



**THE  
UNITED  
WORKERS  
PARTY  
OF ISRAEL**

**MAPAM**

המפלגה העובדתית  
הישראלית

**TO THE READER:**

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This booklet represents a modest attempt to provide background material on our party and its views in a more comprehensive manner than is possible in bulletins or private correspondence. Though many of the subjects are deserving of more detailed discussion, we believe that it is also important to provide a more inclusive yet concise picture of Mapam for our friends abroad.

## **FOR ZIONISM, SOCIALISM AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS**

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

Zionism is the movement of Jewish national liberation; it strives to convert a scattered people into a productive nation on its own ancient land. Socialism provides the ideology and method for the achievement of national liberation as well as social emancipation. Thus, Mapam's outlook is founded on the synthesis between Pioneer Zionism and Revolutionary Socialism — between constructive activity and class struggle. The third element of the slogan — Brotherhood of Nations — is an attribute of the first two, but has a special significance for Israel, with its prominent Arab national minority.

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## A SPECIFIC PROBLEM

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Mapam, as a revolutionary socialist party, is true to the analytical method of scientific socialism. The most brilliant interpreter of Marx's teachings in terms of the Jewish people was Ber Borochoy, a Jewish labor leader who was active at the turn of the century. Mapam adheres to the broad lines of his approach.

In his "Observations on the Economic Development of the Jewish People", Borochoy spoke of Jewish labor being invested in the production of "variable capital... inherent in human labor", (handicrafts, small consumer goods industries, commerce, etc.) rather than in the production of "fixed capital" (basic industries, raw materials, etc.). The develop-

ment of industrial capitalism weakens the Jews' economic position; the Jewish craftsmen are increasingly replaced by mass-production industries manned by semi-skilled workers recruited from among the masses of the national majority.

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

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This, in addition to religious discrimination, contributed to the upsurge of anti-semitism, which led to pogroms and finally, under the Hitler regime, the monstrous attempt to solve the 'Jewish problem' by the extermination of an entire people. Zionism had come to be realized as an economic-historic imperative for the Jewish people. The only way the Jews could contribute to the building of socialism would be through national self-liberation.

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Today, fourteen years after the establishment of the State of Israel, 85% of the Jewish people are still scattered in the Diaspora. The Zionism movement counters anti-semitism and discrimination by working toward the concentration of the vast majority of the Jewish people in its land.

## ANTI-SEMITISM AND ZIONISM

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

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

The dispersed sections of the Jewish people lost contact with each other during the duration of their exile, and began to develop along different lines of language, culture and history. But the persecution which they all suffered as a result of their peculiar social and religious status in the community kept alive the embers of their longing for the distant homeland. From time to time messianic movements would arise, leading to abortive attempts to resettle the Jewish people in Israel. But only with the advent of the Zionist movement, founded by Theodore Herzl in 1897, did these aspirations take on the appearance of a modern political mass-movement.

It took the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazi genocide-machine to raise the Zionist solution of the Jewish problem to a plane of prime concern for remaining Jewry, and to concentrate its efforts in the gathering of exiles, the creation and fortification of the State of Israel, and the establishment of a normal productive base for Jewish national existence.

## THE GOAL — AN OVERALL CHANGE

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

In order to overcome the natural obstacles which at first confronted them, and make over urban types into villagers and productive workers, special forms of settlement were innovated. Both **moshav**, the smallholders settlement, and **kibbutz**, the purely communal settlement (see page 28), were based on **collectivism** and **class-conscious volunteer workers**. Pioneer youth movements, such as Hashomer Hatzair which formed the base for the creation of Mapam, were caught up in the revolutionary fervor of the post World War I period. Inspired by Borochof's Socialist-Zionist analysis of the Jewish national anomaly, they began to organize Jewish youth in Eastern Europe and later throughout the world, for the purpose of building collective settlements throughout the Land of Israel.

