Achdut Ha'Avodah and Poalei Zion movements united to form the party.

Mapam's base of support originates from the working class and the kibbutz movement which has played a vital role in building and settling the country.

Mapam was a member of the "pre-state" government and after a period of opposition rejoined the government during the 3rd and 4th Knessets.

In 1968 the Alignment was formed, consisting of the Israeli Labor Party and Mapam, and has existed to this day. Within the Alignment, Mapam maintains its ideological and organizational independence.

Since the elections of 1977, for the 9th Knesset, Mapam, within the framework of the Alignment, has been part of the official opposition to the Likud coalition government.

Mapam has an official membership of 50,000, including both Jews and Arabs, with branches in the cities, development towns, Arab villages and kibbutzim - over the length and breadth of Israel.

Mapam has seven members serving in the Knesset and exercises great influence in the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) through its elected representatives in that trade union.

A.

I. The Palestinian Problem

A. The Path To A Solution

1. In the history of the encounter of Jews and Arabs in their historical, mutual homeland, a reality was created in which only the partition of the land can save the region from the vicious cycle of war. A nation's right to self-determination is a basic one limited only by the equal rights of the other nation to sovereignty, peace and security.
2. In order to bring peace to our eastern border and advance toward a solution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects, Israel must call upon the government of Jordan and representatives of the Palestinians to join in negotiations for peace based on recognition of the sovereignty and security of the nations in this area and on the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. This right will be realized under conditions and in stages which will be determined in a peace agreement. In order to bring this about, Israel must cease, immediately, all settlement in the occupied territories.
3. Israel must be prepared to negotiate with any Palestinian factor which recognizes the State of Israel, repudiates the use of terror and acknowledges Israel's right to secure and recognized borders according to Security Council Resolution 242. The basic meaning of these conditions is the revocation of those articles in the P.L.O.'s Palestinian Covenant which call for the destruction of the State of Israel. On the basis of simultaneous, mutual recognition by both peoples, direct negotiations for peace will be undertaken, with no prior conditions.
4. Mapam warns against the danger of annexing occupied territory as it is planned and carried out by the Likud government. Annexation leads to endless war and distorts our image. If it is carried out, Israel will be able to exist neither as a Jewish state, nor as a democratic one.

5. The military government on the West Bank (known as Judea and Samaria) and the Gaza Strip has long since ceased any attempt at maintaining a "liberal" administration in these occupied territories. Acts of brutality and persecution which contribute nothing to public security and order have increased in recent years. The so-called "civilian" administration which the Likud government instituted has had no influence in moderating the attitude of the Palestinians. Rather, it has increased ferment and deepened hostility between the two peoples. Therefore, it is urgent that the Israeli presence in the occupied territories be removed as quickly as possible.

B. A Solution For Peace

1. Mapam prefers a solution based upon two independent, sovereign countries; one, the State of Israel and the other, a Jordanian-Palestinian state. The majority of the population of Jordan is made up of Palestinians. They and their brothers and sisters in the West Bank share the same language and traditions and their family ties are many and extended. The expense of such a Jordanian-Palestinian state would make it possible for the Palestinian people to realize its right to self-determination, preserve its unity, absorb its refugees and solve their problems and to observe the right of Israel to secure and recognized borders based on security agreements and a demilitarized zone. This would not be possible if a third state were established between Israel and Jordan. With the attainment of peace, Israel will not determine the political life of the Jordanians and Palestinians and she will respect their democratic decisions in everything pertaining to their independence and sovereignty within their borders, provided that all the articles agreed upon including security arrangements in the peace treaty are fulfilled and observed. On the basis of an accomplished, stable peace and good, neighborly relations, Israel will also weigh the possibility of a communal solution - a federation or confederation.
2. After border modifications are agreed upon according to her security needs, Israel will return to secure and recognized borders, and the territory evacuated will be demilitarized according to an agreed upon schedule. No military force will cross the Jordan River and the demilitarization will be carried out according to agreed arrangements.

3. United Jerusalem is the capital of the State of Israel. Israel will guarantee extra-territorial status to the holy sites of Islam and Christianity within the framework of a peace agreement. The national and cultural character of the Arab residents of the city will have full expression in the framework of an autonomous "borough" system and their right to choose the citizenship which they prefer will be respected. If and when an Israeli-Arab confederation is formed, there will be established within greater Jerusalem a suitable center for its institutions which would be a confederative City Hall. This center would symbolize peace and the desire to deepen the cooperation between both states of the confederation, as detailed in the Hazan Plan for Jerusalem which was adopted by the Central Committee of Mapam in November, 1979.

4. A rehabilitation plan for the refugees within the borders of the Jordanian-Palestinian state will be included in the peace negotiations. This plan will be implemented under the conditions of an overall peace agreement which will include cooperation between the Arab states and Israel with the assistance of international financing. In this framework, agricultural and industrial projects and housing development will be included. Israel will do her part in solving this painful problem by absorbing a specific and agreed upon number of refugees on the humanitarian basis of reuniting families. A solution based on similar principles and arrangements was proposed by Mapam as long ago as 1967 and reiterated in subsequent party congresses.

