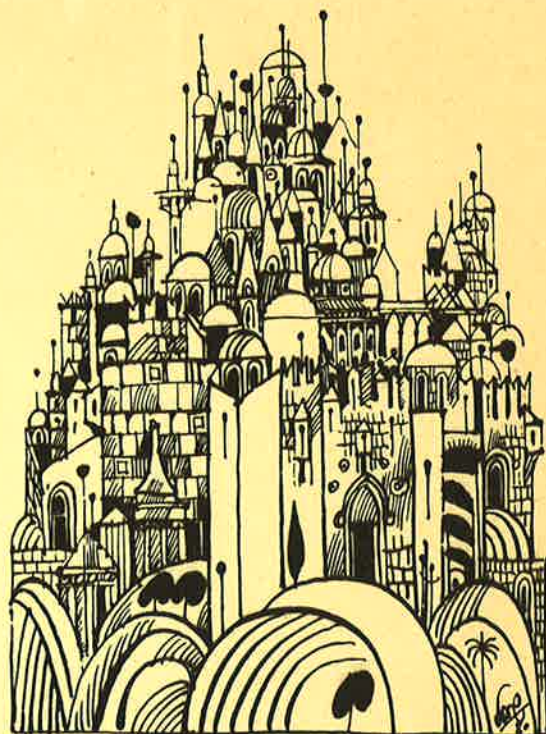


**the independent
socialist party
of
Israel**

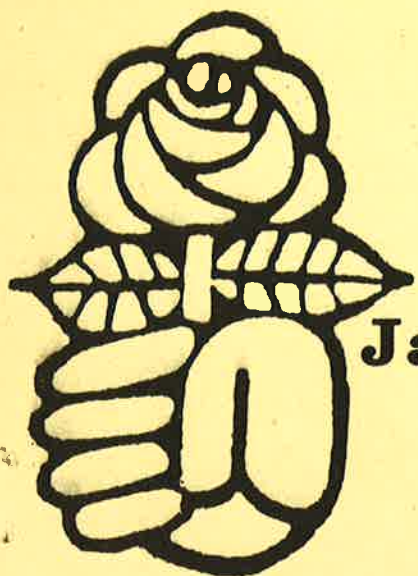


MAPAM

Economic Program

The Middle East

International Affairs



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Introduction

We are living in a fractured and conflict-ridden world, in which national and human rights are subject to constant threats.

We in the Middle East are located in an area which has suffered a long chain of seemingly endless wars over the course of several generations.

In Israel, MAPAM stands at the forefront of the efforts for Israeli-Palestinian dialogue and for peaceful co-existence based on simultaneous, mutual recognition of both peoples' right to self-determination.

MAPAM's conciliatory positions are not always popular, even when time has proven them to be extremely realistic.

The aim of this booklet is to provide a brief introduction to MAPAM's views on the Middle East and on those international issues which require effective solidarity of all partners in the international socialist community.

The positions delineated herein are essentially an updated and abridged version of the resolutions adopted at the MAPAM conference held in Tel Aviv in February, 1983.

We are determined to gain the support of Israeli public opinion for these views, whose source is MAPAM's democratic-socialist ideology.

Avraham Rozenkier
International Secretary
MAPAM - Israel

MAPAM - A Brief Outline

The independent Israeli socialist party -- MAPAM (the United Workers Party) -- was officially founded in January, 1948. Diverse elements of the socialist-Zionist left, particularly those representing the collective settlement movement (kibbutzim -- which played a vital role in building the country) and the emerging Israeli working class, united to form the party.

In essence, however, MAPAM was originally conceived some 80 years ago as a Jewish youth movement -- Hashomer Hatzair. Very quickly it became a socialist movement striving to form socialist communes, which ultimately became the "kibbutzim" in Israel.

The Kibbutz Artzi Federation, numbering today more than 85 kibbutzim and nearly 25,000 members, significantly contributed to the ideological and organizational development of the party and remains an integral part of MAPAM. The kibbutz way-of-life, based on self-management and volunteerism, lends a unique character to the democratic-socialist ideology of MAPAM.

From its inception, this movement understood that two peoples are living in the Land of Israel, and they both have the right to national self-determination. At its founding convention in 1929, the Kibbutz Artzi Federation resolved: "...the historic Land of Israel is the common homeland of two peoples, the Jewish people returning to it and the Palestinian people living in it."

