

part II

**THE INTEGRATION
OF
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AND
CLASS STRUGGLE**

1. THE SIX DAY WAR AND THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

As I said in the introduction to this thesis, I can't ignore completely any subject that is an integral part of our special national and working class mission.

Before the Six Day War we thought that the next convention would be mainly devoted to deciding about our continued participation in the present government in the light of the lessons of economic slow down and unemployment. To be sure, the Six Day War did not wipe out the past nor did it inaugurate a completely new era in history. It didn't end unemployment (but on the other hand it didn't increase it either) and it didn't solve the problem of immigration. Even after the lesson of the Six Day War the prestige of Zionism among the Jews in the Diaspora failed to rise. Now, too, a contracted immigration is accompanied by a process of emigration.

On the other hand it is also possible to indicate desirable changes that have occurred in recent months. The Six Day War inspired the Jewish masses in the Diaspora to make tremendous financial contributions. Their augmented contributions helped substantially to cover the cost of the war and to balance the present balance of payments. The unusual stability of prices should also be pointed out. This stability was generally maintained after the devaluation of the currency in November also. The number of unemployed decreased by a few thousand and the number of people engaged in public works projects decreased. The number of workers employed in industry increased especially in plants working for national defense. But at the same time we must mention the increasing contraction of the building trades and the additional growth of services.

2. THE COALITION PARTNERSHIP STOOD THE TEST

The daring appropriations that were included in the annual budget of the past year were largely responsible for this encouraging picture. Before the adoption of last year's budget we demanded an appropriation of

150 million Israeli pounds for the struggle against unemployment to be raised either by taxes or a compulsory loan. We only achieved part of this demand. On the other hand when the unemployment situation became more serious, the government decided on the bold step of increasing the development budget by 500 million Israeli pounds. The yearly budget that was finally adopted - with the above mentioned addition - not only wasn't in keeping with the policy of economic slow-down but in effect became an anti-slowdown and anti-deflationary budget to a large extent. Despite fears of inflationary tendencies, prices remained, as we said, unusually stable. It is also to the credit of the government that contrary to the situation in former governments in which we have participated, there was a large degree of collective responsibility in the coalition headed by Levi Eshkol. This collective responsibility was maintained in matters of security and foreign affairs; it was frequently maintained in economic matters also. After more than two years experience we can conclude from the above that our joining of this government was timely, and this decision has been justified by the happenings from the time we joined the coalition to the present day.

3. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO WORKER-PIONEER HEGEMONY

There is one conclusion to be drawn from all that has been said: It has been proven once more that in Israel there is only one possibility of advancing the country economically, helping her towards economic and political independence, guaranteeing her future security and making the concentration of the Jewish people in its historic homeland possible, namely, worker-pioneer hegemony in the development of the country. It can be strengthened or weakened but there is no choice nor is there any alternative that can take its place.

This and more. Indeed, there are those who would like to supplant worker-pioneer hegemony and from time to time proclaim that God chose them to rule. They threaten that soon they shall inherit the role of hegemony of the Zionist workers' parties in the state and nation. But periodically we discover anew that their buildings are made

of cards. The leader of Cherut used to talk as if the Supreme Being had called upon his party to steer the ship of state. Lately we learned that no occasion in the entire history of the Cherut was more festive than the decision of Ben Gurion to lift his ban on it and its leader. Ben Gurion seeks to justify this decision by declaring that Cherut and its leader gave up, as it were, the idea of returning all of Eretz Yisrael. But the truth is that he only sought a convenient excuse to enable Cherut to participate in his effort to establish a right-wing and anti-worker alternative to the present coalition. It was to come into existence just before the Six Day War by the union of Gachal, Rafi and the National Religious Worker's Party.

Indeed, the historic leaders of Mapai did not recoil from giving a hand to a reactionary alternative that intended to take the responsibility for the security and future of the state away from those responsible for establishing it just as they were responsible for establishing the Zionist Federation, the Confederation of Labour and the Israeli Army. Israeli reaction's old desire to depose the Zionist workers' parties and take power was liable to be realized by means of this plot. Spurred on by this hope, Gachal agreed to give up the leadership of the right in favour of Rafi. According to the plan of these three parties Ben Gurion was to be elected Prime Minister instead of Eshkol and Dayan was to receive the position of Minister of Defense. They succeeded in the case of Dayan but failed in their attempt to depose Eshkol as head of the government. Moreover, Moshe Dayan himself was one of the first to turn his back on the dream of Menachem Begin and Yosef Sapir of a reactionary alternative; he preferred the renewed union of Mapai, Rafi and Achdut Avodah.

Thus a paradoxical situation was created in which a party of the extreme right, like Cherut, passionately desired to be part of the Government of National Unity. Indeed, in the beginning they hoped that with the help of Rafi they would succeed in giving the workers' economy a shattering blow, make progress toward dismantling the worker-pioneer hegemony in the development of the country and crush the chances of the realisation of Socialism in Israel. But when everything turned upside down and the leaders of Gachal saw that they had hitched themselves to Ben Gurion's

wagon of revenge against Eshkol in vain and that they had given preference to the leaders of Rafi because of their commanding positions in the state and the army to no avail, it became clear to them and everyone else that it was the dream of a rightist alternative in Israel that had received the main blow. This dream faded away, as we said, when Dayan made his intentions known and Shimon Peres followed suit. Rafi's convention also decided - albeit by a slight majority - in favour of the triple union but Ben Gurion, who refused to conciliate Mapai preferred to go his own way. His potential partners from Gachal continue to seek refuge in the bosom of Levi Eshkol's government of national unity.

