

YOUNG MAPAM

Program for the '80s



The Middle East Crisis

International Affairs

Socialism Today

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INTRODUCTION

Young MAPAM is the youth wing of the independent Israeli socialist party -- MAPAM (The United Workers Party of Israel). MAPAM is a Jewish-Arab political party whose members come from the three main sectors of Israeli life: the city, the kibbutz and the Arab villages.

The goal of this booklet is to provide the English-speaker with a brief introduction to Young MAPAM's views on the Middle East crisis and issues of international concern and our efforts to formulate a socialist philosophy applicable to the 1980s. These issues are central to the political dilemmas facing our organization.

The positions expressed herein are an updated and abridged version of the resolutions adopted by the most recent Young MAPAM Council, which was held in Jerusalem in April, 1984. In a forthcoming booklet, the remaining issues debated at the Council will be presented.

It is our sincere belief that the positions held by Young MAPAM are a genuine attempt to deal with Israeli and international realities by utilizing the democratic-socialist tools also employed by our sister organizations in IUSY. Young MAPAM is determined to struggle to gain the support of greater numbers of Israeli youth for these positions.

The Middle East Crisis

The Middle East is in a state of political flux and uncertainty. In recent months we have seen a flurry of activity among the Arab protagonists to the conflict, particularly between Jordan's King Hussein and PLO leader Yassar Arafat, while in Israel, the national unity government seems stalemated in a maze of philosophies and ideologies.

The Israeli army is on the verge of completing its long-awaited withdrawal from southern Lebanon, but thousands of Lebanese civilians and Palestinians continue to pay the price of the former Likud government's adventuristic policies with their homes, and their lives. As a result of the Lebanon war, the Lebanese government lost its last vestiges of independence and became an absolute puppet of the regime in Damascus. The Lebanese war complicated both Israel's political situation and the balance of power between Israel and its neighbors.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Likud policy of establishing new settlements on every hill and under every blossoming tree has been restrained by the national unity government -- but vast amounts of public monies are still channeled into building (and maintaining) hostile fortresses in the heart of areas densely populated by Palestinians. The Likud continues to promote permanent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and endeavors to extinguish every effort at achieving a political settlement on the future of the territories.

The peace with Egypt, which collapsed under the malign neglect of the former Likud government, is being delicately pieced back together by the national unity government under the direction of Prime Minister Shimon Peres, but the Likud ministers still continue to place stumbling blocks in the path to improved relations.

The super powers' involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict is ever rising. Since the escalation in the north, incredible quantities of weapons have been poured into the area by the super powers and their allies dependence on them has grown. Of late, in particular, the governments of Israel, Syria and Lebanon have been in the service of foreign interests. The super powers must become more involved in furthering the peace process and less directly involved in the conflict.

From the Arab side, we have witnessed the positive development of abandoning the military path and seeking formulas which will bring the Arab nations to peace negotiations with Israel. We should not labor under the illusion that this is the main voice in the Arab world. Unfortunately, the extremist elements, with Syria, Libya and the PLO rejectionist front in the lead, are still a major force in the Middle East, but the moderate voice is becoming more resonant. At first there was Sadat, afterwards there were broad hints from Hussein and in the end Arafat himself signalled a shift in the political direction. As a result of this change in thought, Arafat was forced to confront a rebellion within his own ranks by those who remain faithful to the PLO's military posture. The die has yet to be cast between those who support the political path and those who favor military action. No doubt political initiatives will greatly influence which path emerges victorious in the end.

Due to this state of affairs, and despite the growing difficulties, the Middle East yearns for peace. The fundamental problems of the Middle East remain unresolved, even after all the wars which have been fought in the area. The continuing bloodbath, the destruction, the sacrifice and the immense waste of resources, have turned peace into a necessity of ever broadening recognition which crosses geo-political boundaries.

This, therefore, is the time to undertake a broad and courageous political initiative which will free the area of its political immobility and will be founded on humanitarian and democratic principles in the spirit of kinship and socialism.

PRINCIPLES OF PEACE

1. The Land of Israel is the common homeland of the Jewish people returning to their land and the Palestinian-Arab nation, part of which lives here and part in exile. This commonality can be justly expressed through partition of sovereignty over the Land of Israel between both peoples.