II. The War in Lebanon

1. Mapam calls for the immediate evacuation of Israeli troops from Lebanon; for reaffirmation that Israel recognizes the current borders between Israel and Lebanon, but demands security arrangements which will guarantee the peace of her settlements on the northern border.

2. The recent Mapam Council endorsed the resolutions of the party in its complete opposition to the war in Lebanon. It noted with approval the role the party played in crystallizing public opposition to the Likud government's actions during the war.

3. Behind all the errors of the Lebanese war, the outstanding mistake was the assumption that force of arms could be substituted for a political solution and

that with the force of arms the P.L.O. could be done away with, once and for all. This would permit the Likud government to carry out its policy of annexation of the West Bank. Despite its protestation that the welfare of the Galilee was its only concern, the Likud government began the Lebanese war in order to accomplish political goals which cannot be attained militarily. It is quite clear that the P.L.O. has not been eliminated despite its having been crushed militarily. The Lebanese government cannot detach itself from its Arab connections which object strenuously to its acceptance of any Israeli offers. The understanding between Israel and the United States has been undermined and Israel's reputation in the world arena has been soiled despite the military successes. These were the political results of that mistaken war. Beyond all this, the price in blood is the harshest and most painful aspect of the Lebanese war.

4. For the first time in Israel's history, a government decided to use the Israel Defence Forces on a full scale basis for political purposes, despite the deep and dangerous rift that this act caused among the citizens of the state. The war in Lebanon was waged against this background of serious public debate. This government, which speaks at such length about "consensus" is itself responsible for the rift in the midst of the people.
5. In negotiations with Syria, Israel, giving highest priority to the welfare and security of its citizens in the Upper Galilee and the Jordan Valley, requires that the border with Syria run through the Golan Heights. The Israeli army will regroup at borders determined in negotiations and the evacuated area of the Golan Heights will be demilitarized according to an agreed upon timetable. Until a peace agreement is reached, both sides will scrupulously observe all articles of the cease-fire agreement which was signed in 1974 by both Israel and Syria.

III. The Peace Treaty with Egypt

1. The peace treaty with Egypt is of historic importance and the beginning of a comprehensive peace in the area. However, Israeli-Egyptian peace is not imperishable as a separate peace. Israel's regional policies - the speedy evacuation of Lebanon and especially her efforts to institute negotiations for the solution of the Palestinian problem - contain the fate of the relations between Israel and Egypt and will determine the development of normalization between the two countries.

2. The freeze in the autonomy talks is the result of the inflexible interpretation of the Camp David agreements by both sides. As long as there is no agreed upon alternative solution, Israel must be flexible in its position and in the process of this, strive to shorten the transition period of autonomy and work for a permanent agreement. Settlement in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which the government initiated in order to establish political facts, is a serious obstacle to autonomy negotiations and endangers the continuation of the peace process.

3. Mapam calls upon the peace forces in the Arab world who support the right of self-determination for all nations, who realize the importance of recognizing the legitimate rights of all nations and who accept negotiations on the basis of mutual recognition as the only method of securing peace, to express this position unequivocally and to join us in the struggle for peace and progress in the Middle East.

B.

I. Answers to the Social Crisis in Israel

1. Thwarted Expectations

Our belief in socialism whose goal is a society of workers' solidarity and the equality of all citizens, in which the individual controls his own fate to the greatest possible extent, has been seriously eroded by the failures of both communism and social democracy.

The partial successes during the initial period of communism in achieving economic development of a backward economy by raising the standards of education and broadening social security, was followed by the distortion of this socialist vision with the establishment of a totalitarian state with bureaucratic rule, lacking democracy and freedom and preserving deep economic and social gaps.

Social democracy succeeded in developing the welfare state in a few western countries and achieving to a limited degree, a system of comprehensive social responsibility under a democratic regime. However, it failed to alter the foundations of capitalistic control or to meaningfully narrow the social and economic gaps in society. The passive dependence of the average citizen on the welfare-providing institutions grew and a cult of "it's owed to me" has evolved. The burden of the welfare costs falls on the shoulders of the production workers, both salaried and independent, and arouses antagonism to the welfare state among these elements, thus imperilling the stability of social-democratic rule. The social security fund, which is the basic instrument for reducing inequality in the welfare state, has exhausted its potential. Moreover, the national economy in the welfare state has become increasingly centralized and hierarchical, while the individual worker has become more alienated and less able to exert influence.

Despite the political differences, certain characteristics common to communism and social democracy are noticeable. Under both systems people become passive, viewing their social reality as an outside force beyond their control, incomprehensible, frightening and hostile.