The two parties that are partners in Gachal continue to nurse the hope that capitalism will be victorious in Israel. This is an ancient belief that was nurtured in the days of the Mandate. In the course of the years it became clear that our country is a fine place for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, and since the establishment of the State of Israel the gap between the small minority that is getting rich and the working strata of the population has constantly grown. But at the same time it became crystal clear that there had never been a period in the history of our country from the days of the Second Aliyah to the present in which the Israeli bourgeoisie succeeded in taking the lead or was a major catalytic factor in the development of the country. Indeed partners from the general public were always found to develop the country and administer the Jewish community before and after the establishment of the state but it was the worker-pioneers that always marched at the head of all progress. The existence of worker-pioneer hegemony was settled with the establishment of the Histadrut and the founding of the Hagahah. Afterwards this hegemony also included the World Zionist Federation although the workers' parties were always a minority in it. This hegemony was fortified significantly by the establishment of the State of Israel. If in recent years it has become weaker this process cannot be ascribed to any external opponent but to what transpired within the workers' camp. The lesson of Rafi's alternative adventure on the eve of the Six Day War proves once more that the victory of a rightist reactionary coalition is inconceivable without a splinter group from the workers' movement giving

it support and coverage.

The Liberal Party dreamed of the possibility of establishing a rightist government in Israel no less than Cherut. However, this party always preferred - out of considerations of profit and loss - to join a coalition with Mapai in so far as she was given the opportunity - and not with Manai alone. She participated in the first temporary government with us. A number of years later she cooperated with us in the "Club of Four" abandoning Cherut to insure its success. This fact confirms our assumption that the strengthening of worker-pioneer hegemony in Israel is more dependent on the relationship of forces and tendencies existing in the workers' camp than it is on the inter-class relationship of forces.

4. THE DEPENDENCE OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE ON WORKER-PIONEER INITIATIVE

Although the 30% in the upper income brackets receive more than 50% of the national income and benefit from growing social dichotomy, these groups can't play a dominant role in any public sphere in Israel - not in politics, security, culture or even in economics. As we have already stated, since the time of the Second Aliyah when a class conscious working class began to take shape in Israel the hegemony in the development of the country has always been in the hands of the Zionist workers' parties. If in the days of Weizman and Ussishkin there were still leaders representing the general public at the head of the Zionist movement, their close cooperation with the workers' movement and the pioneering project was the essence of their lives and activities. Since those days these circles have not stopped complaining about worker-pioneer hegemony. This was always a groundless complaint. We remember the charge frequently voiced by functionaries such as Harry Sachar in England and men of his stamp in the United States that kibbutzim were "socialist experiments". There is a close connection between these charges and the contentions of the leaders of Gachal against the "sectoral" preference of the workers' economy and the blocking of investment by private capital. Reality has passed over those grumblings to other things.

If these circles had their wish and the Histadrut, the workers' economy and the cooperative institutions of the trade unions would be dissolved, the chances of those same capitalist circles to get rich would become more limited. As yet exact statistics haven't been compiled to show where all the thousands of millionaires came from that have blessed our country since its founding. It can be assumed that statistics of this kind would prove that only a small minority of them came to Israel with considerable sums of capital. The vast majority of them got rich in Israel largely at the expense of national capital, the economy of the country and even the workers' economy. I dare say that most of these millionaires owe their profits to Pinchas Sapir. Those who owe their profits to Yosef Sapir can be counted by a child. In spite of the complaints of Yosef Sapir and his friends against sectoral preference which allegedly scared potential foreign investors away, it is a fact that Pinchas Sapir formerly as Minister of Commerce and Industry and now as Secretary of the Treasury succeeded in attracting those investors more convincingly than the defenders of private capital. Moreover, it was during the days of the Liberal Party's participation in the coalition when the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was its responsibility that immigration and the import of capital reached rock bottom. The Liberals can't bear all the responsibility for that alone but it is difficult to give them credit for encouraging private capital at any time. From this it follows that the basic enterprises that have been - and are being - created in Israel by the Histadrut and the worker-pioneer hegemony in the state are indispensable conditions for the success of private initiative whether it comes from abroad or from within the country itself.

The success of private initiative is impossible without public and state initiative, economic grants and subsidies, government regulation and planning. It is not only Israel that has reached this fundamental conclusion; all the advanced capitalist countries have learned the same lesson. And if this is true of capitalist countries it is even truer of developing countries. In those countries a marked preference has been given to public initiative for the purpose of laying the foundations of a modern economy. If this is valid for developing countries it is much

more so in the country of the ingathering of exiles struggling for economic independence while integrating Diasporas. To be sure, the political anarchy and the ideological bewilderment that exist in the ranks of the workers helped reaction very much in making converts and also accounted in no small measure for its achievements in the recent elections to the Histadrut Convention, which were also to some extent the result of chauvinistic agitation. But these are momentary achievements characteristic of a period of perplexity. They will never be anything more if there'll be more clarity about the essence and mission of the Zionist workers' movement. In any case, the right in Israel hasn't any answers to the basic problems on whose solution the fate of the state depends.

5. ON THE REAL CHARACTER OF THE STRIVING TOWARD CAPITALIST "CHANGE"

The Israeli right tries to disqualify us because of its own defects. Before the Sixth Knesset Election the rightist parties organized a deafening chorus that argued that the pioneer-worker idea is a thing of the past and isn't rooted in contemporary reality. They promised that they would bring about the redeeming change in the society and economy of Israel with the help of a magic wand that only they possessed. They presumed that their solutions were extremely modern and devoid of the routine and fossilization which afflicts the workers' camp. The newspaper "Ha'aretz" placed itself at the head of the champions of that "change". To our sorrow this campaign against the worker-pioneer hegemony in national development didn't pass without leaving its mark. It has many supporters both in our country and foreign countries. There are significant parts of the public who want to be deceived. These elements are easily drawn by the social demagogery of these "modernists". One only needs to scratch the shell a little to reveal the essence of these innovations and show that their only intent is to exchange public initiative in society and the economy for the narrow interests of private initiative. In fact they seek to resurrect the economic anarchy that prevailed in capitalist countries more than a century ago. What they label as "change" is only a plot to choke pioneer social, educational, cultural and economic initiative.