2. Self-determination for every people is part of the development of national consciousness and can not be granted from without. The legitimate right to self-determination, to expression and independent national existence are unlimited, other than by the rights of another nation to sovereignty, peace and security.

3. The state of Israel will be a beacon to the Jewish people only so long as it vigorously guards its democratic character. A pre-condition for this is not ruling over another people and living within borders with a large Jewish majority.

THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM: A PEACEFUL SOLUTION

Young Mapam regards the main problem today as the inability of the leaders of the peoples involved in the conflict to reach the negotiating process. A mutual basis for talks must be created. Now, even prior to the initiation of the desired peace process, we need to act to improve the atmosphere in the area. The PLO must cease actions against an innocent civilian population. Terror for its own sake has, up until now, furthered the PLO from its political aims and hardened the heart of the Israeli people regarding the desires of the Palestinians. Israel must stop its settlements, as well as the expropriation of land, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The mass settling of the territories must be ended. The settlements represent a trend to annexation, harden the Arab stance regarding the legitimate Israeli ambitions to a peaceful and secure existence, and make it difficult to reach a political agreement in the area. The path to peace is through the conference table and direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. There is no military solution to the conflict. Talks with any Palestinian representation can be based on the following points:

1. Simultaneous mutual recognition of both peoples' right to self-determination -- Jewish and Palestinian.

2. Recognition of the sovereignty of all the states in the region.

3. Peaceful borders, determined through negotiations, will be recognized and agreed upon by all sides.

4. All parties involved will be free to come to the negotiating table with any opening position. Non-acceptance of the opening position by the opposing side will not constitute a reason for termination of the negotiations.

Any agreement reached through the negotiating process will be honored by all parties which recognize it as a permanent resolution, unless otherwise agreed upon.

Young Mapam recognizes the many advantages of a solution based upon a common Palestinian-Jordanian framework. Young Mapam will stress that this approach be presented by the Israeli side in the negotiations, but because of our desire to maintain all options in future negotiations, we leave this question of the type of sovereignty to be determined in the negotiating process.

Israel must declare its willingness to give up most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip for an historic compromise, while standing firm on a solution to Israel's real security requirements.

JERUSALEM

United Jerusalem is the capital of the state of Israel. Within the framework of a peace agreement, Israel will guarantee the extra-territorial status of Muslim and Christian holy sites, and make possible the expression of the national and cultural distinctiveness of the city's Arab residents through autonomous sub-councils and will guarantee their right to choose whichever citizenship they prefer. When, and if, an Israeli-Arab confederation comes into being, a suitable place for the central institutions of the confederation will be set aside within Greater Jerusalem. The status of this center will symbolize the peace and the desire to deepen the cooperation between the countries in the confederation, as spelled out in the Hazan Plan for Jerusalem, adopted by the party central committee in November, 1979.

In the peace negotiations there will also be an agreed upon plan for rehabilitation of the refugees on the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and on the East Bank of the Jordan. This plan will be implemented under conditions of an overall peace, with the cooperation of the Arab States and Israel, and with the

assistance of international finance. Within the framework of this plan, agricultural, industrial and housing development will be instrumental. Israel will contribute its part to the solution of this painful problem by absorbing an agreed upon number of refugees in an humanitarian effort to re-unite families.

LEBANON

The war in Lebanon, which began three years ago, was intended to last only a few days -- according to its architects -- but it is only now reaching its conclusion. This war is the most wretched and bitter revelation of the former Likud government's dangerous and power-crazed policies. The ill-conceived attempt to solve the Palestinian problem by military means took a heavy toll in blood, but did not contribute one iota to solving the problems facing the state of Israel.

Mobilizing for a pre-conceived war-- an unnecessary and adventuresome war -- only to achieve political ends is utterly unacceptable. In particular, the hidden intention of gaining extra time for strengthening the permanent Israeli occupation of the territories by means of the Lebanese war is unacceptable and contemptible. The use of war as a means to achieving political ends is morally corrupt, contradicts Jewish morality and the fundamental and accepted principles of Israeli society, according to which:

1. War is not launched unless there is a real threat to your existence.
2. Political problems are not solved by force of arms.
3. Military intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign nations is taboo.