The Israeli Labor Movement has developed under unique conditions which enabled it to lay the foundations for socialist forms of organization and community while coexisting with the evolving capitalist economy. However, some of its enterprises have deviated towards centralism and bureaucratic organization.

This process has increased the dependence of the individual worker on the institutions leading to the widening of social gaps and weakening the feeling of the workers' solidarity within the wage-earning class.

2. The Longed-For Socialist Society

Humanity cannot forego its dream. Attempts to realize it have not ceased and the struggle to achieve democratic and humanist socialism continues. Again and again, under different régimes and various social conditions, the longing to create an alternative society of social justice, equality and solidarity arises. These are the aspirations of a society which realizes the principle of "sovereign man", the individual in control of his own fate, a society in which the freedom of man and the rights of the individual are protected and anchored in the autonomy of the group to which he belongs, a multiple society in which autonomous sub-groups exist.

The advance of society does not stem from the uncontrolled development of productive activity but from the social and political shaping of technical progress, the channeling of resources into truly productive investments and a cultural transformation which empowers the people to take charge of their own lives.

That is why, as socialists, we fight for the people's right to shape their existence whenever the matter at stake is how we live, how we wish to work and what we want to achieve in the field of technology.

We see economic democracy firmly committed to decentralized forms of social ownership as a road to increased productivity as well as to more just re-distribution of power.

The unique experience of the Israeli Labor Movement enables us to go beyond the dream and design the outlines of the economy and the society that will come closest to its realization.

In this context, there is special meaning to the kibbutz experiment in which converging national and social goals find expression in a daring attempt to convert the abstract dream into a daily social reality. The seventy years of kibbutz existence have shown that a socialist society is not an abstract term. It has helped us to understand, define and resolve human problems which have arisen during the period of shaping this new way of life and has indicated the practical limitations inherent in the nature of man within this framework.

II.Characteristics of a Socialist Society

1. Maximum equality of social and economic conditions to enable the development of all human faculties and the satisfaction of material, social and spiritual needs.
2. Social solidarity based on free associations into communities and organizations in which social responsibility and concern for the simultaneous satisfaction of needs of the community and the individual will develop, and in which economic exploitation will be eliminated.
3. Self-government of communities and organizations, through direct and indirect democracy, while maintaining rotation of functions in the management sphere. Self-management in the workplace will give the working person a sense of interest and meaning in his labor, increase his ability to influence the environment and provide a comprehensive overview of the work-process and teamwork based on mutual aid and common responsibility. Humanizing the work process will make possible an upsurge in productivity transcending both material stimulus and ideological persuasion. Self-management in the community will open horizons towards the involvement of the individual in the community as a whole, while developing personal aptitudes, sharpening the sense of responsibility and enabling the individual to cope with the quality of life and the environment.
4. Social property - ownership of the means of production and the economic enterprises in the spheres of production and the services appertain to society as a whole; however, productive workers have the right to use these assets by means of management and to enjoy the income of the enterprises.
5. Democratic planning with the participation of representatives of the community and the organized groupings will assure the achievement of overall national goals. In order to prevent the formation of gaps between the various production units, self-management will thus be limited in order to ensure the national goal. In this connection, the representation of the consumer public must be defined.
6. Technological development should be directed to reducing the physical burden on the workers, to increasing leisure time and to making possible the closing of technological gaps in the society which are liable to become the basis for new social gaps.

7. Decentralization can give renewed meaning and genuine content to smaller areas and sub-units and prevent the recurrence of centralized mechanism.
8. This vision of a socialist society can provide the basis for supplying socialist answers to the social and economic crisis confronting Israel today.
9. Greater international coordination and a much more stable world financial system would, of course, have great positive influence on the success of the above plan.

III. The Social Crisis in Israel

1. Alongside the great achievements in building the State of Israel under difficult conditions and absorbing a massive immigration - "the ingathering of the exiles" - grave signs of weakening national solidarity, typical of a period of crisis and insecurity, have become evident.
The decrease of aliya (immigration) and the increase of yerida (emigration) among other things, signify the weakening of the ties to the state and its ability to attract world Jewry.
The combination of ethnic, national and class discrimination is revealed by the fact that the majority of the deprived groups are of Oriental-Sephardi origin and this has weakened solidarity among the working class. The widening of the social and economic gaps within the wage-earning sector (the Histadrut Labor Federation did not always rally to the support of these underprivileged groups) decreased solidarity and class-consciousness.
2. To a substantial degree, the socio-economic gaps have been widened by the technological backwardness of certain sectors of the Israeli economy. Advanced sectors contributing to economic independence and making possible a reasonable standard of living for their workers, exist alongside backward sectors based on cheap labor and a low level of productivity. This situation, prevalent in that portion of Israel's industry and agriculture which is based on wage labor, limits the possibility of upgrading the skills and restructuring the professional and occupational framework of these workers. Young people who have benefited from educational opportunities and increasing skills have no motivation to join the productive sectors. Thus, technological backwardness, weak sectors of productivity and a distorted occupational structure are added

to the consequences of the Likud government's economic policies, such as soaring inflation and the growth of the national debt. The result is a retreat from the goal of economic independence.