All this has nothing to do with change or innovation of any kind; it is

a retreat to Galut bourgeois concepts. If this plot succeeded in abolishing the Histadrut and all its affiliates and if it succeeded in crushing the freedom of the class struggle by making arbitration compulsory and strikes illegal they would put an end to all chances of additional development in our country.

6. WE DON'T ENVY PRIVATE INITIATIVE

No Socialist Zionist party - including Mapam - is jealous of private initiative in industry and other economic spheres provided that initiative isn't parasitical and doesn't endeavor to get rich easily at the expense of public funds and the consumer. We aren't even jealous of granting private initiative a fair opportunity. We demand, however, that private initiative shouldn't be preferred to public initiative. If any initiative in our time enjoys protective preference from government and public funds, it is private initiative. However, the workers' economy and public initiative are only tolerated and sometimes they are abandoned to their difficulties.

7. TENDENCIES TO ADAPT TO CAPITALIST POLICY

We don't have the right to ignore the fact that the neglect of the workers' economy and collective initiative as well as the weakening of constructive revolutionary spirit must be attributed to the tendency of adaptation to capitalist policy. The roots of this tendency are to be found in the ideological revisionism developed by Ben Gurion as leader of Mapai, head of the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency and finally also as Prime Minister of Israel during her first 15 years of independence.

8. WHAT HAS WORKER-PIONEER HEGEMONY TO DO WITH ONE PARTY RULE?

In this thesis I refrain from personal polemics as much as possible, but I can't ignore the role that Ben Gurion played for a generation as head of the ruling party in Israel. He left his impact on an entire period of our lives beginning with the days of the struggle against the "White Paper",

continuing with the establishment of Israel and the Israeli army and ending with Ben Gurion serving as Prime Minister until four years ago. Our main complaint against Ben Gurion during all this time was that he and his comrades - first in Achdut Avodah and then in Mapai - did not see the vision of everything under worker-pioneer hegemony in national development but preferred the dominance of their party to every other consideration. Mapai of Ben Gurion never reconciled herself to the existence of other Zionist-Socialist workers' parties. She denied the justification for their special missions and didn't even see any moral obligation to prefer them to other, non-worker, parties.

When Mapam was founded in 1948 with the union Hashomer Hatzair, Achdut Avodah and Poali-Zion and presented itself to the voters in the First Knesset Elections she received half as many seats (19-20) as Mapai. At that time the splendid deeds of the Ghetto rebellion, the Palmach and the War of Liberation were behind Mapam. If the two Zionist Socialist parties united at that time to form a workers' coalition they could have held a decisive majority in the Knesset and even formed a purely workers' government. This was a historic opportunity to unify the workers' camp. But Ben Gurion found the time suitable to demonstrate the fact that he preferred the rule of Mapai to the guarantee of joint workers' responsibility for the fate of the country. Instead of extending us a hand, he hastened to conclude a kind of concordat with the religious and thereby abandoned the private life of the inhabitants of Israel - secular and religious alike - to the hands of the most rigid religious orthodoxy. At that time the members of the Mapai leadership declared that their talks with the religious and rightist circles which were held behind Mapam's back were in the national interest and they labled every attempt at talks between the Zionist workers' parties as surrender to narrow party interests. Suddenly, as it were, the difference between workers' parties that jointly founded the Histadrut and other parties that also included workers but favoured anti-socialist programs disappeared.

The way in which the government of Israel was formed after the First Knesset elections can serve as an example and an illustration of

this idea. It always favoured solitary rule of Mapai to workers' hegemony for which all the Zionist workers' parties would be responsible. In the course of time and as economic distress in Israel increased, the bourgeois parties began to limit Mapai's power in the coalition. The ruling partnership between them was revealed in all its nakedness when a recession combined with a contraction of immigration held sway. But it was precisely at the time when the prophets of private initiative held the main economic portfolios that the flow of capital to Israel from foreign countries became a mere trickle. In these circumstances Ben Gurion decided (1955) to renew the partnership with the Zionist workers' parties on a programmatic basis. This time the negotiations with Mapam about the formation of the government preceded similar negotiations with the other parties - in contrast to Ben Gurion's deplorable conduct while forming the first government.

To our sorrow this step did not herald a fundamental change in the relationship of the Mapai leadership towards us. At that time tactical considerations were more decisive than serious soul searching and this was only a temporary change. With the establishment of the new government in which we participated Ben Gurion once more denied the solidarity between the three workers' parties. He applied a rule of coalition discipline whose draconic clauses made any reasonable degree of independence in our appearances before the public impossible. Finally he hid the plans for the Suez Campaign from us until twenty four hours before military operations commenced.

There is an inner logic in things. All this began with the preference of party dominance to worker hegemony and it ended in conduct that bordered on the rule of an individual. Such rule doesn't tolerate the existence of any faction. It regards the faction as the embryo of a competing party. This is a rule that becomes the tool of pressure groups that combine easily and disintegrate easily in accordance with purely selfish considerations. A bureaucratic regime of this kind can't maintain worker unity or unification for any length of time. Comprehensive unity under these conditions has been - and may be in the future - a corridor to further division. Only respect for the ideological independence of every party

and every ideological tendency can guarantee true unification of the worker-pioneer camp and strengthen worker hegemony in the state and nation.