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

## STAGES TO SOCIALISM

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

Since national independence preceded national liberation, it was clearly impossible to enter immediately upon a decisive battle for socialist liberation. There was a need for **stages of struggle**. The theory of stages was grounded in the synthesis between Pioneer Zionism and Revolutionary Socialism.

### First Stage:

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

(b) National cooperation between the Jewish working class in Israel and the Jewish masses at large in accomplishing national liberation; this meaning the concentration of a majority of the Jewish people in its land creation of an economically and politically independent Jewish center in

Israel, where the new Jewish national type would live productively.

### Second Stage:

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

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

Mapam recognizes the possibility of different roads to socialism. Which of these roads will eventually apply to Israel is as yet unpredictable. The interaction of class forces during the present stage, in which Mapam serves as a dynamic builder of socialist ways of life and leads the workers in their class struggles, will determine the method of achievement and the specific nature of Israeli socialism.

## BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS

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

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

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

## TO ENDURE

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

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

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

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

Peace can be achieved, once the two sides finally get down to direct negotiations, based on recognition of each others sovereignty and established borders.

## AN EXPLOITED TRAGEDY

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At the close of the 1948/49 War of Independence, during the retreat of the Arab armies, the local Arab population was exhorted by nationalist instigators to leave the territory of the new State of Israel; they were promised a quick return in the wake of the triumphant armies. Many allowed themselves to be duped while others fled during shifts in the line of battle. The post-war years found them in refugee camps, for the most part denied free movement and job opportunities, exploited as a political trump card.

Mapam has approached this problem from the beginning in a sympathetic and constructive manner. It suggests: a) The solution of the refugee problem must be arrived at as part of the negotiations on a peace settlement; b) Within the framework of a peace agreement Israel will be ready to contribute to the solution of the refugee problem by participating in an international fund for the resettlement of the majority of refugees in the Arab countries and the acceptance of an agreed number of refugees by Israel. Mapam calls for an immediate statement by the Israeli government expressing its willingness to accept a pre-determined agreed-upon number of refugees as part of a peace settlement. Mapam calls upon the Arab leaders to help in solving the tragic dilemma of their brothers, for

which they themselves are responsible, rather than exploiting this tragedy for the sake of momentary political advantage.

## FAIR SHARES OF WATER RESOURCES

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In the arid Middle East, the apportioning of water rights is a question of more than ordinary political importance. In Israel, where 80% of the water reserves are in the north of the country, a special problem arises of transferring Jordan water to the south. A line consisting of canals, pipes and tunnels for this purpose is entering its final stages of construction. Lebanon is geographically unsuited to use the Jordan, and has access to the more convenient Litany River within its borders. Syria has convenient access to the Jordan River. The Kingdom of Jordan is attempting a large project based on diverting the Yarmuk River which forces Israel to take special measures in order to supply water to the settlements which had been dependent on the Yarmuk. The Kingdom of Jordan, besides its control of the Yarmuk, will be able to utilize the Jordan River even after Israel begins to tap the river above the Jordanian-Syrian border, since Israel will exploit only a portion of the Jordan reserves, and because of the large number of springs which flow into the bed below the Israeli tap; rich underground reserves will also remain easily available.

In plain terms, the problem of Jordan water is given to equitable solution, preferably within the framework of a peace agreement.



## GLOBAL AND REGIONAL PEACE

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Local conflicts are no longer a local matter; world peace is an issue which not only concerns specific regions but is influenced by them.

At the last convention of the United Workers Party, (in 1958) it was resolved that "in these days of increased tension in international relations, it is a matter of life and death for the Jewish people and the State of Israel to work for a relaxation in international tension, peaceful co-existence and the solution of international controversies by means of negotiation and agreement between the great powers, and to cease the production of nuclear weapons and their testing. Israel's best interests oblige her to support at the UN every proposal and every step directed toward this end... Only a policy of peace, independence, non-alignment and neutrality has the strength to open the way to a solution of the political problems of the Middle East and Israel".