This kibbutz federation, and its youth movement, strove to create a bi-national state in Israel, in which both peoples would have equal national and political rights -- while preserving the Zionist principle that the country must be open to all Jews persecuted by anti-Semitic forces and all Jews who choose to manifest their national existence. However this dream became totally obsolete with the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1948.

While firmly rooted in the origins of the Zionist movement, MAPAM was the first Zionist political party to accept Arab members. From its outset MAPAM has called itself a Jewish-Arab party, and Arab members enjoy full and equal rights within the party, and are represented in all party institutions, including the Knesset faction.

In 1947, the United Nations -- on the backdrop of the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict -- decided to partition the Land of Israel (Palestine) into two independent states: a Jewish state and a Palestinian-Arab state. The United States and the Soviet Union both supported this decision. The state of the Jewish people arose, despite the ensuing invasion by Arab armies. The state of Israel did not succumb, rather by conquering those areas which had been set aside for the Palestinians by the UN proclamation, it prevented the formation of an independent Palestinian state.

MAPAM did not forego its desire for an accommodation with the Palestinian-Arab people and opened its ranks to Arab members, within the framework of a common political party. MAPAM fought against all restrictions on freedom of movement for the Arab population of Israel

imposed by the Military Administration. MAPAM demanded -- and achieved -- the acceptance of Arab workers into the General Labour Federation of Israel (Histadrut).

After the Six-Day War in 1967, MAPAM formulated and presented a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian and Jewish-Arab people plan which remains valid even today. MAPAM, in effect, is the only Israeli Zionist political party which is prepared to relinquish all territorial conquest, other than minor border modifications for security purposes, in order to achieve a durable peace.

MAPAM explicitly recognizes the Palestinian peoples' right to self-determination, in conjunction with Jordan, whose population is comprised of a majority of Palestinians. It demands, then, mutual recognition of both peoples and fervently struggles for a political solution to the conflict and the cessation of terrorism.

With the conquest of vast territories densely populated by Palestinian Arabs in 1967, expansionist, and even national-chauvinist, tendencies accelerated in Israel, alongside growing religious-clerical reaction. MAPAM steadfastly stands against the germination of ethnic oppression, chauvinism and fascism in Israel, and stands as an impregnable fortress in defense of Israel's progressive democratic political system.

Historically, MAPAM has been a vital component of the Israeli labour movement, and was a member of the "pre-state" government led by David Ben-Gurion's Israeli Workers Party (today, the Labour Party). Following varying periods of opposition and partnership in the Israeli governments led by the Labour Party, MAPAM has been in constant opposition to the policies of the government since the Likud's rise to power in 1977.

In 1968, MAPAM formed the Labour Alignment along with the Israeli Labour Party, and maintained that partnership until September, 1984, when it left the Alignment following the formation of the "national unity government" between Labour and the right-wing Likud. MAPAM, which never compromised its independence throughout all the years of the Alignment, today stands resolutely on its own.

MAPAM views the national unity coalition as a government of paralysis, which will be incapable of solving Israel's economic, political and moral crises, or of renewing the peace process.

In the Histadrut, the Alignment remains intact and MAPAM exercises great influence through its elected representatives to the governing bodies of that trade union. In the 1985 Histadrut elections, MAPAM ran independently for a number of local labour councils and received between 20 to 30 per cent of the votes in those cities and towns.

MAPAM is a full-fledged member of the Socialist International, and actively participates in Congresses, bureau meetings and various committees. The women of MAPAM are active members in the Socialist International Women, and likewise Young MAPAM in the International Union of Socialist Youth.

MAPAM's women fill central positions in all the party institutions and forums, even if their representation is not yet commensurate with their strength in the party's ranks.

MAPAM has an official membership of 50,000, including both Jews and Arabs, with branches in the cities, development towns, Arab villages and the kibbutzim.

The party maintains a network of cultural centers, known as Tzavta (together), which offer each community an outlet for progressive cultural expression and intellectual activity. MAPAM also maintains a daily newspaper, Al Hamishmar (The Daily Guardian), and co-sponsors a publishing house with the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, Sifriat Hapoalim (the Workers' Library).