3. Israel's national budget has always emphasized the spheres of security and agricultural settlement as well as the need for extensive services for the absorption of the mass immigration. These national goals have led to the creation of a comprehensive, centralized administrative structure. Centralized, bureaucratic management policies have prevailed both in the public-governmental and the Histadrut-labor dominated sectors of the economy which include the majority of the work force. This contributed to the "revolt" of the immigrants of Oriental-Sephardi origin and their anti-establishment attitudes, while blurring the ideological and class differences between the private, public and Histadrut sectors of the economy. The obscuring of these differences has undermined the special role of Hevrat Ovdim (literally, workers' society), the overall framework of the Histadrut-labor owned economic enterprises. It has also underlined the gap between the left-wing parties and the workers and wage-earners and has led to the shift to the right.
The reduced growth, runaway inflation and growing unemployment, monetary instability and wasteful speculation are the expression of the crisis which Israeli society faces today. They require, consequently, serious institutional change, including redistribution of wealth and power in Israel.

IV. Mapam and Israel's Internal Front

1. Mapam is in the forefront of the struggle against the mistaken policies of the Likud government which have placed Israel's citizens at the mercy of an unregulated, so-called "free market" and have allowed inflation to reach unprecedented and perilous heights; have brought unemployment to a problematical level; have created a housing shortage hitherto unknown in Israel; have deepened the social and cultural gap between the various ethnic groups; and have encouraged right-wing populist violence which threatens the democratic foundations of Israeli society.
2. Mapam fights against religious coercion concerning the personal lives of Israeli citizens; against exemption of religious women from service in the

armed forces or other national service; against abortion laws which discriminate against women of lesser means; against autopsy laws which limit medical research; and against religious prejudice toward the Arabs.

3. Mapam stands against placing the burden of arresting the inflation spiral on the shoulders of the wage workers only; against budgetary cuts for those social services which meet the needs of the general public; against permitting the affluent to shirk their responsibilities to the Israeli economy and society; against the policy of expanding the gap in the balance of payments and the growing dependence on foreign currency.

V. Answers to the Crisis

1. In the present period of Likud rule, it is necessary to transform the Histadrut-dominated economy into a showcase of our socialist conceptions and the advantages of socialist solutions. We must seek to improve the quality of life and labor in the community by decreasing the dependence on the central institutions and granting greater autonomy on the local level, in the towns and the neighborhoods; by involving the citizens in responsibility for the satisfaction of their own needs through a framework of cooperation and cooperative endeavor which will enhance their sense of responsibility and social solidarity.
2. By expanding democracy in industry and improving the quality of life in the workplace, the attractiveness of industry for educated young people will be augmented. Changing the make-up of the working force and raising its standards will also raise the aspirations concerning the forms and substance of management. Such a process will contribute substantially to a rise in productivity and improve the ability of Israeli industry to compete and thus aid Israel's advancement toward economic independence.
3. The democratization of welfare services such as education, health and social security through the involvement of the people concerned (parents, pensioners, people in need, representatives of neighborhoods) in the management of the services, will lessen the sense of dependence and alienation. The goals of democratization and reorganization in the spheres of social services and industrial production, are particularly urgent in the widespread apparatus of the Histadrut Labor Federation in all its branches and in the Histadrut-

owned economic enterprises. Despite the limitations imposed by the rule of a right-wing government, there exist substantial possibilities for progress in these frameworks toward greater democracy, equality and social responsibility on the basis of the social goals embodied in the concept of the Histadrut as a social movement with great organizational strength.

The Labor Movement can, without delay, develop models of "self-management" on the level of entire enterprises as well as of specific departments, by means of controlled experiments in a number of enterprises according to the type of production, the standard of technology and the level of staff. A comprehensive training program will prepare the workers for new tasks in the process of production and will assist management cadres to study and absorb the principles of the new approach in order to prepare them to implement them in practice. In the field of consumers' affairs, patterns of service need to be defined so as to ensure the direct involvement of the consumer public through the establishment of elected and active consumer committees in each sphere.

A plan of comprehensive reform must be introduced in Kupat Holim (the National Histadrut Sick-Fund network) which will aim at de-bureaucratization and its functioning as a social service whose primary focus will be the neighborhood clinics. Clinic committees will be formed and the role of the Boards of Control will be stressed on the district and nation-wide levels as the real representatives of the insured.

In the Trade Unions the status of the workers' committees will be enhanced through their representation in the central institutions of the Histadrut, to guarantee the two-way flow of opinions, proposals and solutions.

4. In the process of strengthening the patterns of democratization and the introduction of self-management procedures, the authority of the Histadrut Labor Federation will be reinforced as a movement with comprehensive goals. The experience garnered in the Histadrut-dominated sector will make possible the initiation of similar processes in the public-state sector and in the private economy. This partnership, favorable to the workers and the general public, will seek to develop the entire economy and society and consolidate a humanist organizational infrastructure leading to comprehensive political and social change.

