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1. Introduction.

The first elections in the State of Israel are scheduled for 25 January 1949, when approximately 400,000 voters will choose a constituent assembly to replace the PGI (Provisional Government of Israel), which was set up 15 May 1948 upon the expiration of the British Mandate. In Israel's transition from a minority community to an independent sovereign state, the political life of the Jewish community has undergone a number of significant changes. A number of new parties have been formed, old ones have disbanded, some have amalgamated, and still others have split into two or more separate parties. Many political groups have changed a number of their basic policies as a result of the historic developments of the past year, (and all have probably been influenced in one way or another by the 100,000 immigrants who entered Israel in the first ten months of 1948).

In view of this extremely fluid political situation, it is almost impossible to estimate with accuracy what percent of the vote the various parties will receive in the coming election. All that can be said with certainty is that the great majority of the Israeli population favors the building of a strong, independent Jewish state, based on socialist concepts and Messianic principles. The extent of Israel's boundaries, the degree of socialism to be adopted in the state, and Israel's foreign alignment are still questions of intense controversy. Although the coming election may indicate the trend of Israeli thinking on these fundamental questions, it is not likely to answer them decisively. Not until the Arab-Jewish controversy is resolved and the countries of the Near East attain some measure of political and economic stability will the internal and foreign policies of the state of Israel crystallize in an established pattern.

Since its inception on 15 May 1948, Israel has been ruled by a provisional government representative of almost every political group in Israel but effectively dominated by the moderate socialist party, MAPAI. Whatever the outcome of the 25 January election, a coalition government will almost certainly again be formed (at least initially), since its major function will be to draw up a constitution. Nevertheless, because of its remarkably successful leadership during the past

NOTE: A glossary of terms will be found at the end of this Memorandum.

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year, MAPAI will probably win a sufficient plurality to dominate the political scene again, seeking, as heretofore, the support of the religious and center parties. MAPAI will be strongly opposed in the election by the right-wing Revisionist-Tenuat Hacherut bloc and by the ultra-socialist, pro-Soviet MAPAM. Should the center and religious parties choose to abandon MAPAI and join the right-wing bloc, MAPAI could probably still control the government by making substantial concessions to MAPAM. Such an alliance, however, would probably lead to a more intense socialism in internal policy and the possibility of a more pro-Soviet alignment in foreign policy. The Communist parties will gain few votes.

Fundamentally, Israel will continue to strive to maintain a neutral position between East and West but will also continue to count heavily on American financial assistance. A strong MAPAI victory would be desirable, from the point of view of the US, in guaranteeing a relatively moderate government. Power in the hands of the extreme right would result in intensified nationalistic demands for territorial and economic expansion. Power in the hands of the extreme left would lead to closer ties with the USSR. Either development would prejudice the strategic interests of the US in the Near East.

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2. MAPAI: Mifleget Poalei Eretz Israel (Palestine Labor Party).

MAPAI, a Zionist socialist party, has been the major political party of the Zionist movement since 1930, when it was formed by the union of two large Palestinian parties. Since 1930, it has occupied a central position in the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. In May 1948, upon the termination of the British Mandate, MAPAI formed the first (provisional) government of Israel with a cabinet and a council of state in which all the major parties in Israel were represented.

MAPAI had long led the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, strongly advocating the Biltmore Program of the Conference of American Zionists (May 1942), which demanded the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration under the direction of the Jewish Agency and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

MAPAI aims at the synthesis of Zionism and socialism in the life and work of the Israeli people. It advocates the mass immigration of Jews from all over the world into an industrial and agricultural socialist community which has prepared for their coming by increasing to the maximum Israel's absorptive capacity through the greatest possible development of the country's natural and human resources. MAPAI believes that all manual labor in Israel should be done by Jews, lest the Jewish revival be attributed to the exploitation of the labor of non-Jews. This basic theory has been the motivating force behind the establishment of the collective and small-holding settlements based on self-labor and cooperation. Through its Hehaluts (pioneer) movement, MAPAI trains Jewish youth abroad for agricultural work in Israel and maintains a system of labor education under the aegis of the General Council of the Jewish Community (Vaad Leumi). The economic and financial development of Israel has been achieved largely through the Histadruth, a unique labor organization in which all the Israeli socialist parties are represented. MAPAI wishes to continue and expand Histadruth's activities under socialist party control and to attract foreign investors into independent business ventures in Israel. Nearly half the adult population of Israel belongs to Histadruth, and 53% of its members belong to MAPAI.

In membership MAPAI includes agricultural, industrial, and white-collar workers as well as members of the collective and cooperative settlements. In the last elections for the Assefat Hanivharim (Jewish Representative Assembly under the Mandate) in August 1944, MAPAI received 36% of the vote. In the elections held for the 22nd Zionist Congress, MAPAI again received 36% of the vote. MAPAI's chief propaganda channel is the daily newspaper Davar. MAPAI's leaders include

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David Ben Gurion, Prime Minister of the PGI; Moshe Shertok, Foreign Minister; Eliezer Kaplan, Finance Minister; Eliahu Dobkin, member of the PGI Council of State; Ben Zvi, member of the PGI Council of State and President of the Vaad Leumi; and David Remez, Minister of Communications and Chairman of the Vaad Leumi.