The War in Lebanon:

-- Was planned months in advance and began under a cynical pretext which did not warrant going to war.

-- Broke out after a long period of tranquility on the northern border, without real danger to the nation's security.

-- Attempted to eliminate the PLO as a political and military factor in the Middle East. The PLO's military strongholds in southern Lebanon were, in fact, destroyed, but the PLO's political status was strengthened and following the war military strongholds were established elsewhere.

-- Attempted unsuccessfully to protect the residents of the northern area of Israel.

-- Caused hundreds of deaths among Israeli soldiers without achieving any military, political or security gains.

-- Unnecessarily involved Israel in direct confrontation with Syria, and brought a higher level of Syrian involvement in Lebanon.

-- Did not eliminate the antagonistic or terrorist actions of the PLO, as was hoped. The scope of their actions has increased since the war.

-- Brought Shi'ite terrorism to the world.

-- Was intended to establish new order in Lebanon, and in its wake Lebanon is more disunited and quarrelsome than ever before.

-- Damaged Israel's moral image among the nations of the world.

-- Damaged the Israeli army's ability to act as a deterrent force and lowered the level of motivation among Israeli soldiers.

-- Caused a deep and dangerous rift among the citizens of Israel. A government which spoke in the name of "consensus" is the one which brought about such a dangerous rift within the nation.

Young Mapam, from the outset of the war, called upon the government of Israel to immediately withdraw from Lebanon, to "bring the troops home," to defend the state of Israel from within its borders and to reach security arrangements which guarantee the safety of the northern settlements.

Young Mapam welcomes the decision of the national unity government to withdraw from Lebanon, although we condemn the hesitation shown in the early days of the new government and would have preferred a total, immediate withdrawal rather than withdrawal in stages. We call for integrating the withdrawal from Lebanon with a call to Syria to join talks with Israel on an overall solution without setting pre-conditions.

Young Mapam calls upon the Israeli government to establish relations with the progressive forces in Lebanon.

THE PEACE WITH EGYPT

The peace treaty with Egypt, the largest Arab country, deteriorated dramatically during the Likud era. The historic turning point which began with the peace was squandered. The Likud government did nothing to prevent this deterioration, and by its own hands blocked the opening to peace with other Arab nations.

The roots of the deterioration in Israeli-Egyptian relations were fixed in the two opposing versions of the autonomy plan. The interpretation which the former Likud government gave to the autonomy plan emptied it of all content or significance -- the purpose: ensuring Israeli rule on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Continuation of the settlements also signaled to Egypt and the Arab world again and again that Israel had no intention of offering anything regarding the West Bank and Gaza within a comprehensive peace framework.

An additional phase in the deterioration of Israeli-Egyptian relations was the wretched military undertaking in Lebanon. The Israeli government's expectations that Egypt would live with and exercise restraint toward broad Israeli military actions in the sovereign territory of another Arab nation were cynical and lacking any semblance of political sensitivity. Regardless, Young Mapam expresses its regret that the Egyptian ambassador left Israel on the background of the war. Young Mapam calls upon Egypt to return its ambassador to Israel because his absence will promote the continued stalling of the peace process and strengthen its opponents.

Young Mapam is aware that the peace agreement with Egypt was not intended to be a separate peace for an extended period. The future of the peace with Egypt is conditional upon the preparedness of the Israeli government to advance the process toward a political solution of the Palestinian problem.

SYRIA

Young Mapam sees particular importance in the need to reach talks with the Syrians. The Syrian army, and its positioning, make it, today, the largest concentrated force aimed against Israel. Along with our confidence in the ability of the state of Israel to confront this threat, there still exists the need to neutralize the focal points of tension between Israel and Syria. Israel must strive, first and foremost, for an immediate separation of forces between Israel and Syria on all fronts.

Israel must strive for a final arrangement on the future of the Golan Heights. Under such an arrangement the border with Syria must be on the Golan Heights, which will be demilitarized according to an agreed upon timetable. Until there is a peace agreement, both sides are obligated to uphold the separation of forces agreement to the last detail, as signed in 1974 by the Israeli and Syrian governments.