5. The program of a Zionist-Socialist government will include the return of the Labor Movement to the direction of the state, the initiation of structural

reforms designed to promote communal assets and new forms of self-management as the guidelines for a leftist government policy. The goal is to construct a socialist workers' society.

The support given to Mapam by Jews and Arabs, by kibbutz members and townspeople, by members of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, by workers and intellectuals has made the party a serious factor in the struggle for change in Israeli society.

This is why we are engaged in the long, arduous task of challenging the structures of injustice within Israel and among the nations of the Middle East.

C.

Mapam's Stand on International Issues

1. Socialism and Human Rights

Socialism is not a dream whose future is undefined. It is a realistic alternative in an era in which, paradoxically, poverty and incommensurate wealth exist side by side and in which the well-fed are insensitive to the pangs of hunger of the poor. Socialism is a solution to the problems of society and a solution to the challenges of this century - education, social welfare and economy. It carries within it hope for both industrialized societies and the third world since it binds together social justice, freedom and the preservation of human rights. In a world filled with disappointment, socialism presents an alternative to capitalism and to totalitarian regimes. In every country where exploitation has become the rule and solidarity the exception, socialism can serve as the defense for human freedom and dignity. Experience has proven that utopian solutions have failed when human freedom is sacrificed on the altar of utopian goals. The struggle for freedom and democracy is an inseparable part of the struggle against poverty and hopelessness.

Mapam, upon whose banner the struggle for human rights is inscribed, and which struggles for the national and social liberation of the Jewish people, stands for socialism and brotherhood. Mapam aspires to a world free of dependence, persecution, hunger and poverty and struggles for justice and understanding between all nations and states.

Mapam supports the democratic forces of eastern Europe which stand for humane, democratic socialism and which struggle for free trade unions, a free press and the basic freedoms as defined at the Helsinki Conference of 1975.

Mapam condemns the sanctions placed on Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union and condemns the closed gates of exit placed before those Jews who wish to leave that country and emigrate to Israel.

Mapam calls to all those who respect human dignity to aid those activists who work for emigration and a full cultural life and those prisoners of Zion who have been held in camps and prisons so that they may realize their human rights to a Jewish life in the U.S.S.R. or fulfill their desire to come to Israel.

Mapam condemns the repression of human rights in societies and regimes which openly or secretly oppress those who struggle for the democratization of their countries. Mapam recognizes the right of all nations to determine their future without fear of interference by external forces.

2. Nuclear Weapons and Detente

Mapam opposes the introduction of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. Israel must reiterate its declaration that it will not be the first nation to introduce atomic weapons in the area. The use of a "nuclear option" cannot guarantee the security of nations in the region. The geopolitical repercussions of a "limited" nuclear war; the geographical "crowding" of the nations in conflict; the danger of radio-active fallout and the political instability in the Middle East - all nullify the deterrent character of atomic weapons. The introduction of nuclear weapons in the Middle East will increase the danger of destruction and the existence of the nations of the region. The vast financial burden of acquiring and maintaining nuclear weaponry would drain the economies of the nations of our area and would put an end to their plans for economic development.

Mapam calls upon the great powers to increase their efforts to slow down the nuclear as well as the conventional arms race. The United States and the Soviet Union control 95% of the nuclear arms in the world today. It is therefore their responsibility to lift the burden of fear which weighs upon humanity. The assurance of nuclear equality, to begin with, and the nuclear disarmament of all Europe will be a long stride toward peace and detente.

Mapam stands for the reduction of I.C.B.M.'s and the mutual and steady reduction of atomic weapons on the European continent.

Mapam suggests a written agreement between the nations of the region under the auspices of the United Nations and/or the great powers as has been done in the Tlatelolco agreement which prohibits the introduction of nuclear weapons in Latin America, so that the nuclear disarmament on the Israeli-Arab front will be assured. Such Israeli initiative to be a signatory to the international agreement to limit nuclear arms would be a great contribution to the reduction of tension in the area and would be a contribution to the initiative of many European, African and Latin American countries in their efforts to reduce nuclear proliferation in their regions and bring about peace. Mapam advocates public pressure to be brought upon the government to take proper steps in this direction.

3. Afghanistan

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 damaged the sovereignty of the Afghanistani people and its right to national self-determination. It strengthened the hand of those in the west who desire intensification of the "cold war" and speeding up of the arms race.

Mapam supports the evacuation of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and a political understanding between the Soviet Union and representatives of the people of Afghanistan.

4. Apartheid in South Africa

Mapam, as a socialist-zionist party with both Arab and Jewish members rejects totally any attempt to justify discrimination based on color, creed or ethnic origins.