Although MAPAI holds only 4 of the 13 portfolios in the PGI Cabinet (Defense, Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Communications), it dominates PGI affairs because seven other members, who represent moderate center parties or special religious or ethnic groups, are willing to follow MAPAI's lead except when their special interests are involved. MAPAI is often criticized for its dictatorial tendencies both by its political opponents and by impartial observers, who charge that MAPAI leaders are using the PGI's emergency wartime powers of censorship and arrest against MAPAI's political opponents, that MAPAI has extended its control over every aspect of economic life through the Histadruth and over the army through political officers in key positions, and that for a citizen to qualify for a responsible position, or in some cases to make a bare living, it is necessary to be a member of the Histadruth or MAPAI.

Under MAPAI leadership, Israel has weathered the first precarious seven months of its existence. It has augmented its territory, avoided hostile UN action, and held the friendship and support of both the US and the USSR. With the help of large contributions from abroad, 100,000 immigrants have been received and cared for. Israel's financial situation is reasonably strong, the food supply is adequate, and arms from abroad continue to flow to the successful army. In spite of grumblings by the people about despotism and the failure of the PGI to solicit greater aid from the USSR or to take over more territory, MAPAI will probably again receive in the 25 January elections the highest proportion of votes (30%-35%) and will almost certainly dominate any new coalition government that is formed.

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3. MAPAM: Miflaga ha-Poalim ha-Meuchedet (United Labor /Workers/Party).

a. MAPAM, which is also a Zionist socialist party, was formed in January 1948 by the fusion of three left-wing parties: Achdut Avoda, Poale Zion Smol, and Hashomer Hatzair. MAPAM differs from MAPAI, with which it is closely associated in the Histadruth, in advocating a more extreme socialism within Israel and the forging of closer links with the USSR in foreign affairs.

An article in the 25 January 1948 edition of the Palestine Post contains excerpts from the new party's platform:

"The independent nation is to forge its socialist future by striving for a pact with the toiling Arab masses in the country... The party sees itself as an inseparable part of the revolutionary workers' movement and the work against capitalist reaction (sic). It will foster contacts with revolutionary movements all over the world and favors agreement between the workers of the world and the USSR, which is the first workers' state... Complete equality and cooperation between the Jewish people returning to its land and the Arab masses living there will be sought... Regarding the UN decision, the platform has determined to support the establishment of the Jewish state and its defense under present conditions despite its rejection, in principle, of the partition solution."

This article also reports that MAPAM has adopted the Achdut Avoda administrative system of a council of 101 members and that the Hashomer Hatzair newspaper Mishmar will be issued daily by the party as Al-ha-Mishmar. Moshe Sneh, who was formerly a leader of the left wing of the General Zionists and reportedly the Jewish Agency's liaison officer with Eastern Europe, is MAPAM's primary leader and spokesman. He has had strong contacts with Polish Communists in Palestine. He is known as an ambitious opportunist and his influence was restricted in the Jewish Agency Council by more moderate leaders. It is quite possible that his shift to this "new" leftist party was motivated more by personal ambition and the chance to become the top man in the new party than by conviction. In his speech at the opening meeting, Moshe Sneh stated that the persecution of Communists is identical to the persecution of Jews and appealed to all to join in the struggle, led by the USSR, for freedom, progress, democracy, and, above all, socialism.

In spite of these MAPAM speeches and articles clamoring for closer Israeli-Soviet relations, there are no indications so far that MAPAM is Communist. In domestic policy it is strongly socialist, and its support of communal settlements, which are sponsored by all the Israeli socialist parties, cannot be interpreted as a Communist policy. MAPAM would gladly accept Soviet guidance, money, and arms in support

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of its Zionist aims but probably would not commit itself to a Moscow line contrary to the nationalist ideals of Israel. MAPAM's recent refusal to join lists with the Israeli Communists for the coming elections, on the grounds that the Communists are anti-Zionist and not truly Marxist, supports this view.

On the other hand, there are definite indications that the USSR has recognized MAPAM as a possible point of Communist penetration of Israel. An unconfirmed report states that the Palestine Communist Party had been ordered by Moscow to recruit Communists among European immigrants for the MAPAM parties, not for the weak and discredited Palestine Communist Party. Moscow has long had ties with the component parties of MAPAM through such pro-Soviet groups as the League for Soviet Friendship, and the Kremlin is aware that MAPAM is the only strong party which favors the formation of an anti-US-UK bloc in Israel. In a speech last August Moshe Sneh entered the lists against "fascism" and parroted the Soviet line that Israel's struggle was part of the fight of the colonial peoples of Asia against imperialism.

MAPAM's internal economic program demands the nationalization of key industries, the tightening of price and rent controls, a capital levy, progressive indirect taxation, a state monopoly of foreign trade, and the transfer of Histadruth's economic enterprises to the nation.

The present PGI Cabinet contains two MAPAM members: Mordecai Bentov (Hashomer Hatzair), Minister of Labor and Public Works; and Aaron Zisling (Achdut Avoda), the Minister of Agriculture. The right-wing parties criticize MAPAM's cooperation with MAPAI and claim cynically that MAPAM will never constitute a true opposition because its leaders can always be bought off with more seats. Although there is probably a certain amount of truth in this contention, MAPAM bitterly attacks MAPAI for its lukewarm socialism and its subservience to the West and strongly opposed MAPAI's dissolution of the Palmach, the crack striking force of the army, which was politically pro-MAPAM. Nevertheless, MAPAM is still closer in outlook to MAPAI than is any other Israeli party.