Young Mapam calls upon all the settlement movements to refrain from establishing new settlements on the Golan Heights, and in any event no existing settlement should represent an obstacle to peace.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE SUPER POWERS

Young Mapam strives to remove the Middle East from the arena of confrontation between the super powers, as part of the calming down process which the area requires on the way to a peace agreement. The super powers must remove all their armed forces from the Arab states, including advisors and technicians. Israel should not sign strategic agreements with either of the super powers. Such agreements make Israel a factor in the conflict between the two blocs, and an enemy of the opposing power. Such a situation is not in Israel's basic interests.

International Affairs

INTRODUCTION

The fact that Israel is involved in a conflict which, of itself, endangers world peace cannot divert the attention of Young Mapam away from other serious conflicts and problems which exist today in the world.

As part of the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, a movement committed to socialism and the solidarity of peoples, Young Mapam strives for a better and more just world. We strive for a world free from oppression, a world of liberated peoples and free human beings. We seek a world which combats hunger, poverty and oppression -- a world living in peace.

This approach leads inevitably to Young Mapam's solidarity with the struggles of other peoples for national liberation. Young Mapam supports the struggles for democratic regimes and against suppression, opposes imperialism in all forms and supports the struggle for human rights -- not only in the Middle East.

The form of human society which we seek is still far from reaching manifestation. Many obstacles are faced by humanity as a whole. The number of people living in democratic societies lessens annually. Every year thousands of men and women die in the struggle against a variety of oppressive regimes. Such regimes exist alongside free societies which fail to act against them, preferring to accept the situation as it is. Young Mapam notes this reality with concern, placing particular emphasis on the most problematic issues faced by our world.

THE SUPER-POWER ARMS RACE

Fears for world peace center today upon the struggle to restrain the nuclear and conventional arms race in the world. The obligation to release humanity from the threat of self-destruction lies primarily with the two super powers, which control the vast majority of nuclear weapons and are responsible for the arms race which threatens us all. This arms race between the super powers must end by mutual agreement on the ways in which to limit the production and development of nuclear arms, and ultimately to halt production entirely.

In order to lessen the danger of nuclear escalation it is necessary that all Europe become a nuclear free zone. Agreed upon demilitarization accompanied by mutual checking procedures should be a central goal in any framework of agreement between the super powers. Young Mapam thus condemns the installation of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe despite indications of Soviet willingness to reach an accord. This act is condemned by Young Mapam on the same grounds as was the installation of Soviet SS 20 missiles. Each side has, through these acts, undermined the strategic balance and contributed to the escalation of tension which threatens world peace.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Young Mapam opposes the introduction of nuclear weapons into the Middle East in any form, whether by the nations of the region themselves or by the super powers. This is because the Middle East is embroiled in a conflict which has implications for world peace. The political instability of the region invalidates the deterrent value of nuclear weapons and they become a dangerous and intimidating element. We must strive for a Middle East free of the threat of nuclear weapons. Israel must proclaim, once again, that it will not be the first country to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East. Israel must seek an agreement on a nuclear weapon free Middle East. Such an agreement can be reached under the auspices of the super powers or the United Nations. An Israeli initiative such as this will serve to ease tensions in the region and coincide with similar initiatives in other regions of the world.

THE SALE OF WEAPONS TO OPPRESSIVE REGIMES

Young Mapam calls on all arms-producing states, including Israel, to refrain from selling arms to

regimes which suppress human rights in their own countries. There should be no sales to regimes which use force to establish their rule and violently oppress ethnic, religious, national or political minorities. Young Mapam notes with concern the Israeli sale of arms to regimes which torture and murder those fighting for freedom of speech, human rights and democracy -- such as South American dictatorships and South Africa. The sale of arms to such nations contradicts Jewish and Zionist moral principles and the universal principles in which Mapam believes.

SOUTH AFRICA

The phenomenon of Apartheid continues. This is the ugliest example of racism in our day. Young Mapam members, who belong to a binational socialist movement, express their disgust regarding the South African regime, as they do with regards any regime which tries to justify racial, religious or ethnic discrimination.

The South African regime perpetuates inequality through racist legislation which contradicts the principles of universal justice and morality. The regime's goal is to perpetuate the rule of the white minority over the black majority. The white minority has continued to reap enormous profits from the country's natural resources while exploiting the black proletariat unfairly.