9. THE SLOGAN "FROM A CLASS TO A NATION"

The above mentioned contempt for worker-pioneer hegemony in the state and nation found its suitable expression in the slogan "From a class to a nation". We could bless this slogan if it meant the march of the working class toward a working, socialist nation. But that wasn't the intention of Ben Gurion and his comrades. Their decision to dismantle the workers' trend in education is an instructive example of their goals. The abolition of worker oriented education whose pioneer content united the sons of urban and village workers with those of the working intelligentsia was a cruel blow to pioneering impetus in Israel. This was accompanied by a ban on youth movement activity in schools. Worker orientated education was a constant source for the advancement of the worker settlements, for crystallization of the Palmach and strengthening of the active core of the Histadrut and the Israeli army. In order to justify the decision Ben Gurion argued that pioneer education would become a national resource available to all. In the meantime everyone has discovered that the king is naked.

10. STATISM, CENTRALIZATION AND TECHNOCRATIC EFFICIENCY

The Histadrut as the main support of worker-pioneer hegemony in the state has become an organisation of individuals with special interests who are concerned with the "part" at the expense of the national "whole", in the opinion of Ben Gurion's students in Rafi. This fable of a statism which is allegedly concerned with the welfare of the entire nation and not parts of it brought about the agreement between Ben Gurion and Jabotinsky forbidding strikes and providing for compulsory arbitration; it impelled Ben Gurion to make alliances with the right and built the bridge between Gachal and Rafi. Apparently the difference between Gachal and Rafi has ceased being a difference in principle of late. Gachal wants to abolish the workers' economy completely; by separating it from the trade union it hopes to accomplish the collapse of both of them. On the other hand Rafi "only" tries to nibble away at the Histadrut and transfer the Sick Fund to government authority

using the abolition of worker orientated education as a model. This time, too, in the name of the welfare of the state, as it were.

Rafi's spokesman love slogans, They have not only adopted "statism" but also "technocratic efficiency". As a matter of fact this is no invigorating innovation but a new shoot from the old trunk of bureaucratic centralization that has left its imprint on the Histadrut since it was first established. In the beginning exaggerated bureaucratic centralization was mixed with sincere pioneering enthusiasm until finally the tendency to cast all powerful authority from above on all areas of activity of the Histadrut won out.

Another instructive example is the approach of those who accept this concept to law and judicial procedure in the Histadrut. Except in the Soviet Union I don't know if it's possible to find an assembly of judges like that of the Histadrut in which a majority is always guaranteed to the ruling party. You are certain in advance how cases will be decided in so far as they affect the interests of Mapai. The judicial apparatus was employed more than once against minority factions in the Histadrut. We remember well the result of the arbitration in a dispute between different tendencies in Bet Alfa. This instrument was revealed to be impotent only when the subject under consideration was the internal divisions within Mapai itself, such as the split in Ein Charod. It also proved to be a worthless support when it had to discuss the private interests of members of Mapai such as housing or a dispute between members and hired workers in the cooperatives.

This centralist concept gnawed on the Histadrut mercilessly. Nevertheless, they did not learn from their mistakes. To this very day they haven't learned from their mistakes. To this very day they haven't found it fitting to criticize the entire economic, organizational and legal idea on which the Histadrut is based.

This situation affected Solel Boneh especially. This important institution that is now impaled on its rigid idea of centralization was

once a splendid pioneering enterprise. It began operations soon after the Histadrut was founded. We remember the time when all the workers decided things at Solel Boneh. Then the arguments over problems of the plant filled the air in many conventions in various places. Not many years passed and the management of Solel Boneh began to alienate itself from criticism from below. The workers who were mainly road makers in the beginning were replaced by a more stable labour force of building workers. Alienation and estrangement between the managers and the managed increased gradually and became more acute when the organization entered the sphere of industry. The workers ceased feeling responsible for the fate of the plant. The difference between the relations in a Histadrut factory and the relations existing between employers and employees in a private concern became more obscure. The management insulated itself against all serious criticism either from below or above. In the absence of criticism the authority of the Histadrut became weaker. I can assume that the main authority acknowledged by the managers of Solel Boneh was the authority of the leadership of their party.

Only lately have the Histadrut's institutions of supervision begun to take a serious look at the accounts of their plants. The fact that Mapai takes the greatest care to insure that the Histadrut Comptroller is always one of its members doesn't promise any basic change in the existing state of affairs. I don't see any justification for such a gigantic economic complex as the Histadrut not having a Comptroller that is at least as politically independent as the Examiner of the State of Israel.

11. DECENTRALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE HISTADRUT TO INSURE
THE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF WORKERS AND MANAGERS

Anyone who, like me, has accompanied the development of Solel Boneh since the days of the Third Aliyah with love and trepidation knows very well that the great accumulation of means of production in this institution must be attributed to the pioneering initiative of all its workers and the creative drive of some of its managers who were

outstanding. As long as there was a reciprocal and close connection between the workers and the management this enterprise went from one success to another. It covered the country with new branches of work and its initiative also found a field of activity in foreign countries. In the course of time it invaded industry and also rehabilitated a number of firms abandoned by private initiative.