The most optimistic estimate of MAPAM strength in the coming elections gives this party 25% of the vote. Most recent estimates, from Goldman in London and the Press Club in Tel Aviv, give MAPAM only 18% and predict another MAPAI-led coalition. In that case, MAPAM would probably continue in very much its present role; it would maintain its economic power in the Histadruth and seek to gain prestige by taking credit for any Soviet action favorable to Israel.

b. Of the three parties which combined to form MAPAM, Achdut Avoda (Hatnua Leahduth Haavoda--Movement for the Unity of Labor) was the left-wing opposition (group B) of MAPAI until June 1944 when it seceded over an organizational matter and formed a separate party. There is little ideological difference between Achdut Avoda and MAPAI. Both are affiliated

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with the World Zionist Organization and stand for a socialist Jewish state in Palestine. Achdut Avoda is more radical in international affairs than MAPAI and stresses closer ties with the International Labor Movement. Its party platform in 1944 was typical in its stand for free Jewish immigration, mass settlement, and the development of all the potentialities of Palestine under the Jewish Agency. The platform strongly opposes any attempt to partition Palestine, and demands the right of the labor movement to educate all Jewish children, the separation of church and state, and the sharing of responsibility by all parties in the administration of the Jewish community. Achdut Avoda considers the Histadruth the standard bearer of Zionism in the building up of the national economy and in the indoctrination of the Jewish people in Zionist and socialist principles. Achdut Avoda has over 100 branches and a membership of about 10,000 in labor settlements—particularly the collective agricultural settlements of the Kibbutz Meuchad, a federation of settlements constituting the more radical wing of Jewish labor. In the 1944 elections for the Assefat Hanivharim it received 18,168 votes or 9% of the total. Its leaders include I. Tabenkin and Aaron Zisling, now Minister of Agriculture in the PGI.

In April 1946, Achdut Avoda merged with Poale Zion Smol to form the Mefleget Achdut Avoda, although (as in the mergers of other Jewish parties) it retained its own party organization. In the 1946 elections to the General Zionist Congress, the first in which it participated, Mefleget Achdut Avoda polled 24,346 or 12% of the votes. After the visit of two of its members to Moscow in February 1948, this party merged with the Hashomer Hatzair to form MAPAM.

c. The second party in MAPAM, Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guard), is a doctrinaire revolutionary socialist party. It is more leftist than either MAPAI or Achdut Avoda in that it places greater stress on class consciousness and is anti-capitalist. Hashomer Hatzair has been affiliated with the World Zionist Organization, joining its fight for unrestricted immigration and Jewish Agency control over immigration and colonization. Hashomer Hatzair differed from the other Zionist parties in advocating a bi-national independent state of Palestine. It urged political parity between Arabs and Jews and an Arab-Jewish trade union, in line with its pure socialist doctrine, which visualized the toiling masses of both races uniting together against the Arab "Effendis" and Jewish capitalists. After the November 1947 UN decision to partition Palestine, Hashomer Hatzair abandoned its bi-national stand and rallied enthusiastically to the Zionist cause. Up until World War II Hashomer Hatzair was connected with the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialism and had close ties with the former British Independent Labor Party. Since 1942 Hashomer Hatzair has advocated close ties with the Soviet Union.

The party's main strength is from the 6,000 members of the Kibbutz Artzi, a federation of Hashomer Hatzair agricultural settle-

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ments, although in 1944 it also had 1,500 members outside these communal settlements. In the 1944 Assefat Hanivharim elections the Hashomer Hatzair and the Poale Zion Smol combined in a "Left Front" which received 24,773 votes or 12.4% of the total.

In February 1946, Hashomer Hatzair merged with the Socialist League. Their combined program demanded both the holding of elections at regular intervals for the general assembly of the Jewish community and greater participation in the administration of the Vaad Leumi, whose policy they believed should be determined by the labor parties and democratic and progressive groups. They also consider that the freedom of the Jewish workers to wage a class struggle is vital to Zionism, and they believe that any ideologies which include the concept of arbitration or curtailment of the right to strike are not only anti-socialist but anti-Zionist.

The 2,000 workers of the Socialist League plus 500 former members of the Hashomer Hatzair Youth Movement brought total adult membership of the Hashomer Hatzair up to 8,500 in 1946. Its newspaper, Mishmar, was the third most widely circulated in Palestine. In 1946 the party came out against terrorism and was reported to be trying to gain strength in rural areas. In July 1946 there was a reorganization of the political executive. Sections were designated for cooperation with the USSR, the V-League (Friendship for Soviet Russia), and the Arabs. A member of this political executive (Oren) was reported to have gone to a conference at the Soviet Embassy in London in September, where he promised that the Hashomer Hatzair would work to make the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) vanguard against Anglo-American influence in the Middle East. In the October 1946 elections for the World Zionist Congress, Hashomer Hatzair polled 23,944 votes or 12% of the total. Leaders include Mordecai Bentov, who is Minister of Works and Buildings in the PGI, M. Yaari, and V. Hasan.