MAPAM is also associated with the Givat Haviva Institute of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, an advanced study and research center which offers a cross-cultural meeting place for the peace camp in Israel.

The members of MAPAM and the Kibbutz Artzi Federation have played a prominent and decisive role in the Peace Now movement from its inception.

MAPAM and the National Unity Government

GOVERNMENT OF PARALYSIS

The political and economic program of the government known as a "national unity government," its structural awkwardness, the veto principle inherent in its formation, the rotation of prime ministers, and the personal and political manning of its ministries, all prevent the possibility of solving Israel's urgent problems.

This government, which will lead to a continuation of the annexation process by establishing new settlements and developing existing ones, will refrain from negotiating with Jordan without pre-conditions, and therefore bring about an absolute freeze in the peace process and in its wake the danger of rekindling the flames of war.

The socio-economic principles of a unity government, and granting the key economic portfolios to the Likud -- which is responsible for Israel's economic decline -- open the way to recession, to unemployment, to a sharp cut in social services and economic development, and to an aggressive economic policy which will only harm the working public and unskilled laborers.

DISSOLUTION OF THE ALIGNMENT

MAPAM is not participating in this government, voted against it on the day it was presented to the Knesset and continues to judge it on the basis of its actions.

Upon Knesset affirmation of this government, MAPAM announced the formation of a separate Knesset faction and the dissolution of the main political institutions of the Labour Alignment.

MAPAM will continue, as in the past, to maintain the partnership within the Alignment framework in the Histadrut (Israel's General Labour Federation), local governing councils and wherever both parties (MAPAM and Labour) are struggling against the Likud.

With the dissolution of the unity government with the Likud, MAPAM will evaluate and initiate new forms of partnership with the Labour Party.

FUTURE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

MAPAM calls upon the working public, intellectuals, and particularly the younger generation -- in the cities, villages, neighborhoods, development towns and Arab community -- to unite around MAPAM for the realization of a pioneering, socialist, democratic Zionism, the kinship of nations, on behalf of guaranteeing peace, security and prosperity for the state of Israel, in defense of the democratic system, and for the rehabilitation of the labour movement.

MAPAM and the Israeli Left

The political reality created by the formation of the national unity government and the ensuing dissolution of the Alignment between the Labour Party and MAPAM, obliges MAPAM:

- a. To enlist all its members and resources for a widespread political and organizational effort, and an informational campaign among the workers, the intellectuals and the youth, in the cities, the underprivileged neighborhoods, the development towns, the Arab villages and the kibbutzim, in order to build a broad base of public support for MAPAM.
- b. To take upon itself the leading role in uniting the Zionist left in the struggle over the fate of the nation and the future of the labour movement. To this end, MAPAM initiated a new political and intellectual forum in order to bring the various trends on the Israeli left to a common platform.

As part of its efforts to consolidate and strengthen the socialist-Zionist left with the labour movement, the peace forces and the forces of social progress among the Arab public, MAPAM remains steadfast in its willingness to form -- on the basis of an agreed-upon platform in the spirit of its social and political principles -- a joint list with the Citizens Rights Movement (RATZ) and other political forces on the socialist-Zionist left.

At the same time, MAPAM will exploit every possibility of cooperation with the Labour Party in the struggle against the Likud and the right-wing in general.

MAPAM will continue and maintain its partnership with the Labour Party in the Histadrut so long as the Labour Party remains steadfast in the struggle against the Likud and its socio economic outlook and so long as the Labour Party continues to stand against integrating the Likud into the Histadrut leadership.

The Palestinian Problem

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 PLO'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 was planned and carried out by the former 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 state.
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.

A SOLUTION FOR PEACE

1. MAPAM prefers a solution based upon two independent, sovereign countries: the state of Israel and 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 expanse 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 weight 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 upon 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 re-uniting families.

The War in Lebanon

The MAPAM Council of February, 1983, endorsed the resolutions of the party in its complete opposition to the unnecessary, pre-conceived war in Lebanon. MAPAM called for a total withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon from the very day that this war began. The party played a vital role in crystallizing public opposition to the former Likud government's actions throughout the war.

