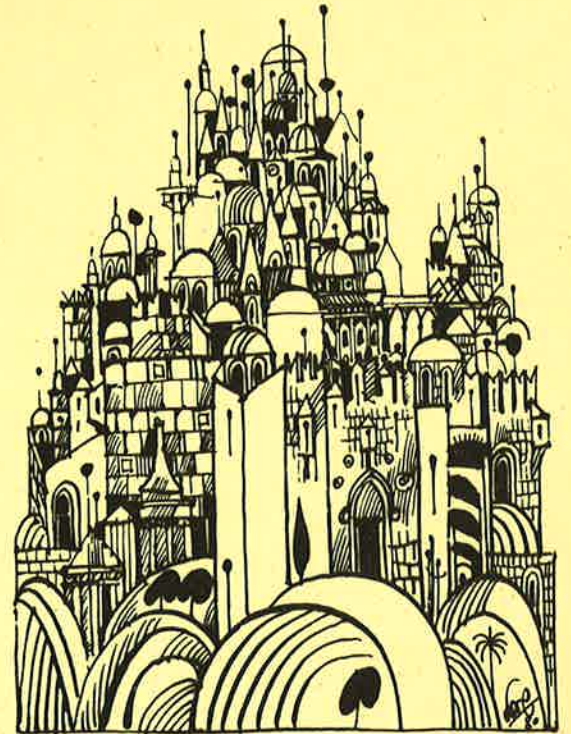


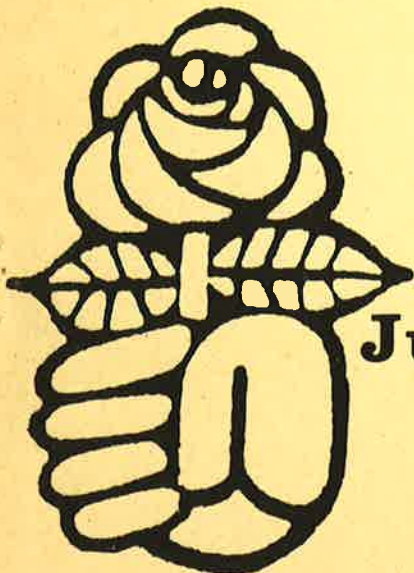
**the independent
socialist party
of
Israel**



MAPAM

**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 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.

A. Rozenkier

Avraham Rozenkier
International Secretary
MAPAM ISRAEL

MAPAM - A Brief Outline

The independent Israeli socialist party -- MAPAM (the United Workers Party) -- was 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.

The Kibbutz Artzi Federation, numbering 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.

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

As a leftist, socialist political party, MAPAM advocates the equality of women everywhere and strives for the full integration of women in all party activities -- from the local chapter level to the party's central institutions. MAPAM is proud of the fact that the party's six-member Knesset faction includes two women, one of whom serves as chairwoman of the parliamentary faction.

MAPAM has been a full-fledged member of the Socialist International since 1983, and is an active participant in Socialist International bureau meetings and various committees. The women of MAPAM are also active in the Socialist International Women.

Today, with six members of the Knesset (Israel's Parliament), MAPAM represents the largest opposition party to the national unity government, and is at the forefront of the initiative to unify the Israeli left.

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, with the formation of the "national unity government" between Labour and the Likud. 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 to renew the peace process.

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

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 -- over the length and breadth of Israel.

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 strengthen, renew and expand its ranks in the cities, development towns and Arab villages, and at the work place. In the present situation, it is obligatory to unite the party around a common ideology and fervent political action.
- 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.
- c. To form a united front on the socialist-Zionist left based on pragmatic, political programs. In order to achieve this aim, a process of formulating a common ideology will begin. Organizational unity of this front will reflect the degree of ideological/political unity which is reached during this process. In this way, it will be possible to form a united list for the next Knesset elections and it may be possible in the future to form a permanent common organizational framework.

The potential partners in this front, with MAPAM at its center, are the existing political groups which are participating in "Massad" (a new political and intellectual forum whose purpose is bringing various trends on the Israeli left to a common platform) and groups or individuals from all sectors of Israeli society, Jews and Arabs alike.

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 (Israel's General Labour Federation) 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.

MAPAM calls upon all her allies and partners on the socialist-Zionist left to join her in this position regarding the Histadrut.

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.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE PEACE FRONT

Some important events have altered the political map of the Middle East:

-- The split between the PLO and Damascus, resulting in a pitched battle between Abu-Musa's extremist wing and Yassar Arafat's "El Fatah."

-- The renewal of diplomatic relations between Jordan and Egypt.

-- The move by Iraq toward closer ties with the United States.

-- Indications that the adamant Iraqi veto on peace talks with Israel has been lifted.

-- The emergence of the PLO's moderate wing as the main force in the Palestinian movement, at the expense of the extremists, and the increased standing of West Bank leaders within the ranks of the PLO.

King Hussein's declaration in the 17th Palestinian National Council in Amman ("territories in exchange for peace") signals the rise of a new front of moderate Arab states -- Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq -- which seem intent upon escalating the search for a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It is unfortunate that this proposal received only mute support from the PLO itself and that the 17th PNC failed to embark upon a clear-cut course of dialogue based on mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians. All told, however, the Palestinian National Council was a step forward. It seems, therefore, that the PLO and Hussein have come to terms with the permanent presence of the state of Israel. The absence of reference to the Palestinian Covenant and its unacceptable articles referring to Israel can be interpreted as encouraging. Likewise the 17th PNC's decision to remove restrictions on discussions with Jews and Israelis.