During the fall of 1947 negotiations were in progress in Palestine and abroad, particularly in Poland, for a union of all pro-Soviet left-wing groups in the Jewish Agency to counterbalance MAPAI's "dictatorship" and to oppose the "fascism" of the Irgun-Revisionist bloc. Such pro-Soviet institutions as the Society for Israeli-Soviet Friendship, (the former V-League) the Soviet section of the Pan Slav Union, and the satellite consulates lent encouragement. By January 1948, Achdut Avoda-Poale Zion Smol's fear of being swallowed up by the better organized communities of Hashomer Hatzair was assuaged, and these three parties united to form MAPAM. In the 1946 elections to the Histadruth the parties combined in MAPAM received 25% of the vote as opposed to 35% received by MAPAI.

d. The third of the triumvirate, the Poale Zion Smol (Left Workers of Zion), is at the extreme left of the Zionist socialist parties in Palestine. Its socialism is similar to that of the third (Moscow) International, but the party's numerous attempts to

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gain acceptance therein were rejected by the Comintern on the grounds that Poale Zion Smol was basically a Zionist movement. In spite of these rebuffs the party reportedly kept in constant touch with the Comintern and maintained through such pro-Soviet organizations as the League for Israeli-Soviet Friendship, close liaison with Moscow. Poale Zion Smol has been opposed to the partition of Palestine and favors unlimited immigration and the adoption of Yiddish as the national language. Poal Zion Smol receives most of its support from the urban industrial workers. It polled about 3,000 votes in the last Histadruth election.

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4. Parties of the Right.

a. To the extreme right in Israeli politics stand the United Revisionist Party and the Tenuat Hacherut, the Irgun Zvai Leumi's new Freedom Party. These parties are true opposition parties, for they are not represented in the present coalition Cabinet and continue to inveigh against the PGI's acceptance of the principle of partition. Although the paths of these two groups diverged for many years, both groups stem from Vladimir Jabotinsky's Zionist Revisionist Party and its para-military youth organization. Jabotinsky, an ardent Polish Zionist who founded the Judean Regiment in World War I and the first Jewish defense organization against the Arabs, was elected a member of the Zionist Executive in 1921 but resigned in 1925 to create his own party in violent opposition to the general Zionist trend of that time. Jabotinsky demanded a Jewish state in Palestine, a Jewish army, and the mass immigration of the doomed Central European Jews. His party wanted Palestine to be settled by small capitalists and middle-class colonizers instead of socialists on collective farms, and it demanded a Western orientation and the latinization of the Hebrew alphabet in order to break down the barriers between Judaism and the West. From 1935 to 1946 the Revisionists were out of the World Zionist Organization and had their own New Zionist Organization, which criticized the Zionist majority for its moderate approach. Although sympathetic to the Biltmore Program, the party did not subscribe to it because of fear that Dr. Weizmann and the Jewish Agency would not fight seriously for its total realization.

b. In March 1946 the Zionist Revisionist Party reunited with the Jewish State Party (the revisionist group which stayed in the World Zionist Organization) to form the United Revisionist Party in order to take part in the October elections to the World Zionist Congress. In these elections the party won 26,964 votes or 14% of the total (next highest to MAPAI's 35%) and sent 11 delegates to the conference.

Although the Revisionists have always opposed the moderate methods of the majority of Zionists, most of their original aims have gradually become realities. The economic and social ideals of the party, however, are completely at odds with the forces of Messianic socialism which reign in Israel today with the result that the party has become less and less positive in aim and devotes itself largely to bitter criticism of those in power. The Revisionists have an anti-socialist labor union, which has little influence, and an active and vocal youth organization (Brit Trum-peldor, or Betar).

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The present program of the party calls for the gradual transformation of Palestine and Transjordan into a Jewish Commonwealth through the establishment of a Jewish Majority in the whole area. It plans to open the country on both sides of the Jordan to mass immigration, create a land reserve for agricultural settlement, and introduce a state fiscal system to facilitate the economic absorption of immigrants, while leaving the colonization itself to private initiative. The Revisionists are bitterly opposed to the Histadruth and reject the theory of the class struggle, oppose labor's right to strike, and believe in compulsory national labor arbitration.

In 1946 the Revisionists were estimated to number from 6,000 to 8,000. As a result of their long exclusion from Zionist councils, they have lost touch with present economic and political realities in Israel. Their former laissez faire program has gradually given way to a policy of indiscriminately and vitriolically attacking everything connected with the left. This policy automatically sets the Revisionists apart from the 43% of the population in the Histadruth as well as any others connected with the labor parties. The United Revisionist Party alone would be of negligible importance, but with the more dynamic Tenuat Hacherut it can form an opposition party of some influence.

c. Tenuat Hacherut is the party by which Menachim Beigin, former leader of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, expects to win the "freedom of all Palestine" by political, as opposed to terrorist, means. Like the Revisionists, this party includes Transjordan in its definition of "Palestine." The Irgun Zvai Leumi was formed in 1935 by dissident members of Hagana under Jabotinsky. Irgun's aims were those of the Zionist Revisionist Party. However, its methods of robbery, terrorism, torture, and bombings, which were directed against the British to force their withdrawal from Palestine, were not acceptable to the Revisionists. By 15 May 1948, when the British did withdraw, the Irgun numbered some 15,000 trained, armed, fanatical nationalists, accustomed to violence and having the outlaw's contempt for authority. The danger of having so large an independent armed force within the country was fully realized by the PGI, and a stern ultimatum (plus threats of force) "persuaded" the Irgun to disband and enlist as individuals in the Israeli Army. Tenuat Hacherut was formed as soon as Irgun was disbanded.