When Histadrut industry accounted for a quarter of the nation's entire industrial production its progress slowed down for some reason. Today the industrial part of the Histadrut is threatened with the danger of congealing in its present mold even though it received the firm support of kibbutz industry. You stand and wonder: where did that same creative and blessed drive of the third, fourth and fifth aliyah disappear to? Has private initiative succeeded in curtailing Histadrut industry's ability to compete to such an extent? Or have internal factors been revealed that impede the continuation of former impetus? In our negotiations with the parties of the alignment before joining the present government we complained about the economic ministers' preference of private initiative. We still think that those ministers bear considerable responsibility for the state of Histadrut industry and especially its city part. But we haven't the right to ignore the arguments advanced at that meeting. There were those who charged that the Histadrut failed to use all the investments and credit at its disposal. There is reason to assume that the decrease in the profitability of Histadrut plants stems from serious defects that accumulated in the course of years.

The truth is that no external enemy threatens the workers' economy now. To the extent that it is endangered, the danger comes from within. It has become increasingly clumsy and this endangers its ability to compete with the private part of the country's economy. The connection between managers and managed in the city industries of the Histadrut has become so weak that the workers no longer feel their direct responsibility for the success of the plant. They began to be mainly concerned about their daily bread, their wage and private profit. The management, for its part, continues to manage its affairs with the same centralized, bureaucratic routine

that has afflicted it in recent years. Once more it has been proven that no academic degrees, grants or allocations can fill the vacuum created by the absence of collective initiative, creative drive and the same pioneering revolutionary spirit with which the managers and workers of a concern like Solel Boneh were once imbued.

I leaf through forgotten pages of the minutes of one of the Histadrut's conventions that was held in the year that Kibbutz Artzi was founded. By the way - that was a year of severe unemployment in our country. In the argument about the future of Histadrut economy, I contended that as long as there are people like Hertzfeld in the agricultural economy among the managers of Solel Boneh we are certain that they will also find experts and skilled workers to help them. Indeed, the entire history of the development of the Histadrut economy in city and village confirms the fact that whoever graduates from the "University of Vision" pulls very many after him and always discovers new horizons. On the other hand, the experts - may they multiply profusely - will be their helpers. There is nothing worse and more misleading than the pretension of the members of Rafi and the men of their persuasion hidden amongst Mapai - that technical efficiency - and in fact technocracy - can bring us a saving "change" that will supplant the "laziness" imbued with Zionist-Socialist vision of that pioneer leadership whose creative drive established the Histadrut and the workers' economy.

We have already mentioned the enthusiasm of Rafi spokesmen for slogans. "Statist pioneering" occupies an honored place among them. In combining these two concepts, the Rafi innovators have joined two dissimilar things. This new statism is only a direct continuation of the familiar technocratic concept. We aren't inclined to anarchistic ideas in the least nor do we value the importance of authority lightly. But what are we talking about? The necessity for integrating democratic and collective initiative with the authority of the Histadrut and the state. To our sorrow, we have been blessed of late with a sort of statist rite that regards all social or economic initiative that come from below as factional subversion and a danger to authority. In this regard the members of Rafi aren't far from the attachment to uniformity that characterizes statist

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and doesn't grapple with the possibilities given it for expansion, even beyond its ability. True, every year the banks rake in tens of millions of Israeli pounds as interest on the credit they extended. But there are kibbutzim that reached a self accumulation and saving of more than half the value of their kibbutz in spite of the nettle of debts which is too heavy to bear.

Agriculture in all the worker and cooperative settlements - both kibbutzim and moshavim - not only feeds the entire population of Israel but also plays a growing role in Israeli agricultural exports. It is only a question of time until the export of peanuts, sub-tropical fruits, flowers, vegetables, eggs and other agricultural produce equal the economic importance of citrus exports. Israel has more heat and sun than Holland and we have as much ability as the Dutch. Why should our share be worse?

The workers' settlements - and especially the kibbutzim - have not refrained from industrial development. In a short time there won't be a kibbutz in which agriculture and industry aren't combined. Moreover, there isn't any reason why regional organizations that include moshavim and kibbutzim shouldn't follow in the footsteps of the kibbutzim also just as there isn't any reason why the moshavim themselves shouldn't develop their own industry. To the extent that a single economic unit is unable to do so, there is no doubt that the regional organizations can supply the needed help.

Sincere regional cooperation between the various streams of the workers' settlements is largely dependent on getting rid of the monopolistic guardianship of the one party apparatus in the moshav movement.

In spite of its failures in the beginning, the mass moshav settlement became a valuable part of Israeli settlement. Thousands of its sons see their their future as their fathers' successors and as new settlers. Forms of self management, cooperation and the democratic way of living are becoming stronger in moshav settlements.

But at the same time, their living arrangements are still

and even totalitarian regimes. In effect this is the same fear of all ideological initiative that has an independent or collective character. I dare say that if the leaders of Rafi like Dayan, Peres and Almogi proved their executive efficiency it came to them as an inheritance from the Katznelson and Ben Gurion type. To our regret they were also the faithful students of that other Ben Gurion who desired statist centralization.

In the early 1960's there was a member of Mapai who tried to diverge from this idea. He aspired to a degree of economic and organizational democratization and decentralization in both the state and the Histadrut - and also within the party. He was Pinchas Lavon. But, unfortunately, instead of striving for daring decentralization that reaches the roots and economic units of Histadrut, Pinchas Lavon was satisfied with separating and dividing solel Boneh. This was bound up with dismissals and it is very doubtful if it helped restore Histadrut democracy. Only after he was deposed did he learn to emphasize consistently what he only hinted at when he had a share in making decisions. Only then did he demand the increase of economic supervision and abstinence from bureaucratic procedures in no uncertain terms.