The black majority in South Africa lacks elementary civil rights. Yet all attempts to protest against the oppressive, racist system are suppressed brutally by the police and army. Not only does the racist regime exist in South Africa, but the white regime carries out an aggressive imperialist policy against its neighboring states. South Africa undertakes military raids into Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique, attacking civilians and burning villages. South Africa blatantly ignores the sovereignty of these states.

There are no indications that South Africa will liberate Namibia, which it occupies, despite the fact that Namibia's right to independence has been recognized by the United Nations and the nations of the world. Young Mapam supports the Namibian liberation movement -- SWAPO -- as it does the ANC, the South African liberation movement.

Young Mapam condemns the hypocrisy of the nations of the world with regard to South Africa. Western European nations, the United States, the Soviet Union and many African states condemn the apartheid regime, call for a boycott against it, but continue to have extensive trade links with South Africa. Certain Western nations, Israel among them, even export arms to South Africa. This cooperation must stop immediately. Young Mapam calls for an end to this hypocrisy and for a severing of trade links and military cooperation with the apartheid regime.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN BLOC

Young Mapam calls on the Soviet Union and the other states in the Eastern Bloc to uphold their commitment to the Helsinki Agreement and to maintain civil rights in their territory. Despite the fact that the Soviet Union is a party to the agreement, it, like its allies, does not grant the elementary rights of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom of emigration and equality before the law to all its citizens. Young Mapam calls on the Soviet Union to allow Jewish citizens -- who so desire -- to emigrate to Israel to live among their own people.

Young Mapam condemns the continued Soviet presence in Afghanistan. The invasion of Afghanistan is a brutal intervention into the internal affairs of a neighboring state and is unacceptable particularly in the case of a nation which claims to assist Third World peoples in their struggle for independence and in their fight against imperialism.

Young Mapam warns of the dangers involved in reaching international accords, including the Middle East, through the mediation of only one of the super powers. Despite all our reservations regarding the Soviet Union (and the United States), a necessary condition for a durable solution to an international conflict in which both the super powers have a direct or indirect interest is their cooperation and agreement.

Young Mapam calls on the United States and the Soviet Union to increase the ties and the dialogue between them, with the goal of reaching an understanding on as many points as possible with regard to international conflicts. This is especially true of the nuclear arms race and the Middle East conflict.

Latin America

GENERAL

Latin America and the Caribbean have for many years suffered severe economic and social gaps, and serious problems of malnutrition, health and education. In addition to these troubles, violent struggles are being waged in Latin American nations between oligarchies and military dictatorships on the one side and national liberation movements on the other.

In many nations of this region, civil rights are methodically trampled upon. Political murders and abductions, kidnappings, illegal arrests and torture have become common place. Latin America's anxieties have been exacerbated by the involvement of foreign powers in the region's internal conflicts. Not a few military dictatorships and oppressive regimes have the support and backing of the United States -- which sees in every freedom fighter an emissary of Soviet and Cuban plotting. Inevitably, those fighting against the oppressive regimes find themselves forced to seek aid from the Cubans and the Soviets -- for want of another source.

Alongside this sorry picture, Young Mapam views positively the democratic processes which are under way in some of the Latin American nations. We sense that it is our obligation to make every effort to strengthen and accelerate these processes, particularly in those countries which have never known democracy. The most outstanding among them is Nicaragua.

NICARAGUA

The Somoza family ruled Nicaragua with an iron-fist during 43 years, brutally oppressing its own people -- torture and massacres of civilian populations, leaving the population illiterate and infant mortally of 25% -- and raping the national treasury. Towards the end of their rule, the Somoza family held 20 per cent of private lands in Nicaragua and controlled 25 per cent of the nation's industry. Members of opposition political groups were jailed or murdered.

On July 19, 1979, the ruling oligarchy was overthrown and the Sandinista national liberation movement came to power following a long-lasting and bloody peoples' war. During the first five years of the Sandinista regime many steps were taken to advance and develop Nicaraguan society. In a campaign to irradiate illiteracy in the early years of Sandinista rule, the illiteracy rate dropped from 60 per cent of the overall population to 13 per cent. In the economic sphere, the Sandinistas expropriated 40 per cent of the national economy -- that part of the economy which was in the hands of the Somoza family and its cohorts. Although on some of the land which was taken over agricultural cooperatives were established, most of the economy remains in private hands and is mixed. Following the fall of the tyrannical dictatorship, the process of building a pluralistic society began in Nicaragua. Still, it is impossible to ignore certain limitations on the freedoms of expression and press and the right to organize. Though one cannot overlook the dangers contained in these limitations, the Sandinistas justify them as a result of the fierce battle against American aggression.