Mapam warns against the danger to peace evident in Neo-Nazi manifestations in West Germany: the reappearance of Nazis in central positions; the mushroom growth of the Bonn Army and the training of its military cadres and scientists in various parts of the world; the re-emergence of ill-famed cartels as a major force in world economy.

Mapam conducts a permanent campaign for peace through parliamentary and public activity, active participation in the Israel Peace Committee, and through international contacts. It maintains fraternal relations with left-

socialist parties through-out the world and is active in representative socialist world-organizations.

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

## AFRO-ASIA AND NON-ALIGNMENT

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The great Afro-Asian bloc, newly arisen from bondage, values independence above all. One of the reasons why many of its members are anxious to receive Israeli advice and assistance is that Israel, as a small country, does not jeopardize this hard-won independence. Israel's socialist achievements: consumer and producer cooperatives, kibbutz and moshav settlements, labor-owned industries and social services, pioneer army units — all these are a guiding light to countries in the process of establishing progressive regimes. But Israel's voting record in the UN has harmed its good name by association with the former imperialist masters; only recently, by voting against South African apartheid, recognizing Algerian independence, and a number of other encouraging stands, has government foreign policy been obliged by its desire for amity with the developing nations to show its solidarity with the political as well as economic needs of these recently liberated countries.

Mapam calls for Israel's integration within the bloc of non-aligned, neutral Afro-Asian countries.

Relations between Israel and the Arab states must also be based on non-alignment and neutralism — for they too are newly independent.

## INTEGRATION OF A PEOPLE

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The giant influx of one million immigrants since the establishment of the state and the continuation of this immigration are making it possible for Israel to gradually normalize its economy through increasing dependence on the local market rather than export. But the welding of immigrants from both Western and Oriental countries into a unified entity presents problems which complicate this process. The Oriental Jews are at an obvious disadvantage in facing up to this age of large-scale commercial operations and complex technology. But they are far from ready to submit to a subservient role. The encouragement and advancement of this growing section of the community is one of Mapam's most important occupations.

It requires all the strength of the Jewish community, in Israel and abroad, not only to bring the immigrant to the land, but to provide him with living quarters, a place of work, means to learn the language, and the opportunity to integrate within the Israeli culture-at-large. The adaptation of Diaspora Jews to a life of productive endeavor and their social integration is a most fundamental task of modern Israel.

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

## GUARDING THE WORKERS INTERESTS

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Though the State of Israel is only 14 years old, the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) has passed its 42nd year. The reconstruction of the country as a home for returning exiles has been the work of pioneer workers. As a result the Histadrut became known as "the worker's state in formation"; the political forces within the Histadrut led the workers in establishing and fortifying the state, building the economy from the ground up, and serving in the leadership of the Zionist movement.

The structure of the Histadrut differs from its counterparts in other countries primarily because of the concentration of authority in the **Central Executive** rather than in independent trade unions. Membership is on a national basis and dues are paid directly to the Federation. Only on the secondary level of authority do we find the trade branches. To complete the organizational picture, **local workers councils** must be mentioned, though their role is being increasingly limited to local cultural initiative and the management of various benefit schemes.

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

## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

The Government, Histadrut, and public bodies such as the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund control all key sectors of the economy.

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

Mineral resources, electric power and water are either government or public controlled.

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

66% of Israeli agriculture, excluding the citrus industry, is co-operative (kibbutz or moshav).

50% of Israeli industry is evenly divided between the Government and the Histadrut. There are almost no private interests in basic industry.

66% of the building industry is government-run (mainly immigrant housing) or Histadrut-run. The large majority of Government and Histadrut building contracts are given to Solel Boneh — the Histadrut contracting firm.

100% of bus companies are driver-owned cooperatives.

Railway transportation is a government monopoly.