At its first convention in November 1948, the party declared that, if it came to power, it would annul the PGI's consent to the partition of Palestine. It claimed that the PGI had no right to agree to a reduction of Israel's territory or sovereignty and criticized the PGI's "UN orientation." The convention also demanded the immediate declaration of war against the Arab states, warned against a separate peace with King Abdullah, and advocated the evacuation of Jews from Arab countries and the conferring of Israeli citizenship on Jews the world over. It criticized the perpetuation of the British Emergency

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Regulations and demanded the release or immediate civil trial of political detainees in Israel.

Temuat Hacherut's internal policy calls for a democratic government with proportional representation, including members from Christian and Moslem minorities, and an economy based on private capital and free enterprise. The party opposes government backing of private industries, such as the Histadruth-controlled building industry. Although allowing the existence of a legal Communist party, Temuat Hacherut would exclude Communists from the Cabinet and the Executive Council.

In foreign relations, Temuat Hacherut would prefer US to Soviet support, but it criticizes the present government for not having sought greater material aid from the USSR during the war with the Arabs.

Temuat Hacherut, which considers itself the main opposition party, is highly critical of MAPAI's monopolistic and dictatorial tendencies and demands an immediate free election, which it claims it will win. Altman, head of the United Revisionist Party, last June estimated that Temuat Hacherut has 20,000 members. Hacherut leaders now claim 60,000 potential supporters from the United Revisionist Party, the right wing of the General Zionist Party, and the Mizrachi party. If this claim is accurate, the combination is a powerful religious-rightist opposition in Israel. It is unlikely, in view of MAPAI's present political and military control combined with the enormous economic power of the socialist parties, that such a coalition will win in the elections. By depriving MAPAI of center support, however, it might force MAPAI to seek the close cooperation of MAPAM, thereby swinging Israel toward a more socialist and more pro-Soviet policy. In their recent estimates, Goldman and the Press Club agree that the Temuat Hacherut-Revisionist bloc will get approximately 15% of the vote. There have been reports that if Temuat Hacherut fails to win in the elections, the Irgun members, who allegedly still form an independent military group, even though incorporated into the Israeli Army, will attempt to take over the country by a bloodless coup d'etat immediately after the election.

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5. Religious Parties.

a. According to the most recent estimates, the religious parties in Israel will get about 20% of the vote in the 25 January elections. Consequently, they constitute a significant bloc in Israel's body politics.

b. Mizrachi (Spiritual Center) is an orthodox religious party which aims at instilling the religious and traditionalist spirit of the Torah into all Jewish activities in Palestine. Its slogan is "The People of Israel, in the land of Israel, according to the religion of Israel," and it defines Israel as stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates. Although Mizrachi was long violently opposed to the UN Partition Plan, it accepted partition eventually as a temporary expedient for the relief of European Jews.

Mizrachi is affiliated with the World Zionist Organization and has adopted the Biltmore Program. It also exists as an independent organization with an executive in Jerusalem and branches throughout the world. Mizrachi organized the Rabbinate to unify rabbinical affairs for all of Palestine.

The party has a separate orthodox religious educational system under the Vaad Leumi and a youth organization to give training in Jewish religious ideology and national culture. The Mizrachi publications are the daily Hashofeh and the monthly Chazon.

After the workers of Mizrachi split off to form the Hapoal Hamizrachi, Mizrachi had to form its own labor exchange which later joined the General Labor Exchange in Tel Aviv. Mizrachi's economic activities include a free loan fund, a credit and savings fund, and housing projects.

Most religious Zionists belong to Mizrachi, which is largely middle class, or to Hapoal Hamizrachi, its workers' party. Although the two parties cooperate closely in religious and cultural matters, they occasionally differ on economic and political issues. In the 1944 elections to the Assefat Hanivharim, Mizrachi polled 7,772 votes or 4% of the total. In the October 1946 elections for delegates to the World Zionist Congress, it received 5,238 votes, again 4% of the total. Mizrachi is represented on the Jewish Agency Executive, in Vaad Leumi, and in the PGI. Its representative in the present Cabinet is Rabbi Fishman, Minister of Religious Affairs and War Victims.

During the period before the UN Partition Resolution, the Mizrachi Party was aligned with the Revisionists in violent opposition to the plan. In the recent Council of State meeting which was called to consider anti-terrorist measures after the assassination of Count Bernadotte, the Mizrachi members again joined the Revisionists in opposition to the PGI's severe measures against terrorism, and at present Tenuat Macherut leaders are claiming Mizrachi support for their party in the coming election. However, Mizrachi enjoys considerable power in the present cabinet over the religious, cultural,

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and social life of the state, and would probably support another MAPAI-led government if it were assured of the same favored position.

c. Hapoal Hamizrachi (Workers of the Spiritual Center), formerly the workers' section of Mizrachi, advocates the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine based on the "Torah and Labor." It shares the nationalistic views of MAPAI, accepted the Biltmore Program, and is affiliated with the World Zionist Organization. Hapoal Hamizrachi's domestic aims, which are based primarily on religion and not on economics, are the consolidation of Jewish labor in Palestine, the improvement of the material and spiritual conditions of its members, and the strengthening of religious feeling among the workers of Palestine. As practical means to this end the party organizes collective and small holders' settlements, installs ritual kitchens and hostels, and sets up loan funds and trade and vocational schools. It is also interested in promoting Jewish culture, the Hebrew language, and general education. Hapoal Hamizrachi has its own labor exchanges, contracting offices, and a labor union outside the Histadruth.