12. ON THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS' SETTLEMENTS IN GUARANTEEING WORKER-PIONEER HEGEMONY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I have discussed the power of accumulation of the Israeli workers' economy. In the workers' economy it is mainly the workers' settlements that are outstanding in this respect. And among the workers' settlements it is the kibbutzim who are outstanding because of the rapid tempo in which they convert wages into capital. This accumulation of collective property serves as a lever for the mission of the kibbutz movement among the people and the working class. I am acquainted with kibbutzim in which the investments of the foundation-fund and other national funds is less than a tenth of all the possessions that were accumulated during the years. Of course credit, loans and debts also have a big part in this accumulation. In any case there is hardly a single kibbutz that refrains from using good credit of national institutions or banks for the purpose of daring

influenced by the party apparatus of Mapai that strives to guarantee a maximum of political conformism. However, political pressure and discrimination have decreased in recent years - especially after the split in Mapai - but I am told that here and there it still sometimes happens that open or concealed sanctions are used against settlers who refuse to walk in the majority's political furrow.

Kibbutz industry has already reached an annual production worth 300 million Israeli pounds. Together with the regional organisations' industry it can easily double production in the next few years. If this happens and the necessary additional steps are taken on the social, organizational and technical plane, the industry of the Histadrut can increase its share in the industry of the country from the present 25% to 33% of the national production. If Histadrut industry reaches or passes this point, and if at the same time the Histadrut knows how to maintain its supremacy in the cooperatives and the collective institutions, there isn't any doubt that it will not only continue to serve as a strong support of worker-pioneer hegemony in the state but will do so more effectively.

The success of the projects of kibbutz industry can be attributed first of all to the fact that they do not spare any effort to maintain collective responsibility of all the workers in their plants lest a rift occur between the managers, technicians, and other workers. At the same time they provide for a high general level of knowledge by granting every member who reveals unusual technical or administrative ability maximum opportunities for continued study. This is the policy that is crystallizing within the kibbutz movement and the one applied in every individual factory. From all that has been said, it is clear that it is not the technocratic regime but free pioneering voluntarism that is of prime importance. It is this spirit that will insure the collective responsibility of managers, technicians and workers. This rule that has stood the test in the factories of kibbutz industry should be adopted by the Histadrut in all of its concerns. Only in this way will it be able to insure the superiority of the workers' economy over private economy in the cities and the villages.

Dangerous fissures have been revealed in the wall of the workers' economy. They also threaten the industrial sector and endanger both the marketing institutions such as "Hamashbir" and "Tnuva" and cooperatives such as "Eged". We witness increasing alienation from all those principles that constitute the advantage of the workers' economy over the private economy in all these parts of the Histadrut. I have already pointed out a number of defects and I could have added many more but it is more important to examine the means of extricating Histadrut projects from their difficulties and setting them on the right road again than it is to see the blemishes.

13. ON THE SPECIAL ROLE OF OUR MEMBERS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE HISTADRUT

At the present time our comrade in the Histadrut with the most seniority, Y. Yudin, has the task of liason between the management of urban Histadrut plants and their production workers. The advice that we are giving now about how to improve the social relations in these companies is, for all practical purposes, identical with the suggestions which we formulated in our program "The Kibbutz List" of 1924. At that time we demanded - as we have ever since - that the emphasis be shifted to the human element, collective initiative from below and participation of the workers in the responsibility, profits and management of their factories. In short, the exchange of technocratic centralization for economic decentralization and from top to bottom. I follow the development of relations between our comrade - and his task - and the parties of the "alignment" that control 90% of the Histadrut regime and 95% of the key positions in its economic and organizational institutions. The relationship of the parties of the alignment to the task Yudin has been charged with will determine whether his efforts will succeed or not. His ability and devotion to his task will be of no avail without a positive approach on their part. He needs the stalwart support of the Secretary of the Histadrut and the rest of the administration especially. However, it is true that since the days when Pinchas Lavon was Secretary of the Histadrut the management of the Histadrut has made sincere efforts to improve the organization of the economy and administration of the Histadrut. There isn't any doubt that the Histadrut isn't

marking time now and that some progress has been made. At least we listen to each other more. Now the administration doesn't hasten to resort to the threat of sanctions. We must also note that the Secretary of Histadrut supports plans of democratization and the participation of workers in the management of factories when he meets with the managers of these projects.

The guilt for the defects that have adhered to Histadrut enterprises is mainly due to weak supervision to which the various managers became accustomed in the course of years. They didn't feel any obligation to present reports to the workers under their authority. For years the accounts of many projects were not subject to any serious examination. When, one bright day, the Histadrut began to examine them, scandalous things were revealed in "Yachin Chakal", the contract administration of "Bolel Boneh" in the port of Haifa, the transportation cooperative etc., etc. Although we indicated above some change in various areas and a sincere desire to change things, we must decide that basically things are still being run as they were and the situation is not a happy one. It is a fact that most of the factory managers who are appointed from the ranks of Mapai recoil from any innovation in every little thing. Now, too, the institutions of the Histadrut lag far behind the institutions of the Zionist movement and the Government in everything concerning economic and administrative supervision. Of course supervision alone is not enough. It is the quality of relationships between the managers and the managed that is of major importance here. As I indicated earlier, the bureaucratic procedures of the managers of these concerns are responsible for the fact that the workers in these companies still don't discern the difference between the social gap and relations of alienation that exist in private concerns and the relation of estrangement that predominate in Histadrut factories.