For this reason, the national unity government's decision to complete the long-awaited withdrawal and to deploy Israeli troops along the international border was naturally viewed with relief by MAPAM. MAPAM regrets, however, the fact that this decision was delayed so long because of the government's internal paralysis.

MAPAM maintains that ensuring Israel's security along the northern international border must remain the responsibility of Israeli troops stationed within Israel.

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 PLO could be eradicated, once and for all. This would have permitted 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 PLO 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 was temporarily undermined and Israel's reputation in the world arena was soiled despite the military successes. These were the political results of that mistaken war. Beyond all this, the price in blood was the harshest and most painful aspect of the Lebanese war.

For the first time in Israel's history, a government decided to use the Israel Defense Forces on a full scale basis for political purposes, despite the deep and dangerous rift which this act caused among the citizens of the state. The war in Lebanon was waged against a background of raging public debate. A government which spoke at length about "consensus" was responsible for a severe rift among its people.

MAPAM demands the appointment of a public investigation commission to evaluate all the events and aspects of the Lebanese war.

The Peace with Egypt

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 particularly the efforts to initiate negotiations for a 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.

The freeze in the autonomy talks and the immobility over Taba are 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, strive to shorten the transition period of autonomy and work for a permanent agreement. Continued settlement of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which was initiated by the Likud government and not repudiated by the national unity government, is a serious obstacle to autonomy negotiations and endangers the continuation of the peace process.

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.

The Syrian Front

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.

A Socialist Credo

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

Partial successes during the formative period of communism in achieving economic development of backward economies by raising the standards of education and broadening social security, were followed by the distortion of the socialist vision and 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. It failed, however, to alter the class structure of capitalistic society or to meaningfully narrow the social and economic gaps in society.

Still, humanity does not forego its dream. Attempts to realize it have not ceased and the struggle to achieve democratic and humanistic socialism continues.

Social justice, equality and solidarity are the aspirations of a socialist society. This society will manifest the principle of "human sovereignty" -- the individual in control of his/her own fate, a society in which the basic freedoms and rights of the individual are protected and anchored in the autonomy of the group to which he or she belongs -- a pluralistic society comprised of autonomous sub-groups. Socialism means a society in most of the means of production are invested in the hands of the majority, for the overall benefit of the society and not for the profit of the few.

The Israeli Experience

The Israeli labour movement has developed under unique conditions which enabled it to lay the foundations for socialist forms of organization and community while co-existing with the evolving capitalist economy. Nonetheless, some of its enterprises have deviated towards centralism and bureaucratic organization. This process has increased the institutionalized dependence of the individual worker, leading to the widening of social gaps and weakening the sense of worker solidarity within the wage-earning class.

Despite these regressive deviations, the unique experience of the Israeli labour movement enables us to go beyond the dream and design the outlines of the economy and the society which will come closest to its realization.

In this context, there is special significance to the kibbutz experiment, which converts the abstract dream into a daily social

reality. More than 70 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 forging this new way of life and has indicated the practical limitations inherent in the nature of humanity within this framework.

Self-Management: A Social Imperative

In the aftermath of Likud economic devastation, and in the era of joint Labour-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 improve the quality of life and labour in the community by decreasing dependence on central institutions and granting greater autonomy on the local level, in the towns and neighborhoods. Involving the citizens in a framework of cooperation and cooperative endeavor will enhance their sense of responsibility and social solidarity.

We believe in a citizenry which is the master of its own fate and has the ability to influence and shape individual lives in those issues which are paramount: work, education, environment, and others.

Expanding democracy in industry and improving the quality of life in the workplace will augment the attractiveness of industry for educated young people. Changing the make-up of the working force and raising its standards will also heighten aspirations concerning the forms and substance of management.

The labour 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 production workers for new tasks and will assist management cadres in studying and absorbing the principles of the new approach in order to implement them in practice.

In the trade unions, the status of the workers' committees will be enhanced through their representation in the central institutions of the Histadrut -- guaranteeing a two-way flow of opinions, proposals and solutions.

Strengthening the patterns of democratization and the introduction of self-management procedures will reinforce the authority of the Histadrut as a movement with comprehensive goals. The experience garnered in the Histadrut-dominated sector will promote 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 infra-structure leading to comprehensive political and social change.