Hapoal Hamizrachi recognizes the discipline of the Torah as the basis of everyday life and believes that the full realization of the Torah can be brought about in Palestine only under a labor regime. It believes that the Zionist movement and the institutions of Israel should be directed by a coalition of all groups in Israel along the lines of religious and national interests, and that there should be national arbitration of labor disputes.

The support of this party comes from the religious agricultural workers' settlements and the orthodox Zionist workers in the towns. Its membership is estimated to be from 10,000 to 12,000. In the 1944 elections for the Assefat Hanivharim, it received 19,372 votes or 10% of the total, and in the 1946 elections it polled 19,176 votes, again approximately 10% of the total. Hapoal Hamizrachi has a youth organization, Bnei Akiba, and publishes a daily paper, Hatzofeh, and a fortnightly, Netiva. The party library, Torah ve Avoda, publishes books from time to time on the World Torah and Labor Movement. Hapoal Hamizrachi is represented in the PGI Cabinet by M. Shapiro, the Minister of Immigration.

Hapoal Hamizrachi is an offshoot of the Mizrachi (although by now almost three times as strong) and generally cooperates with it on religious and cultural issues. Hapoal Hamizrachi is more inclined than is Mizrachi to cooperate with other groups, such as the Histadruth, on political and economic issues. It is probable that Hapoal Hamizrachi will continue to support MAPAI. Its views on both economic and national problems are too moderate to make likely an alignment with either left or right extremes. The fact that M. Shapiro has the very important post of Minister of Immigration in the PGI Cabinet is indicative of MAPAI's confidence in the party.

d. Agudath Israel (Association of Israel) is an extreme orthodox non-Zionist group. It favors the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine but believes that such will be accomplished by God in his own time in accordance with the Bible. It wants the Jews to be organized on religious lines only and is therefore hostile to the national principles of Zionism. Agudath Israel, however, has come around to the point of supporting the Zionists in the matter of immigration and the settlement of the land.

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Agudath Israel membership, which is variously estimated at 30,000-50,000, consists mostly of religious officials whose families have lived for generations in Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safad. It is part of a world organization, the World Central Agudath Israel. In Palestine, where Agudath Israel is outside the official Jewish community, it frequently supports the Vaad Leumi in national and external affairs while differing from it in religious matters.

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**SECRET**6. Center Parties.

a. Histadut Zionim Malim (General Zionist Party) is a center party which champions the building of the Jewish national home on Zionist principles unadulterated by sectional interests or party ideology. Standing for Zionist unity above all, it is opposed to theories of class warfare or to any ideology leading to separatist tendencies within Zionism. Hence, it condemns the present system of allocating Israeli immigration certificates along party lines. Internally it advocates an all-embracing labor organization which will be truly general and non-political. It has its own organization, Haoved Hazioni, to provide employment for workers who are unwilling to subscribe to the Histadruth's socialist principles. The party considers itself the standard-bearer of private enterprise and favors the restriction of the powers of monopolistic trusts. It advocates such social legislation as health insurance, old-age pensions, and free, politically unbiased education. Historically, the leaders of the General Zionists have looked to the Western Powers for support, although at present, like most other Israeli leaders, they hope for a "real, free, honest neutrality" between East and West.

The General Zionist Party represents mainly middle class interests, skilled craftsmen, petty traders, and small farmers. For a time the party was split into two groups, General Zionists A standing to the left of General Zionists B. The latter drew their main support from industrialists and merchants, the Landlords' Association, the Farmers' Federation, and the Manufacturers' Association. The two groups merged into the General Zionist Party to win 7,616 votes or 4% of the total in the October 1946 elections to the World Zionist Congress.

Numerically the General Zionists are weak, (only about 3% of the population,) and have been losing strength. Yet they have two members in the Cabinet and seven out of 38 seats on the Council of State (second only to MAPAI). This situation is due partly to the financial power of the party in Palestine and abroad but mostly to the stature of its leaders and their importance in world Zionism. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the President of Israel, and Dr. Stephen Wise, Dr. Silver, and Professors Brodetsky and Nahum Goldman of the Jewish Agency Executive are all General Zionists, as are Isaac Greenbaum, the PGI Minister of Home Affairs, and Fiedrick Bernstein, the Minister of Industry and Supplies. However, the old liberal tradition of a united non-partisan Zionist cause is dying out as the realities of party politics take hold in the new state. The General Zionists and their offshoot, the Progressive Party, are not expected to get more than 5% to 7% of the January vote.

b. The Progressive Party represents Nahum Goldman's effort to combine certain elements of the General Zionists, the General Zionist workers (Haoved Hazioni), and the Aliya Hadasha into a single middle-class, progressive party. Leaders include Yitzhaq Gruenbaum, Moshe

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Kolodny of the Haoved Hazioni, Felix Rosenbleuth of Aliya Hadasha, and Dr. Garanovsky, present chairman of the General Zionist Party. The program of the party is not yet known. It will probably be pro-British in its foreign alignment. In September, Goldman believed that his party would get 15% of the votes. His December estimate gave only 17% to all the center parties. The Press Club in Tel Aviv estimates 5% to 7% of the total for the General Zionists and 5% to 8% for the Aliya Hadasha.

c. Aliya Hadasha (New Immigration) was founded in 1942 by immigrants from Germany and other Central European countries to represent them in the public institutions of the Yishuv. It stands for Jewish immigration to Palestine on the largest possible scale and emphasizes practical preparations for the absorption of new immigrants. The party is a member of the World Zionist Organization but did not subscribe to the Biltmore Program. In the past Aliya Hadasha leaders have been critical of the Jewish Agency for not demanding the immediate admission of 100,000 refugees and for not being willing to cooperate in an Arab-Jewish-British settlement within the framework of the British Empire. These leaders, however, disagreed among themselves on whether to plump for a continuation of the Mandate with greater immigration facilities or for partition along the lines of the Peel Report. The party believes in equal status for Arabs and Jews and is inclined to take a more moderate position than MAPAI in international affairs.