We pay attention to the pronouncements and conduct of the Histadrut managers. They belong to a group of young people in Mapai who frequently presume technological efficiency. In effect these officials serve as a natural bridge between the technocrats of Mapai and the technocrats of Rafi. We haven't heard as yet that their special efficiency ever made a contribution to the technological improvement of Histadrut factories to say nothing

of the need to increase the social adhesion between the workers and the managers. On the other hand, they are only interested in being as much like the managers of privately owned factories as possible, replete with their mannerisms and ideas about the workers. These officials expect to put into practice a regime of compulsory arbitration, prohibition of strikes and freezing of wages in Histadrut factories. Is it any wonder that the workers are becoming increasingly estranged from the projects of the Histadrut?

14. OUR TECHNOCRATS HELP ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REACTION

The attitude of the managers of Histadrut enterprises to the workers employed in them and the resultant estrangement of the workers from the fate of these factories aid reaction in Israel and indirectly help the anti-socialist and anti-pioneer agitation of workers' organizations affiliated with Gachal. In our times a very strange situation has been created - the administration of the Histadrut rejects all demands to improve the workers' standard of living and wages. But the employers Ben - Eliezer and Shostak, who are the leaders of the workers connected with Cherut in the Histadrut and outside of it, ride the wave of social demagogery and support every strike and every demand to raise wages. We remember the events of Port Ashood last year when workers incited by Cherut broke windows in the Histadrut building and took down the red flag. Gachal's victory in the workers' council elections in the city of Tel Aviv also should have served us a warning to all of us. Will our technocrats ever learn and try to retrace the steps they have taken in the wrong direction?

15. THE SAME ANALOGY AGAIN

If we examine the roots of things we'll discover that the degree of voluntarism always serves as an indicative and decisive factor in Israel as in all regimes that are building a socialist society. At the twentieth anniversary council of the Histadrut I demanded that the Histadrut organization and its leadership base themselves squarely on the human beings

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who created all the wealth and accumulated the tremendous economic power of the workers' economy with their minds, hearts and hands. At that time, perhaps, it was easier to demand that the number bearing the burden of authority be increased. The social element of the Histadrut was less shaky than it is today. At that time the workers' trend in education still existed, that mighty educational tool whose impact is still visible, wherever there is pioneering initiative and creative drive. Every economy of national and governmental dimensions undergoes bureaucratization if there isn't a renewing and continuous flow of pioneer, vision-blessed voluntarism, which opens new horizons and pushes forward, and which constantly refreshes all its constituent parts.

What, therefore, is the main lesson that we must learn from the perversion that culminated in the regime of bureaucratic centralization in the Soviet Union and threatens every economy of national and state dimensions of some extent. The lesson is that there isn't any more efficient and certain tool to prevent such manifestations than worker-pioneer education. It can combine mass, creative voluntarism with knowledge and planning. All of these together are capable of advancing every social and national revolution. If we speak a lot about "change" that is the change that we need. The abolition of the workers' trend in education dealt a serious blow to the ability of the pioneer workers' economy to constantly renew itself. I especially emphasize this weakness and its results. Talk of depriving the Histadrut of Kupat Holim hurts. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that depriving it of the concern for the individual's physical health affects the fate of the Histadrut less than depriving it of the instrument for maintaining the spiritual health of its members. The workers' trend in education guaranteed the historic continuity and the socialist mission of the Histadrut as well as the integration of the generations within it. As long as it existed, the workers' trend in education gave us an abundance of rejuvenating forces. In its absence the source of ceaseless invigoration that served as one of the main guarantees of worker-pioneer hegemony in national development has grown weaker.

16. HOW SHALL WE CORRECT THIS WEAKNESS?

I know that to a large extent it is impossible to repair the damage. In its days the workers' trend in education included more than half the students in Israel. If it had been permitted to continue to develop its initiative, it is possible that the percentage of the population enjoying its services today would be greater than the percentage of the population that now belongs to the Sick Fund. In the present situation we must take care not to undermine state education. If, on the one hand, all of us accept the idea that we mustn't subject state elementary education to shock, our approach to education from the age of 14 to 18 on the other hand, is completely different. Secondary education is a kind of no-man's land. Its institutions are, for the most part, quasi-private, quasi-supported. Many of the members of the high school teachers union are sunk in narrow professionalism. There is no doubt that high school students and especially those in the upper grades are in stages of development in which education is the decisive factor in determining their personalities and fixing their goals and world outlooks.

What do most high schools do? They are busy transmitting knowledge that isn't integrated with progressive social vision. They prepare the personnel that will swell the ranks of the bureaucracy that isolates itself from the workers, their desires and aspirations. They train reserves for the capitalist parties that presume to be classless and statist but in fact combine social demagogery with defense chauvinism. High school education of this kind is of considerable help in trapping part of the professional intelligentsia in the net of those technocrats who dream about decreasing the value of manual labor and abolishing worker-pioneer hegemony in the state. In brief, any one in Israel that abandons high school education and removes it from the authority of the Histadrut and the trade unions thereby endangers both its present and future.

17. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH

Is this inevitable? The workers' settlements have decided to be

masters of their own fate and are investing large sums in high schools. There isn't a single boy or girl in the kibbutzim that doesn't receive a complete high school education to the age of 18. And that isn't enough: I assure you that not only Kibbutz Artzi but all the kibbutz movements are trying to find a way to add at least a 13th year to guarantee a better education for everyone. Would it be unworthy presumption to demand the establishment of a Histadrut college?

As we said, if we are careful not to question the role of the Department of Education in all that concerns the younger organizational and pedagogical improvements and a progressive ideological goal, the Histadrut should assume the burden of education from 14 to 16 which is not covered by any national compulsory education law because it is of vital importance to us. This is the age of the youth movement in which youth spreads its wings and prepares itself to leap into the struggle for a better future for the nation and the working class. We must not abandon this youth to careerism and bitter competition over their classification and placement. We must struggle for the souls of the sons of Histadrut members. The Histadrut must be concerned with providing secondary education that will combine professional and technical training with adherence to national and social vision. And the sooner the better lest we miss the boat.