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

75% of Israeli shipping is in the hands of ZIM Lines, financed in equal parts by the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency and the Government; the other 25% is divided between Histadrut, public and private companies.

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

Agricultural marketing (Tnuva), commerce (Solcoor), insurance (Hasneh), and finance (The Workers Bank), as well as every other major section of the economy — find the Histadrut in a central and often controlling position.

It should be noted that almost everything connected with large profits is primarily in private hands; banking, commerce, metropolitan real-estate, light industry, citrus-growing. Nevertheless, public and working-class control of Israel's economic foundations is of obvious importance in establishing the nature the regime.

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

The workers' position is today being jeopardized by a growing bourgeoisie and by the leading Mapai circles. Mapai (a social-democratic party with a revisionist inclination, typified by its leader's slogan, "From Class to People") is the leading party in the government and, therefore, in the Histadrut as well. This dual control is one of the greatest dangers to the status of the working class. Mapai's ruling group does its utmost to bend the Histadrut into a subservient offshoot of the government. The tendency is noticeable in connection with the persistent government efforts to lower the standard of living through a) manipulation of cost-of-living calculations and postponing increment payments, b) favoring two-year and even four-year collective wage-contracts instead of annual ones; c) currency devaluation designed to lower real wages and create partial unemployment through a slowdown of the economy.

Mapam calls for a class-minded, democratic Histadrut. Its central demands are: that national trade union leaders should be elected by the members of the particular union, not appointed by the ruling party; that elections should be held at regular intervals to union bodies; that each trade union should be autonomous concerning the establishment of work conditions, wages and social benefits for its members; that only questions of special importance concerning more than one trade union should be brought before the higher Histadrut bodies.

Mapam calls also for the strengthening of the local workers councils, as opposed to authoritarian control by the Histadrut's Trade Union Department over wage-contract

negotiations, and in opposition to the appearance of certain trade unions as pressure groups with vested interests.

Another demand of Mapam is the equitable distribution of the tax burden on all sections of the populace; dependence on a more progressive income tax rather than on indirect taxation.

And finally, in this sphere, Mapam stresses the necessity for all-inclusive planning of the national economy, directed toward rational utilization of our limited financial resources, and the encouragement of those basic industries and agricultural enterprises necessary as a spring-board for economic expansion.

## UNITY IN STRUGGLE

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Mapam, the second largest of the workers parties, stands first in the defense of workers' interests. Added strength is given the workers' struggle by the pact between the city wage-earner and the independent agricultural worker.

Distinct from other countries, where land-ownership interferes with class-consciousness, the kibbutz cultivates nationally-owned land collectively and participates actively in the struggles of the working class. It sends cadres to city branches of the party and has provided aid and work for whole trade branches during extended strike sieges.

Actually, the bitter edge of class struggle has not been especially felt during the formative years of the State of Israel; this has been due to the powerful position of the working class, the lack (until recent years) of a strongly

entrenched local bourgeoisie, the growth of large capital investments, development and inflation. The current rise of a government-nurtured local bourgeoisie, coinciding with attacks on Histadrut hegemony, foretell an intensified class struggle in the coming years.

## THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACY

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Mapai's ruling group has placed its members in important public, economic and cabinet positions. Though loosely organized, it is united in its opportunistic pragmatism, and provides a natural channel from welfare-state social-democracy to the parties of the right wing.

The ominous presence of such a group has spurred large sections of the public to follow Mapam's lead in a number of campaigns:

### a) The ratification of a Constitution

The British mandate left Israel a disorderly legal bequest, including Ottoman laws and regulations which had been passed to serve British imperialism. Israel's Knesset, in line with the British concept of constitution, decided against a written constitution, preferring rather the gradual ratification of basic laws, which would eventually comprise the complete Constitution. The religious parties balked at this decision, for fear of losing their stranglehold over the secular public in matters of civil law, such as marriage, divorce, burial and, in some instances, inheritance and education — as well as opposing in principle all but rabbinical

law. By exploiting their strategic position in connection with the political balance of power, they have helped forestall the ratification of what is obviously a basic prerequisite for democratic procedure. Mapai's leaders found it convenient to cooperate with the clericals, since the absence of a written constitution allows them free use of special emergency regulations which, in effect, place them above the law.