The party includes all classes but gains its major support from a distinctive group of agricultural middle class-settlements, of German professional-class origin, which are based on the doctrine of individual property plus complete cooperation in marketing, supply, and communal affairs. The party has its own labor group, which forms a special section, the Aliya Hadasha Ovedet, in the Histadruth. Dr. F. Rosenblueth, Minister of Justice in the PGI, was a party leader until he joined the Progressive Party; Dr. G. Landauer is prominent in party affairs. It publishes weekly two papers: Mitteilungsblatt (in German) and Amudin (in Hebrew). In the 1944 elections to the Assefat Hanivharim, Aliya Hadasha received 21,383 votes or 10.7% of the total, thereby securing second place to MAPAI. In 1946 the party had over 10,000 registered members, and in the October elections it polled 12,055 votes or 6% of the total. The party is expected to get 5% to 8% of the votes in the January elections.

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7. Communist Parties.

On 12 December 1948 the Israeli Communist Party (a coalition of the Jewish Palestine Communist Party and the Arab League of National Liberation) merged with the small Hebrew Communist Party (numbering between 700 and 800) to present a combined list in the coming elections. These parties, which are generally estimated to have a total of only 2,300 members, will have very little influence on the elections. A British estimate of total Communist strength in Israel is 9,000 (6,000 in the Palestine Communist Party and 3,000 in the Hebrew Communist Party), which is only 1.5% of the population. Communist parties polled 3,948 votes, or 2% of the total in the 1944 Assefat Hanivharim elections.

The Communist parties have been relatively unsuccessful among Palestinian Jews because of the basic ideological conflict between Communism and "bourgeois nationalist" Zionism and because the Communist line in Palestine has been one of opposition to the establishment of a Jewish state. The Communists called for the ejection of the imperialist British and the establishment of one independent, democratic Jewish-Arab state in Palestine. Although by May 1945 the Palestine Communist Party had pledged itself to fight for the abolition of the 1939 White Paper and for the free development of the Jewish national home, it was not until Gromyko had reluctantly accepted partition in the UN in May 1947 that the party switched over to support of a Jewish state.

The Israeli Communist Party is no longer illegal, and its members are now admitted to the Histadruth. Its leaders include Samuel Mikunis, Meir Slonim, Esther Hlikenska, and Meir Wilner. Although there is no Communist in the EGI Cabinet, Samuel Mikunis is a member of the provisional Council of State.

The Israeli Communist Party is aware of its own weakness and expects to achieve little political success on its own. At present it is following the "Peoples Front" pattern by calling for a National Democratic Front of the Israeli Communist Party and MAPAM to lead the "forces of peace" against the imperialist war mongers. This concept was dealt a severe blow by MAPAM's recent refusal to present combined electoral lists with the Israeli Communist Party on the grounds that the latter was more Communist than nationalist. In spite of the general sympathy for the USSR now current in Israel because of the Czech aid, the Soviet stand in the UN, and the arrival of a number of Communists among recent immigrants, the Communist Party is unlikely to gain more than 3% to 5% of the January vote. Communist vacillation over partition will long be resented by militant Zionists, and Israeli leaders of all parties are aware that essential US financial and moral support would probably dry up if Israel turned Communist.

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3. LHY: Lormei Heirut Yisrael (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel)

The Stern Gang terrorist organization, which was outlawed last September after the assassination of Count Bernadotte, now considers itself a legal political party, the LHY. This group, which in September numbered over 1,000 carefully trained, armed, and disciplined terrorists, is violently nationalist and completely opportunist. During World War II it collaborated with the Italians for a promise of political control in Palestine if the Axis took over the country. It is now believed to be accepting Soviet aid and financial assistance on similar terms. It is reported that the Stern Gang is in touch with Moscow via the Soviet Legation in Damascus and that it receives direct instructions via Radio Moscow. Stern Gang propaganda adheres consistently to the Communist line, stressing anti-imperialism and the elimination of any outside (i.e., British or American) influence in Israel. Stern Gang leaders deny that LHY is Communist or Communist motivated. They state that their sole objective is the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz Israel (Palestine and Transjordan) and that they are pro-Soviet because the USSR has been consistent in its backing of Israel and does not want bases in Palestine as do the Western powers.

As a political party LHY is unlikely to be of any importance in the coming elections. Most of its members are in the army, in jail, or underground. Although LHY stemmed from the Irgun, it has drifted far from Irgun except in nationalist aims. Its vague economic program is leftist and includes plans for the nationalization of banking and essential industries. It calls for large communal settlements in the Negeb and other desert regions. Should the elections result in another coalition government, LHY states it will join MAPAM in opposition to MAPAI, which it considers anti-labor and a slave to Western imperialism. Although LHY is at present following the same tack as the Communists, it refuses to join forces with them because it fears that they might repudiate the Zionist cause if ordered to do so by Moscow.