Mapam condemns apartheid in South Africa. This system, which nurtures inequality on the basis of racist laws is immoral and unjust. It was instituted to assure the control of the white minority which uses to its own advantage the vast natural resources of South Africa and has turned the black majority into a reserve of cheap manpower with virtually no elementary human rights. The South African police force cruelly defends this inhuman system against strikes, demonstrations or protest by the black workers.

Mapam looks upon apartheid, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism as threats which endanger peace and economic, social and cultural development of the "Front-Line" parties which have recently become politically independent. South Africa suffers from political tensions and armed conflict which are brought about by the racial discrimination there.

Mapam condemns the policies which threaten the stability of her neighbors.

Mapam supports the freedom movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Mapam opposes the military relations between Israel and South Africa.

5. Latin America and the Caribbean Area

The problems of nutrition and education on the one hand and the neglect of health services and human rights on the other obstruct economic and social growth and do great harm to the people of the area who are struggling against the military and economic oligarchy which persecutes them.

The economic development of the nations in the area has halted. Their enormous international debts and their economic bankruptcy have brought them to a dead end. In addition, those countries which have not developed industry and have not been blessed with natural resources such as oil, are today suffering from terrible poverty and hunger and not merely from unemployment and a lower standard of living. Thus, Latin America, suffering from economic and social inequality has become a battle-ground of the two super-powers which befog their true problems and don't allow them to cope with the crises that burden them.

The confrontation between the super-powers is expressed by the spread of local and regional conflicts which are being ignited throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Military dictatorships have the active support of the United States which sees the revolutionary unrest there as Soviet and Cuban instigated. There is no wonder, therefore, that the class conflict and the struggle for democratization have reached a dangerous boiling point in Latin America.

As their internal economic gap widens, so does the economic dependence of the

Latin American states become greater and this development, in turn, erodes the basic human rights of the people.

Mapam, in its quest for peace and social justice, supports the struggle of the national and social liberation movements being led in Central America. Therefore, she sees the escalation of violence as a consequence of the class inequality which has reached uncontrollable proportions and has brought about the interference of the super-powers.

a. Against the Sale of Israeli Weapons to Military Dictatorships and Totalitarian Governments

Mapam opposes the sale of Israeli weapons to military dictatorships which use these weapons to oppress their citizens and to battle the liberation movements fighting for the countries' freedom. The sale of Israeli armaments with no selectivity and without parliamentary supervision to governments which employ torture and which murder their opponents is against all the values of Judaism and Zionism.

b. Nicaragua

Mapam welcomes the efforts of the Sandinista movement to establish a government which protects political pluralism, non-alignment with either of the super-powers, a mixed economy and free elections.

Mapam is hopeful that despite the difficulties and the attempts to destabilize it, the Nicaraguan government will respect the freedom of the individual.

Mapam condemns the support given by the United States to the supporters of Somoza who are working for the destabilization of the Sandinista government in order to return the Somoza dictatorship to power.

c. Argentina

The revelations regarding the "desaparecidos" and the discovery of secret cemeteries, the attitude of the former military junta, and the social and economic collapse all combined to accelerate the urgent necessity for democratization of that country.

Mapam supported the "mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" and the opposition movements in general and "Multipartidaria" in particular, which struggled to return democracy to Argentina.

Mapam welcomes warmly the new Alfonsin government and hopes that his administration will know how to deepen and strengthen the democratic measures which it has already advanced during its "100 Days of Grace."

d. Guatemala

The Guatemalan government is seeking a military solution to the economic and social problems facing that country today. The army has been used against the native Indian population and whole villages have been erased from the map. The refugee problem has become more desperate as a result of the broadening of guerilla action.

Mapam condemns the oppression of the Guatemalan people and demands that an end be put to the violation of human rights and the terrible, continuing blood bath.

Mapam supports the resistance of the P.S.D. to the attempted legitimization of the rigged elections which took place recently and to the mass-murder of the people.

e. El Salvador

Mapam believes that only a political agreement between the F.D.R./P.M.L.N. and the government can guarantee a durable and stable peace in El Salvador.

American military intervention only serves to escalate the unrest in El Salvador, endangers the stability of that country, and places obstacles in the path of a political solution to local and regional conflicts.

Mapam supports the efforts of the M.N.R., the fraternal party in the Socialist International, which works for a peaceful political solution which will put an end to the blood-bath in El Salvador.

f. Chile

Mapam opposes the Pinochet military dictatorship which has been forced upon the Chilean people against their will.

The economic theories of Milton Friedman -- freemarket and economic initiative -- which have found supporters in the Likud ranks in Israel as well, were adopted in Chile and have failed miserably. In addition, the violent overthrow of the Allende government more than 10 years ago has brought the country to penury and hunger and virtually erased all traces of freedom in Chile.

Mapam condemns the torture of prisoners held in secret prisons and the violation of human rights.

Mapam supports the democratic forces in Chile which are struggling to return democracy to that country so that the Chilean people can live as a free nation in their country.