b) **Public civilian surveillance of defense bodies**

Mapam proposes the establishment of a broadly representative "National Defense Council" which will be authorized to investigate defense matters.

c) **Abolition of military administration in the Arab community**

Full equality for the Arab population in Israel will help bridge the gap with neighboring Arab states and contribute toward lasting peace.

d) **Clear distinction between church and state**

The proposed constitution must not only establish the right to freedom of belief; it must guarantee the full rights of the secular community to live as they choose, within the framework of secular law.

e) **Preservation of the direct and proportionate system of election**

Over a period of years, Mapai has attempted to gain absolute control under the guise of regional elections and a two-party system, since the best they have been able to achieve under the present democratic system of proportional representation is a simple majority. Mapam, at the head of a broad front of other parties, has succeeded in preventing this intended distortion of democratic procedure, and continues its defense of proportional elections.

Mapam preaches brotherhood and cooperation, and practices it as well. It was the first Zionist party to accept Arabs as full-fledged equal members; there has always been Arab representation in its parliamentary faction. The party maintains the Arab Pioneer Youth Movement, whose members were pioneers of cooperative ventures such as tractor stations, water pumping coops and building groups. It educates to a pride in our common land, and in the Arabic language and culture. The Arab Pioneer Youth cooperate with Mapam, its kibbutz settlements and its Zionist youth movement, Hashomer Hatzair, in training toward a more advanced Arab economy and a socialist way of life.

**YOUTH AND REGENERATION**

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One of Mapam's main sources of strength is the pioneer youth movement "Hashomer Hatzair", which educates Jewish youth in Israel and in the far-flung Jewish communities of the world toward the redeeming of the land within the framework of a collective society. Leaders of the ghetto uprisings, such as Mordecai Anilewicz who commanded the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt, came from its ranks; many survivors fought with the partisans. Its members served in the Palestine Brigade during World War II; Haviva Reik, for whom Mapam's ideological seminar is named, was one of the parachutists dropped behind German lines to bring new hope

of redemption to the remnants of European Jewry. Hashomer Hatzair youth were active in the period of illegal immigration and organized the immigrants for resistance to the British who tried to prevent their return from war-charred Europe; they led immigrant ships including the most famous of them, the "Exodus". They fought bravely in the War of Independence, and continue to serve in the Israel Defense Army as soldiers and officers.

But the greatest achievement of Hashomer Hatzair is embodied in Kibbutz Artzi, the federation of collective settlements which it founded. These kibbutzim and those of other movements, scattered throughout the country and along its borders, were the greatest factor in establishing Israel's territorial hegemony, not only by defending the land, as in the case of Negba, Yad Mordecai, and Mishmar Haemek, but by enlivening the land and establishing upon it a dynamic communal society.

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

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

### WHAT IS KIBBUTZ ?

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

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

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

The kibbutz movement today numbers over 100,000 people; its actual influence is even greater than its numerical strength. Socialist planning and collective ownership have helped develop large-scale agriculture and advanced industry, both on a very high standard of efficiency and productivity. The kibbutz has always been the pioneer of new areas, helping absorb the immigrants which followed them.

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

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

## **IN CONCLUSION**

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Many aspects of Mapam work have not been mentioned for want of space and because of the editors' desire to stay as close as possible to basic policy. Certainly the most definite characteristic of the party as described here is the synthesis between constructive work and class struggle, which determines Mapam policy whether in the government or without. In the present constellation of forces, Mapam finds it impossible to join the government coalition, but does not rule out the possibility of a popular turn to the left, resulting in a progressive government led by the workers parties, with Mapam playing a central role.