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9. Other Groups.

Other smaller organizations which take part in Palestine political activities are such "common-origin" groups as the Representation of Polish Jewry, the Association of Yemenite Jews, the Representation of Sephardic Jews, the Organization of Central European Jews, and the Sons of Yishuv. The Yemenite Jews won 6 out of 171 seats in the Assefat Hanivharim elections of 1944 and are expected to win 2% of the January vote. The Sephardic Jews are represented in the present Cabinet by the Minister of Police, Benor Snitreet, and will probably receive about 5% of the January vote. Seymour Cohen reports in the September issue of the New Palestine Newspaper that the Maccabi (a youth sports organization), Aliya Hadasha, and a portion of the Sephardim have joined politically with the General Zionists.

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GLOSSARY

<u>Achdut Avoda</u>	"Movement for Unity Labor." A socialist party, now amalgamated with MAPAM.
<u>Agudath Israel</u>	"Association of Israel." The organization of ultra-orthodox Jews in Palestine and abroad.
<u>Aliya Hadasha</u>	"New Immigration." A center party composed mostly of recent middle-class German and Central European immigrants.
<u>Assefat Hanivharim</u>	"Elected Assembly." The central democratically elected body of the Jewish Community in Palestine.
<u>Biltmore Program</u>	Resolutions of a conference of American Zionists in 1942 for the immediate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine with unlimited Jewish immigration and settlement under Jewish Agency control. Later adhered to by the Inner Council of the World Zionist Organization and the majority of Jewish political parties.
<u>Brit Trumpeldor</u>	Revisionist youth movement.
<u>General Zionist Party</u>	Center Zionist party.
<u>Haoved Hazioni</u>	Labor organization of the General Zionist Party.
<u>Hapoal Hamizrachi</u>	"Mizrachi Workers." For a Jewish state in Palestine based on religion and labor.
<u>Hashomer Hatzair</u>	One of the three left-wing parties forming MAPAM.
<u>Hebrew Communist Party</u>	Jewish Communist Party which advocates a Jewish state in Palestine.
<u>Histadruth</u>	General Federation of Jewish Labor. The labor organization of the socialist parties (92% MAPAI - MAPAM).
<u>Histadut Zionim Malim</u>	General Zionist Party.
<u>Irgun Zvai Leumi</u>	IZL, "National Military Organization." A terrorist group advocating a Jewish state in Palestine and Transjordan. Now disbanded and

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absorbed into Hagana. Its former leaders have established the political party Temuat Hacherut.

Israeli Communist Party

United Arab-Jewish Communist Party combining the Jewish Palestine Communist Party and the Arab League of National Liberation.

Jewish Agency for Palestine

The authoritative body representing Zionists and non-Zionists in all matters affecting the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Jewish State Party

Branch of the Revisionist Party which remained in the World Zionist Organization.

Kibbutz

"Collective," as applied to communal settlements in Palestine.

Kibbutz Artzi

"Palestine Group." A federation of Hashomer Hatzair communal settlements.

Kibbutz Meuchad

"The United Group." A federation of settlements, considered the radical wing in the Jewish labor movement.

LHY

Lorrei Herut Yisreal - or "Fighters for Freedom of Israel." The political party of the Stern Gang.

Maccabi

A Jewish youth and sports organization.

MAPAI

Mifleget Poale Eretz Israel. The Palestine Labor Party. The Zionist moderate socialist party which controls the present coalition government.

MAPAM

Miflaga ha-Poalim ha-Meuchedet. United Labor (Workers) Party. A Zionist socialist party composed of 3 left-wing parties: Achdut Avoda, Poale Zion Smol, and Hashomer Hatzair.

Mizrachi

An orthodox religious political party which stands for establishing a Jewish state in Palestine in accordance with the Torah.

Palestine Communist Party

The Jewish Communist party in Palestine. Now united with the Arab League of National Liberation in the Israeli Communist Party.

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<u>Poale Zion Snol</u>	"Left Workers of Zion." A radical Zionist socialist party now in AFAM.
<u>Progressive Party</u>	The new center, middle-class party of Nahum Goldman.
<u>Revisionist Party</u>	Right wing party which demands a Jewish state including all of Palestine and Transjordan.
<u>Sephardi</u>	A descendant of the former Jews of Spain and Portugal. Loosely applied to all Oriental Jews from Arabic countries.
<u>Stern Gang</u>	Small group of terrorist extremists. Now outlawed. Consider themselves a political party, LHY.
<u>Tenuat Hacherut</u>	The political party of the right-wing extremists, Irgun Zvai Leumi.
<u>United Revisionist Party</u>	A reunion of the Revisionist Party and the Jewish State Party.
<u>Vaad Leumi</u>	"General Council." The executive council of the Assefat Hanivharim.
<u>World Zionist Organization</u>	WZO, the international Zionist body, is divided into federations of which each is, as a rule, co-extensive with the boundaries of a state. Membership in WZO is acquired by the annual payment of a shekel which also gives the right to vote (to anyone over 18) for delegates to the World Zionist Congress, which is the supreme Legislative body of the WZO.
<u>Yishuv</u>	Jewish community in Palestine.