An Economic Alternative

Introduction

Seven years of the Likud government's faulty economic policies brought the national Israeli economy to the edge of the cliff -- no economic growth, a growing trade deficit, reduction of foreign currency reserves, decreasing investments, and an increase in economic and social gaps.

The national unity government, from its inception in September, 1984, took confused and contradictory steps which heightened the inflationary spiral and brought the economy to a state of hyper-inflation, which portends a real danger to the performance of the economic infra-structure and the normal existence of a democratic regime. The government's economic program places a further burden on the salaried workers, on the weaker layers of society, without offering a hint of recovery.

Just as the motto of a "unity government" was a witch's brew which had neither answers nor solutions to the nation's pressing problems, the new motto: "package deal" was no more than voodoo economics.

The Package Deals

The agreement to stabilize the economy between the government, the Histadrut (Israel's General Federation of Labour) and the industrial coordinating bureau (the first "package deal"), did bring about a temporary soothing of the inflationary spiral and of the race to the marketplace (by workers spending in order to protect the value of their wages). But being disconnected from an all-inclusive program, it did not have answers to basic questions:

1. The package deal increased pressures on the monetary volcano, and artificially quelled them. These pressures threatened to sweep aside the entire economy.
2. Part of the calm is explained by the behavior of the consumers, who postponed their purchases until the latter period of the deal, in order to benefit as much as possible from the relative price changes.
3. The government made no real cuts in its budget, especially in the defense budget. This fact, together with the collapse of the tax revenue system, brought about higher government deficits and the wholesale printing of new currency.
4. The salaried workers shouldered the main brunt during the period of the package deal, and their contribution was not matched by other sectors of the economy. The government did not uphold its commitment to impose a similar burden on corporations and the self-employed.
5. The cut-off of credit and the change in relative prices brought many factories to a crisis. Unemployment increased, especially in development towns, where the unemployment rate is already higher than in any other sector.

Despite all of its faults, the package deal could have offered the government breathing space to put together a comprehensive economic policy. This breathing space was not utilized. After the first package

deal the economy found itself confronted by the same problems it had before the deal was signed -- only more acutely than before.

The temporary improvement in the state of foreign currency reserves, which resulted from the granting of American aid, disappeared without being taken advantage of to strengthen the economy. The foreign currency reserves continued to drop.

The tax revenue system has been destroyed.

Instead of collecting taxes from corporations and the self-employed, instead of dealing with "black" (undeclared) capital, instead of re-setting national priorities, the government chose the easy way out: erosion of wages and greater unemployment. This is the way to deepen the crisis, not to cure it. The roots of inflation are in the government deficit, the vast amounts of currency printed, the large quantities of liquid funds in the hands of the private sector, and the profusion of profits which accumulated, thanks to generous tax laws and the wrecked revenue system. Wages, in the past few years, and today, are not an inflationary factor and erosion of wages is not a cure for inflation.

Real solutions must be based upon comprehensive socio-economic planning, for medium and long-range, which will lead to economic growth and changes in the economic structure.

The determined stand of the Histadrut led to braking the price hikes of subsidized products, and a fairer distribution of the burden among the various sectors of the economy (producers, marketers, consumers). But the compensation given to salaried workers could not prevent the lowering of real wages for most workers, especially those who have low incomes.

The contribution of salaried workers to the revenue system continues to be unbalanced in relation to corporations and the self-employed.

The Government's Economic Program

The "economic program" enacted by the government is an expression of an anti-social and conservative viewpoint. The government is hiding from the public the real and dire consequences of these measures and what can be expected after the first several months of their application.

The "economic program" is an attempt to solve the problems of the economy through upsetting the foundations of Israeli society, by placing an unbalanced and unreasonable burden on the backs of the salaried workers, by wider social gaps, by impaired social services and higher unemployment.

The government, in its decision to impose its "economic program," has broken its agreement with the Histadrut. In voiding the agreement by its willful use of emergency regulations -- mainly in the areas of work relations and wages -- the government is damaging its credibility and, as it bypasses the legislature, it is undermining the principles of democracy and rule of law.

MAPAM demanded that the government desist from following this path, which will only sow strife. That it cancel emergency regulations and embark upon negotiations with the Histadrut designed to bring about a social pact between all sectors of the economy -- ensuring renewed economic growth and an equal sharing of the burden.