These new realities will further limit Arafat's scope of independence -- he is now subservient to Saudi Arabian petro dollars, to Egyptian political support and to Jordanian hospitality. The Syrians and their Palestinian clients are not merely "mistaken and mis-led" in their efforts to dethrone Arafat. They are deadly rivals to be taken seriously. The murder of Fahd Kawasme is proof of this. His murder was both a blatant warning to Yassar Arafat and a baldfaced attempt at crippling the increased standing of West Bank leaders within the ranks of the PLO. Fahd Kawasme was not a victim of war, rather he was victimized by the fear of peace.

In light of these facts, it is certainly unfortunate that Israeli authorities were unrelenting in their rejection of our demand that West Bank representatives be allowed to attend the Council sessions in Jordan. They undoubtedly would have been a moderating force in the PNC's deliberations.

Moreover, the Israeli right-wing was cast into a sputtering disarray by the Mubarak peace initiative because it threatened the concept of a "Greater Israel." The Israeli right-wing is prepared to forego peace -- anything but to abandon the occupied territories and endanger the dream of a "Greater Israel." The right-wing will exploit to the maximum the paralysis of the national unity government, which prevents any Israeli peace initiative capable of advancing the long-overdue effort to put an end to the satanic tango of blood and death in the Middle East.

The War in Lebanon

1. MAPAM calls for the immediate evacuation of Israeli troops from Lebanon, for reaffirmation that Israel recognizes the current borders between Israel and Lebanon, but demands security arrangements which will guarantee the peace of her settlements on the northern border.
2. The recent MAPAM Council (February 1983) endorsed the resolutions of the party in its complete opposition to the war in Lebanon. It noted with approval the role the party played in crystallizing public opposition to the former Likud government's actions during the war.
3. Behind all the errors of the Lebanese war, the outstanding mistake was the assumption that force of arms could be substituted for a political solution and that with the force of arms the PLO could be done away with, once and for all. This would permit the Likud government to carry out its policy of annexation of the West Bank. Despite its protestation that the welfare of the Galilee was its only concern, the Likud government began the Lebanese war in order to accomplish political goals which cannot be attained militarily. It is quite clear that the 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 has been undermined and Israel's reputation in the world arena has been soiled despite the military successes. These were the political results of that mistaken war. Beyond all this, the price in blood is the harshest and most painful aspect of the Lebanese war.
4. For the first time in Israel's history, a government decided to use the Israel Defense Forces on a full scale basis for political purposes, despite the deep and dangerous rift that this act caused among the citizens of the state. The war in Lebanon was waged against this background of serious public debate. This government, which speaks at such length about "consensus" is itself responsible for the rift in the midst of the people.
5. In negotiations with Syria, Israel, giving highest priority to the welfare and security of its citizens in the Upper Galilee and the Jordan Valley, requires that the border with Syria run through the Golan Heights. The Israeli army will regroup at borders determined in negotiations and the evacuated area of the Golan Heights will be demilitarized according to an agreed upon timetable. Until a peace agreement is reached, both sides will scrupulously observe all articles of the cease-fire agreement which was signed in 1974 by both Israel and Syria.

THE LEBANON WAR - EPILOGUE

MAPAM has called for a total withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon from the very day that this unnecessary, pre-conceived war began. This is why the government decision to complete this 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 paralysis of the national unity government and the following illusions which it maintained:

-- trying to solve political problems by force of arms while in fact deepening disunion and the quarrelsomeness within Lebanon, damaging the Israeli army's ability to act as a deterrent force

-- convincing the Syrians to accept some form of agreement preventing terrorist activity in southern Lebanon

-- looking for an agreement with the Lebanese government and the ability of the Christian militia in the south to serve as a buffer between the terrorists and Israel

-- attempting to avoid the Shi'ite terror with partial withdrawals

Ensuring Israel's security will remain the responsibility of Israeli troops stationed in Israel along the northern international border.

MAPAM demands the establishment of a public investigation committee to evaluate all the events of the Lebanese war.

The Peace with Egypt

1. The peace treaty with Egypt is of historic importance and the beginning of a comprehensive peace in the area. However, Israeli-Egyptian peace is not imperishable as a separate peace. Israel's regional policies -- the speedy evacuation of Lebanon and especially her efforts to institute negotiations for 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.

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

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

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 weights upon humanity. The assurance of nuclear equality, to begin with, and the nuclear disarmament of all Europe will be a long stride toward peace and detente.

MAPAM stands for the reduction of ICBM's and the mutual and steady reduction of atomic weapons on the European continent.

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

AFGHANISTAN

The Soviet invastion 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 understadning 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 the Somoza dictatorship to power.

c. Argentina

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

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

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

d. Guatemala

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

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

e. 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.

f. Chile

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

The economic theories of Milton Friedman -- freemarket and economic initiative -- which have found supporters in the Likud ranks in Israel as well, were adopted in Chile and 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.