Elections

On November 4, 1984, the first democratic elections in Nicaragua's history were held for the national assembly. Five political parties, including the Sandinistas, participated in the election. Eighty per cent of those eligible, voted in the election. Five opposition parties -- of a bourgeois nature with conservative or liberal philosophies -- did not participate. They contended that their boycott of the elections was a reaction to discrimination against opposition parties during the election campaign.

Observers from the Socialist International were present throughout the entire campaign. In their summation of the election, leaders of the Socialist International stated that despite military aggression from outside Nicaragua, an economic embargo and sabotage, and despite a smear campaign against the Sandinistas in the international press, the revolutionary leadership was steadfast in carrying out the elections and even held them ahead of schedule. There is no doubt that the Sandinistas sought the widest spread participation of the different political forces in the election campaign.

In comparison to the elections which were held in El Salvador last year, the Nicaraguan election was freer and more inclusive. Whereas in El Salvador important political forces were not permitted to take part in the election, in Nicaragua certain political forces chose not to participate.

American Aggression

Young Mapam condemns the never-ending efforts of the United States to overthrow the duly-elected Nicaraguan government. The main efforts are concentrated in unconscionable and invalid methods -- massive military and financial aid to the Contras, and training the right-wing underground, which strives to return dictatorship to Nicaragua. The United States, which was not satisfied with pushing the right-wing underground from Honduras to Nicaragua, also opened a second front in the south and initiated a naval blockade by the American navy.

The height of America's military intervention against Nicaragua was mining the country's coastline. Despite the frequent damage to innocent civilian vessels, despite the protests from the enlightened world, despite the condemnation of the World Court in the Hague, and even the protests of the American Senate, President Reagan remained adamant in his wild, intolerable policies.

Young Mapam demands that the United States leave Nicaragua alone, and that it make use of its army for defensive purposes only and not to attack foreign nations. We also demand that the United States honor its commitment to the "Contadora" agreements, which the Sandinistas accepted without reservation.

Israeli Arms Shipments

In light of the many reports on Israeli arms shipments to the Contras -- guerilla forces operating against the duly-elected government in Nicaragua, led by former commanders of the Somoza national guard and supported by the CIA -- Young Mapam calls upon the Israeli government to immediately halt any military aid to the Contras. In our view, military support for this band of mercenaries harms Israel's interests in Latin America and contradicts the values of democracy and humanism inherent in our beliefs.

Conclusions

Young Mapam supports the efforts of the Sandinista movement to form an egalitarian society in Nicaragua, based upon a mixed economy, political pluralism and a non-aligned foreign policy. As socialists, we reject with contempt the attempts by remnants of the oligarchy to return to power and to return life in Nicaragua to its former state. The path along which Nicaragua has marched is one-way. The question is not whether Nicaragua will integrate itself into international economics and politics -- but how?

We believe that without a social revolution -- if the difficult social decisions are not made in a manner commensurate with social democracy -- there is no future for Nicaragua. In a society such as Nicaragua, decisions pertaining to investing national resources today will determine the face of the nation in the future.

At this critical moment, it is incumbent upon us to offer our assistance in order to persuade the Nicaraguan government to follow the path of democratic socialism.

We support the efforts of socialist movements and parties throughout the world to strengthen their ties with the Sandinistas, to act to promote a national dialogue in Nicaragua and to support the Contadora agreements. Likewise, we call upon the Nicaraguan government to renew diplomatic relations with Israel. And Young Mapam demands that the promise given a Mapam delegation which recently visited Nicaragua to return the confiscated synagogue of Managua to the Jewish community be fulfilled.

Young Mapam calls upon left-wing and progressive forces in Israel to act to arouse interest in Nicaraguan affairs through "The Committee for Solidarity with Nicaragua" and other organizations. And finally, we call upon economic institutions, particularly of the kibbutz movement, to examine possible ways for training and cooperating with Nicaragua in the economic sphere.