An Alternative Program

There is another way. A way to cure the economy, to halt inflation, and to solve the balance of payments problem without tearing asunder the social fabric. It is the path which is guided by the principles of the labour movement, the path of social solidarity, justice in distributing the burden and renewed economic growth.

Instead of the neo-conservative economic program, MAPAM proposes a program for the immediate future whose main points are:

1. Cutting the government budget by \$1 billion -- \$600 million from the defense budget, suspension of the "Lavi" fighter plane project, of settlements over the "Green Line," and coalition payoffs, and resumption of El-Al flights all days of the week.

2. Maintaining collective work agreements and cost-of-living increment agreements, so as to ensure the just distribution of the economic burden and safeguarding real wages. Legislating a minimum wage at 60% of the average wage.

3. Making public services more efficient through dialog with the Histadrut and worker representatives.

4. Maintaining the level of social services -- health and education, and safeguarding the ability of the Histadrut Health Fund to continue functioning.

5. Immediate compensation of those receiving guaranteed incomes, and of retirees, in view of increased prices -- without religious or national discrimination.

6. Preserving the real value of government allowances for children.

7. Increasing the profitability of exports and encouraging investment in export-oriented businesses.

8. Maintaining the level of subsidies (of basic goods) at a level of 25% to 30% of the price of a product, and 50% for public transportation.

9. Immediate implementation of changes in existing tax laws to ensure real taxation of corporations and the self-employed.

10. A real and constant struggle to clear up "black" (undeclared) capital and real collection of taxes which will add another \$1 billion in revenues.

11. Linking mortgage payments of persons entitled to government aid to the cost-of-living index and limiting the payments to no more than 25% of the combined income of the household.

12. Cancelling the decision which calls for the transfer of funds from government savings channels to open market capital, so as to ensure sources for government investment in productive branches -- agriculture, industry and construction, and limiting real interest to no more than 6%.

13. Ensuring the survival of the agricultural sector and of farm exports by:

- Agricultural planning and permanent subsidies of 25% to 30% of the products.

- Increasing export profitability.

- Setting prices of water according to the farm sector's ability to pay.

14. Imposing property taxes on luxury housing and value taxes on second homes (for vacation or investment).

15. Lowering the tax burden on salaried workers and taxes on national insurance (welfare) payments.

16. Embarking upon an extensive and concrete program aimed at increasing vocational training and professional re-training.

In the context of a social pact whose foundations rest upon an economic program with the above-mentioned guidelines, the salaried workers will contribute their fair share to the general effort to bring about renewed economic growth, increased productivity, and reduced private consumption.

Only a socio-economic program which imposes a fair burden on the public has the chance to enlist wide and consistent support which will help its implementation, in order to retrieve the economy and society from the dead end towards which they are headed and guiding them to new and unlimited horizons.

International Issues

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 USSR 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.

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 proximity 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 per cent 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 step toward peace and detente.

MAPAM stands for the reduction of ICBM's and the mutual and steady reduction of atomic weapons on the European continent. MAPAM also opposes expanding the arms race to outer space and Israeli participation in the American Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars).

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.

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.

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 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 and South Africa.

MAPAM opposes the military relations between Israel and South Africa.

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 battleground of the two super-powers which befog their true problems and do not 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 their country's 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 democratically-elected Sandinista government in order to return a Somoza-style dictatorship to power.

c. 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 guerrilla 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 bloodbath.

MAPAM supports the resistance of the PSD to the attempted legitimization of the rigged elections which took place recently and to the mass murder of the people.

d. El Salvador

MAPAM believes that only a political agreement between the FDR/PMLN 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 MNR, the fraternal party in the Socialist International, which works for a peaceful political solution which will put an end to the bloodbath in El Salvador.

e. 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 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.

f. 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 warmly welcomes the new Alfonsin government and hopes that this administration will know how to deepen and strengthen the democratic measures which it advanced during its "100 Days of Grace" and the period prior to the trials of the generals.

g. Peru

MAPAM welcomes the new progressive government of Peru, democratically-elected and led by the APRA fraternal party, MAPAM is encouraged by the stern measures adopted in order to punish past infringements of the army against the indigenous Indian population.