*The Women
of
Mapam*

A "Status" Report

MAPAM'S WOMEN

We, the women of Mapam, see ourselves first and foremost as members of a leftist, socialist political party, and we are part and parcel of the party's struggles in all arenas -- political and socio-economic.

We strive for full integration of women in party activities, from the local chapter level to the party's central institutions.

Due to historic considerations common to the women's movement worldwide, we have yet to achieve representation in internal and external party institutions commensurate to our strength and abilities. In addition, we are aware that women of the world, as well as in our country, are standing at a historic crossroads, and that traditional women's roles no longer satisfy our desires, talents or our place in society.

This dictates special action by women, in addition to our integration into the party system and general political arena. Therefore, we maintain a women's department within our party's central structure and are affiliated to Na'Amat, the women's branch of Israel's General Labor Federation (Histadrut). We also are members of the Council of Women's Organizations in Israel, which includes representatives from the broad spectrum of the Israeli women's movement.

Because of the special character of Israel's population, we make a special effort to integrate Arab women into our activities, as is done in the overall framework of Mapam regarding the Arab population at large. Also, we are faced with the peculiar problem of socially absorbing men and women who immigrated to Israel from tens of nations with varying cultural and political traditions.

All this lends to the labor movement and socialist women's movement of Israel a special character, and demands of us unconventional solutions. We expect and hope that the Socialist International, and its women's section, can contribute to our search for solutions to these problems on the basis of their vast experience.

EQUALITY OF THE SEXES

Mapam, as a Jewish-Arab socialist party, formally preaches total equality between the sexes. We say formally because in practice there is still a lot of progress which must be made to achieve true equality and integration between men and women party members.

In the kibbutzim, which are a vital party of the party, the traditional image of the woman prevails, inspite of the fact that many women fill key roles. As a consequence of this, and for the sake of the overall struggle for sexual equality in our society, Mapam maintains a womens department.

Israel is one of the few modern nations in which religious laws are state laws. This fact has an extremely negative impact on the advancement of women. A severe retreat in the woman's status has taken place in recent years because of the overbearing influence of religious circles. The principle areas of conflict during this period have been: the laws regulating conscription of women for service in the Israeli army, the effort to prevent a change for the worse in the abortion law, and the struggle for equal opportunity in employment and education.

Within the party there is evidence of change, as witnessed by the selection of women to key positions -- a woman was selected to the central committee of the Histadrut (Israel's General Labor Federation), a woman serves as the party's Political Secretary, and not a few women have been elected to local city and town councils.

Significant activities of the womens department include education youth to the issues concerning sexual equality, and political work among women in various sectors of the overall population.

With the outbreak of the war in Lebanon, we spoke out vigorously against the war and called upon all women and mothers to join with us in our opposition. In this on-going struggle we cooperate with a variety of groups, such as Na 'Amat, Women of the Labor Party, "Parents Against Silence" and others.

STATUS OF THE WORKING WOMAN

More than 500,000 women belong to Israel's labor force, accounting for 37 per cent of the entire working population. More so than in the past, Israeli women are inclined to work outside the home. In order to encourage and aid the working woman to meet her responsibilities as a mother, the various women's organizations operate 845 day-care centers for pre-school children and offer a variety of other services.

There are a number of national laws which regulate women's employment:

1. The women's employment law of 1964 guarantees special rights to the woman as a potential mother -- the law limits women's employment in places, or types of work, which may be hazardous to a woman's health or to the children she will bear.

2. In 1965, at the initiative of the Mapam Knesset faction, an equal wage for equal work law went into effect.

3. An equal employment opportunities law, which was enacted in 1982, is intended to prevent inequality between men and women in attaining employment or professional advancement.

Despite these laws:

1. The average hourly wage of women in 1982 was 19 per cent lower than that of men.

2. Despite the progressive views of our party and its policies of equality between the sexes, a situation exists in which roadblocks are placed in the way of opportunity for advancement among women, not only in the professional and managerial fields, but in politics and academia as well.

The women of Mapam -- in conjunction with other women's groups in Israel -- are fighting for full enforcement of the laws which guarantee the status of the working woman; are paving the way for women to enter fields which until now were considered exclusively male, and are enabling them to advance according to ability.

Our battle is particularly difficult because of the growing conservative and ultra-religious forces acting upon, and within, the present Israeli government.

THE KIBBUTZ: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY?

The kibbutz is a socio-economic Jewish lifestyle in which there is a high level of involvement in production, consumption, education and social life. The kibbutz is a socialist-Zionist commune which supports itself on the basis of its members' self-labor, and whose special value lay in the total economic security it provides all its members and children.

The kibbutz ideology, in which the equal merit of each individual is of paramount importance, paved the way to the concept of sexual equality. From the inception of the kibbutz movement (1909) there existed the conditions which allowed for the realization of formal equality between the sexes:

1. An all-encompassing system of collective education was established for all the children from ages zero to 18.
2. All the women were totally and equally integrated in the work structure.
3. The kibbutz lacks a wage system or concepts of economic status, so women were not subjected to social degradation in these areas.
4. Women are involved in social activities and volunteerism, and are also found in such key positions as kibbutz secretary.