GUATEMALA

Young Mapam condemns the violent actions of the Guatemalan army against the peasant population of the country, the indiscriminate murder of thousands of Indians and the extermination of entire villages. These acts were carried out under the guise of anti-guerilla actions and the punishment of collaborators.

Young Mapam supports the PSD's opposition to the regime which is responsible for the bloodbath in Guatemala and the farcical election campaign held there recently.

EL SALVADOR

The continuing civil war and incessant murder campaign in El Salvador will end only through an internal political solution agreed upon by both sides without external intervention.

Young Mapam, therefore, supports the MNR struggle for a political solution and condemns the widespread United States military and economic intervention in El Salvador. The American military aid and its generous economic assistance find their way to the army which is in conflict with the Salvadoran people.

Young Mapam expresses its regrets over the last election campaign, which was marked by threats and forgery. Such steps only increase the animosity in El Salvador. The solution to the crisis can only be the result of an accord between the FDR/FMLN and the government.

ARGENTINA

Young Mapam welcomes the democratic developments in Argentina under Raoul Alfonsin. We hope that all those responsible for crimes committed against Argentina's citizenry will be brought to justice. The new regime must continue its efforts to find the many missing victims of the terror and to compensate their families.

Young Mapam supports the new regime and hopes that democracy will persist in the face of pressures exerted by the anti-democratic oligarchy and reactionary forces within the army which actively supported the oppressive regime which ruled Argentina until very recently.

CHILE

Young Mapam condemns Pinochet's continuing dictatorship -- a bloody regime which is responsible for the fall of democracy under Allende in 1973. The Pinochet regime is responsible for the murder and disappearance of thousands of Chileans, and thus all the internal efforts to topple the dictatorship are justified. Illegal imprisonment and the disappearance of opponents of the regime have become a common occurrence in Chile.

Pinochet's dangerous economic outlook -- based upon the Milton Friedman theory -- has brought about the widening of social and economic gaps in the country, increased poverty and starvation and brought higher profits for American companies and a small number of local families.

URUGUAY

Young Mapam regards the recent return to democracy in Uruguay as encouraging. We hope that this is indicative of an on-going process of democratization among the Latin American states. We are also encouraged by the impressive showing of the leftist parties in the first democratic Uruguayan elections in nearly a decade.

Young Mapam calls on the newly-elected democratic regime in Uruguay to punish those responsible for the suppression of human rights during the dark years of military dictatorship.

Socialism Today

A debate on the fundamental problems of Israeli society requires that we relate to the central issues confronting the citizens and that we put forward solutions to Israel's social, human and economic problems.

Current solutions compel investing the principles molded by past generations with new content. This is a must for the rejuvenation of the socialist idea.

The program of Young Mapam is a program for "achievable socialism." The program takes into account the fundamental situation of the society in which we are active, and forges attainable goals.

Socialism in the modern era means a drastic change in the relationships of production, in working conditions, and in educating to self-management at all levels and in all areas of society and the economy -- a free society which collectively takes its destiny into its own hands. This is a revolutionary, albeit attainable approach. It is expressed through the desire for change in the existing social order, for change in economic structure, and for change in people's thought patterns.

Israeli society today suffers from an abundance of social and economic gaps -- between "white collar" and "blue collar", between men and women, between Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews. These are also manifested in the gaps in standards of living and lifestyles. These gaps are not predestined, they are subject to change and we must create the means for eliminating them.

From the negation of the capitalist way, which increased the gaps between rich and poor and contributed to social injustice wherever it developed; from negation of the totalitarian socialism of the communist regimes, rises the "third path": the path to socialism and humanitarianism.

This is not "social democracy" which cancelled out or eroded most egalitarian propensities through its compromise with the capitalist system. Democratic socialism offers the path of social and economic reforms whose purpose is to change and improve the existing system and not to content itself with correcting weak points in the present formation.

On the path to achieving equality and social justice, we must take care not to assault human freedoms. Humanity stands at the apex of socialist society. People living in a free, equal and just society, which nurtures their comfort and happiness, is the essence of democratic socialism. The individual is served by the State and his/her class. Ideology exists for the benefit of humanity. The opposite arrangement -- people serving the State, their class or the idea, endangers human freedom and can lead to totalitarianism.

