

- b) A regime of workers' hegemony and social equality, working towards the fulfillment of socialism in our country and the ingathering of our people from abroad.
- c) The synthesis of class-struggle and national development.
- d) A regime of integration of the various ethnic groups into the united whole; a supreme effort to heighten the material, cultural, educational and civic levels of Oriental Jewry, who now comprise a majority of Israel's working class — and about half its population.
- e) A policy of national and civil equality between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority; lessening military tensions; and earnest efforts towards true peace between Israel and the Arab countries; integration of Israel within the economic, political and cultural framework of the region.

## IN CONCLUSION

EVERY DAY COMPELS US TO RE-EVALUATE THE IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES WHICH DETERMINE OUR MISSION AS AN ALTERNATIVE AMONG THE PEOPLE AND WITHIN THE CLASS, AND THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH WE BASE OUR PATH TO SOCIALISM. THESE ARE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES :

- a) THE CONTINUATION OF THE INGATHERING OF THE EXILES, TOWARD THE TERRITORIAL CONCENTRATION OF A MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE IN A SOCIALIST ISRAEL.
- b) CLASS STRUGGLE INTEGRATED WITH CONSTRUCTION.
- c) THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKER-PIONEER HEGEMONY, AND FOR A DEMOCRATIC REGIME.
- d) LOYALTY TO SOCIALISM, TO PEACE AND TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS.
- e) THE STRIVING TO ESTABLISH SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY BY MEANS OF A DEMOCRATIC DECISION.
- f) THE DETERMINATION TO STRUGGLE, TOGETHER WITH OUR IDEOLOGICAL ALLIES, TOWARD THE CREATION OF AN ALTERNATIVE FORCE, CAPABLE OF FIGHTING EFFECTIVELY FOR THE VICTORY OF OUR PATH WITHIN THE PEOPLE AND CLASS.
- g) THE STRENGTHENING OF THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT AS A DEDICATED VANGUARD FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY; AND SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE ENTIRE WORKERS-SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT.

IN THE HOPE OF CREATING SUCH AN ALTERNATIVE FORCE WE UNITED, IN 1948, WITH ACHDUT AVODA. WE ARE STILL WILLING TO JOIN WITH ANY LABOR PARTNER WHICH WOULD HELP IN ESTABLISHING AN ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL FORCE. BUT WE MUST REMEMBER ONE THING: MAPAM WILL CEASE TO BE MAPAM IF IT NEGLECTS THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM, PEACE AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS. LIKEWISE, IT WILL LOSE ITS RIGHT TO EXIST IF IT TURNS AWAY FROM PIONEER ZIONISM. LOYALTY TO OUR ALTERNATIVE PATH IS THE JUSTIFICATION OF OUR IN-

DEPENDENT EXISTENCE. WE CANNOT IGNORE REVERSES OR FAILURES; BUT I DO BELIEVE THAT DESPITE THESE, WE SHALL BE ABLE, IN THE NEAR FUTURE, TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT FOR OUR ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION. WE MUST UTILIZE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TOWARD THIS GOAL. IN THIS COURSE, WE ARE PREPARED TO RENEW THE PROGRAMMATIC COALITION AROUND THE THREE WORKERS PARTIES AS LONG AS THE PROGRAMME DOES NOT CONTRADICT OUR BASIC PRINCIPLES.

THIS BOOK HAS BEEN DEVOTED TOWARD AN EXAMINATION OF OUR TIME, ITS TRENDS, DANGERS AND OPPORTUNITIES — AND TOWARD AN EXAMINATION OF OUR INTERNAL SITUATION. I PURPOSELY HAVE NOT PRESENTED FORMULATIONS OR PROPOSALS. I DON'T INTEND TO PUT THE WAGON BEFORE THE HORSE, AND THUS DETRACT FROM THE IMPORTANT WORK WHICH WILL BE DONE BY THE CONGRESS PREPARATORY COMMITTEES.

IF I HAVE HELPED IN PREPARING THE GROUND FOR THE COMING MEETING OF VIEWS AND THE FREE DISCUSSION, WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE SPIRIT OF A GENERAL EFFORT TOWARD COMMON CONCLUSIONS AND SOLIDARITY IN PUTTING THESE CONCLUSIONS INTO PRACTICE — I WILL FEEL MYSELF WELL REWARDED.

## Political Resolutions of the IVth Congress

### THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The Fourth Congress of the United Workers Party, whose members have been active and held responsible positions in the Israeli Peace Movement and World Peace Movement since their inception, declares its full support for the struggle of the World Peace Movement toward the advancement of world peace, the achievement of international cooperation and peaceful co-existence, the forbidding of nuclear arms, general and total disarmament, and the guaranteed independence of all nations.

The Congress demands the complete cessation of atomic tests, which poison the atmosphere and endanger the health of the human race. The Congress supports the establishment of areas free from military bases and nuclear arms in the Middle East, Asia, South America and East Europe (according to the lines of the Rapacki Plan).

The Congress calls on the Knesset and the Israeli Government to instruct the country's representatives in the U.N. and in other international bodies to act according to these demands, and to support any proposal aimed at forwarding general and total disarmament.

The Congress calls on the World Movement to aid in achieving peace between the Arab countries and Israel by means of negotiations, according to the principles it has followed in other international conflicts.

The Congress notes with concern exploitation, by certain Arab representatives, of the forum at Peace Movement gatherings, in order to make unfounded attacks on Israel. The Congress calls upon the central bodies of the World Peace Movement to prevent such instances, which do nothing to advance the cause of mutual understanding between nations.

### FOR ISRAELI SECURITY

The Arab states maintain a continual state of belligerence and economic boycott toward the State of Israel. Arab rulers threaten Israel's very existence. The arms race in the region makes the dangers to our security the more severe.

This situation makes it imperative that Israel be defensively prepared, and continually bringing the army's equipment up to date. The fortification of border settlements, a special accent on regional defense, and rapid settlement of border settlements and Negev and Galil lands, are of prime security importance. Israel will defend, with all her strength, her territorial sovereignty and hegemony, with the support of the entire Jewish people. With this, the Congress warns against activist inclinations of various types.