Still, alongside these impressive accomplishments, it has become evident that formal equal opportunity between the sexes is not enough. There are a number of areas in which sexual equality has not been sufficiently realized:

1. WE HAVE YET TO ACHIEVE A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE SEXES IN THE EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE

Although all work places on the kibbutz are open to both sexes, in reality, most of the women are concentrated in the education, services and welfare branches. A minority of women work in agriculture, industry or general administration.

2. WE HAVE YET TO ACHIEVE FULL COOPERATION IN THE DIVISION OF FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

It is noteworthy that in the division of parental functions, the mother and father bare almost equal responsibility -- this is an important accomplishment, both for women and men and the educational system. However, change in the

depth of responsibility for housework is as yet unsatisfactory. Most of the burden still falls on the woman.

3. WE HAVE YET TO ACHIEVE A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE SEXES IN SELECTION TO LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Women mainly serve in social and educational roles, while men fill economic and managerial positions. In recent years, with the growing consciousness of the woman's struggle, there are definite signs of improvement in this area, and women are serving in such positions as kibbutz treasurer.

All told, it can be said that the kibbutz has engraved on its mantle the slogan of equal opportunity between the sexes since its very inception, and has even arrived at formal and real achievements. Still, one of the perceptual barriers which hindered this process was the interpretation given to equality -- only the women attempted to enter work traditionally considered "male," while the opposite did not occur. Also, a woman's femininity and motherhood was deprecated to a certain extent.

Today, we are striving for a more relevant conception of equality, according to which we can arrive at total partnership between the sexes, in rights and obligations; and recognition of the differences and uniqueness of each of the sexes and every individual. Consequently, our main struggle today is on full integration of the men in privileges and obligations in the areas of education and personal/community services, and full integration of the women in the privileges and obligations of the economic and managerial fields.

The struggle is being carried out in the following ways:

1. Striving for growth in the percentage of men working in education of the children at all ages, from zero to 18.

2. Striving for growth in the percentage of men working in services.

3. Striving for an increase in men's family responsibilities.

4. Striving for growth in the percentage of women serving in economic and managerial positions.

5. Striving for growth in the percentage of women working in agriculture and industry.

6. Consciousness-raising on sexual equality among kibbutz youth by introducing courses on this subject in secondary schools, and evaluating the images

of boys and girls reflected in all study programs of the kibbutz movement (changing stereotypes, etc.).

7. Conducting seminar workshops on family life.

8. Developing a track for professional advancement in high schools which is suitable to both sexes.

Our current vigilance is in these and other areas. We will be pleased to receive the assistance of women's groups from other nations -- and to contribute from our own experiences to the extent that it is requested of us.

ARAB WOMEN IN A JEWISH STATE

There are a variety of extremist elements at work in Israeli society, creating a complex reality which, by necessity, effects the status of its women.

Without a doubt, the problem of Arab and Druze women is even more complicated. In addition to the problem of the Israeli-Arab minority -- with all its complexities -- Arab women live in a society based on traditional values, and although the society is in the process of modernization, the traditions are powerful and dictate a certain lifestyle. Among the older generations Arab women perpetuate this traditional lifestyle. The younger women, most of whom are well-educated (at least through secondary level) strive for progress, liberation and gainful employment. They run up against problems and limitations at home, and to no less a degree, limitations imposed on the Arab minority by the Israeli government.

Mapam's ideological outlook as a political and social party, and just plain human sensitivity, led to political activity by Jewish women (mostly kibbutz members) among Arab women. The purpose is to reinforce the Arab woman's progress in her own society, while creating a friendly relationship of cooperation on common issues -- social and political. And at the same time showing respect for accepted traditions and customs.

The beginning was both difficult and hesitant. The traditional Arab society did not easily accept these Jewish women, who by their very presence caused a change in the thought and behavior patterns of the Arab woman. It was only the deep awareness and obstinacy of the Mapam women regarding the vital nature of their work which won the day.

Mapam was the first public entity in Israel to be active in the Arab sector in educating young children -- for the benefit both of the children themselves and their mothers.

From a humble beginning guiding a few women activists, and aiding in the establishment of the first day-care centers -- an obligatory service -- we

are today working with dozens of women offering support and guidance. Additional day-care centers, which have been opened by various institutions, all came in the wake of our work.

In many settlements there are now groups of Arab women who identify with and belong to Mapam, as party members. Their activities involve such issues as: education, health, family planning and more, both in the social and political arenas.

Arab women activists are members of central party institutions, as well as Na 'Amat and the Histadrut.

Our goal: Mutual action on general social and political issues, and political work by Arab women of Mapam on behalf of the Arab woman and the society in which she lives.