Hence, the vital need to place a firm barrier before the arbitrariness of rulers and government mechanisms. But this is not enough! Young Mapam strives for the establishment of economic, as well as political, democracy in Israel. Economic democracy can be realized by accepting the principles of self-management in factories and other places of work, as will be detailed later.

The means and phases for bringing democracy to all levels of life are: public criticism of all public and civil administration, strict adherence to the impeccability of elected officials and public servants, and maintaining the principle of rotation, especially in the public domain, where bureaucratic, non-democratic institutions which are alienated from the working people on whose behalf they exist may flourish.

Socialism for the 1980s emphasizes the maximum shifting of responsibility to local or regional collective authorities. The shifting of authority to autonomous cells at all levels of life, with full participation and control by the overall citizenry, leaves the State with a more limited role than it has in its hands today. The State will content itself with determining the way the game is played and its supervision, coordination between the different autonomous cells and distribution of the responsibility for the national goals.

Attaining these goals -- creating a just society of free people, masters of their own fate in all fields of life -- depends to a great extent on ensuring that the very young are educated to these ends. Also among the adult population, we must strive -- through education -- to change the worker's consciousness from that of a wage-earner to that of a worker who can, and must, influence distribution of the surplus of an individual's labor for the needs of the whole.

OUTLINE OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

A. The Essence

1. Maximum equality under social and economic conditions which allow for development of the broad spectrum of human talents and the satisfaction of material, social and spiritual needs.

2. Social solidarity based upon free associations in communities and organizations which will develop social responsibility and concern for the intertwined needs of the community and the individual, including the economic exploitation of man by his fellow man.

B. Property

3. Social property -- wherein the ownership of the physical foundation, the means of production and the economic and central enterprises in industry and services are in the hands of the entire society; wherein the workers have the right to utilize the factory's assets, to manage them and to profit from the factory's revenues. In order to fulfill the socialist program in the Israeli economy, central industries and services, such as natural resources, energy, sea and air transport, military industries, the banks, the electronic media, etc., must be under public ownership.

4. Private enterprise -- as a means of expressing the desires of the individual will be allowed in small units in cooperation with the workers in ownership and management. A law regulating the difference in earnings and standard of living will be enacted.

5. Wages will again become the basis for the expression of value for an individual's work. The gap in wages will be reduced, will be limited by law and will reflect societal priorities and economic needs.

C. The Way

6. Self-management in the varying fields of life, through integration of direct and indirect democracy and rotation of management positions. Self-management at work, which will grant the worker more interest and content at work and influence on his/her surroundings, a grander vision of the fruits of labor, team work based on mutual aid and responsibility, humanization of work which enables a significant leap forward in productivity -- beyond material incentive or ideological persuasion. Self-management in the community, which will open channels to individual involvement in neighborhoods by encouraging a sense of responsibility and enabling the citizen to determine the quality of life.

7. Democratic planning, with the participation of community and organizational representatives, which guarantees fulfilling broad national goals and prevents the growth of gaps between different sectors (which are built on self-management). In enterprises of national importance, self-management will be limited in order to guarantee the national interests.

8. Technological advance as a means for individual progress -- society and the economy will promote a cutback in the physical workload in order to increase leisure time. Planning and profitable use of leisure time will be a central mission of society. Educational and cultural tools must be developed to promote the growth and creativity of the individual during his/her leisure time.

9. Decentralization will grant new meaning and real content to secondary units and prevent the growth of centralized bureaucracies.

10. Mandatory education in order to enable realization of the socialist goals -- nothing should be taken for granted. The educational process is on-going -- from childhood to adulthood -- is multi-levelled and encompasses all areas of life.

It is clear to us that there is no single path to socialism. We have put forward our path, without discounting others' -- provided that they are democratic and based on collectivity and equality while preserving individual freedoms. Any social initiative which comes from the rank-and-file is welcome. Often it is preferable to the initiatives of those who have lost touch with the mass of society. The fulfillment of all initiatives from below is conditional upon having the tools and the backing of high level State and party policymakers. This, of course, demands great openness.