The very idea of restoring the role of providing secondary education to the Histadrut will be, perhaps, a thorn in the eye of the right wing parties and their partners. But this aspiration must be our prime concern. Only in this way shall we be able to shape the character of youth and guarantee reserves for the workers' economy and the workers' settlements from its ranks. If the spiritual, intellectual and ideological formation of youth were in the hands of the Zionist workers' parties, I am certain that a radical change would take place in the personnel who manage not only the workers' economy but the entire country. I have voiced my demand to renew the educational mission of the Histadrut in secondary education time and again. But this isn't a utopian idea or mere day dreaming; it is a real plan to overcome one of the most severe

difficulties that faces the Zionist workers' movement. I want to hope that in light of what is transpiring in the country, that this problem will receive more attention from the public and from our members as well.

18. THE ROLE OF MAPAM IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS IN GOVERNMENT
POLICY

And now we'll return from our mission in the Histadrut to our mission in the state and government. I've already stated that one of the most serious obstacles in our public life is the endeavour to exchange worker-pioneer hegemony for the rule of one party. We joined the present government on the threshold of a severe economic depression. In the Sixth Knesset elections the "Ma'arach" had considerable success at the price of a planned inflation. These elections were held in the shadow of strikes held by some of the senior clerks, academicians and other privileged groups. The exorbitant benefits that these circles won appreciably helped the "Ma'arach" to defeat Rafi. Rafi's rout, Mapam's slight retreat and the Ma'arach's four additional Knesset seats fortified her position when she formed a new coalition. But it also should be pointed out that in the negotiations to form a government, the leaders of the Ma'arach didn't act as if they were drunk with victory. They conducted pertinent and exhaustive negotiations with us and finally we agreed on all that we had in common.

In those negotiations agreement was reached on the following subjects: A) concern for full employment, B) price index payment corresponding to the rise in prices, C) raise in wages corresponding to increased productivity, D) abolition of the military government, E) slum clearance, F) development of Arab villages, G) completion of permanent housing in the workers' settlements etc., etc.

There was a rather large minority in our party - about a third of the participants in the Party Council - that opposed our entrance into the coalition on the assumption that the obligations that the Ma'arach had agreed to would exist only on paper. They prophesied continued mass unemployment and the placement of the entire burden of the economic crisis on the shoulders of the workers.

I don't claim that all the obligations in the coalition agreement were met or that our present cooperation is ideal and all the members of the coalition are treated equally. It is sufficient to recall the strange and unprecedented situation in which the Minister of Housing was placed in relation to the authority of the General Manager and other senior clerks in the same office. Nevertheless, I can say that all in all the partnership stood the test. In the Party Council I mentioned above the majority - which favoured our participation in the government - even voted in favour of a trial period of a year in which our participation in the government could be thoroughly examined in the light of its achievements and failures in that time. Contrary to this, the minority was composed of extremists who opposed our entrance into the government under any circumstances and others who suggested shortening the trial period from one year to six months. In the meantime a whole year has passed and if at that time, as we said, not only the minority but also the majority demanded a re-evaluation after a certain period, no one is now complaining or demanding a re-evaluation. With the exception of a few for whom opposition for its own sake has become second nature there aren't any members now that demand our withdrawal from the coalition. On the contrary, those who are afraid of too much unity with the other workers' parties now entrench themselves behind our participation in the coalition and regard it as the lesser evil.

I have already said that our participation in the government wasn't always a bed of roses. A year ago we struggled stubbornly to increase the development budget and finally a sum was allocated that was sufficient to help absorb a large part of the unemployed. Although the danger of unemployment hasn't passed as yet, the government has serious plans to set the wheels of the economy in motion again. The future will show to what extent we implemented them and whether the government succeeded in reducing unemployment to a minimum while absorbing tens of thousands of job seekers who finished their period of obligatory military service along with all the new immigrants. In any case it is clear to everyone that a government that strives for economic independence can't delude itself that the budget can satisfy the demands not only of the existing economy but also of absorbing immigration - and our growing security needs - without the increased help

of Jews in the Diaspora.

But here's the rub. Mapai and particularly her economic ministers has yet to abandon its tendency to adapt to the interests of the capitalist circles in Israel. They still adhere to a policy that puts most of the burden on the shoulders of the workers. It shouldn't be forgotten that unemployment caused, among other things, a contraction of consumption amounting to a buyers' strike. As a result of the economic crisis there has been a precipitous drop in the annual growth of the national product. According to the Israel Statistical Monthly the increase in the national product only amounted to 0.6% whereas the increase in 1964 came to 11%. Our comrades Zarchi and Achiezra quote the above mentioned source and point out that in the two years from 1965 to 1967 the composition of workers changed to the detriment of agriculture and industry and to the benefit of the services and other non-productive branches. The number of people gainfully employed in industry declined by 8.4%; the number of gainfully employed in agriculture decreased by 8.9%; the decline in the building trades was even more extreme totaling 25.7%. And we learn from this enlightening survey about the period of economic retrenchment and its results by these comrades of ours that the rate of growth in industry declined during that period as compared to the rate of growth in previous years. If, on the other hand, the gap in our balance of payments has narrowed, this fact is to be accounted for primarily by the drop in the imports of both raw materials and consumer goods. It is true that the economy of the country is recovering from its stagnation but the most effective way of extricating it from the present situation and setting it on the right road is still in dispute.

There is a choice to be made between the worker-pioneer policy represented especially by Mapam and adaptation to the capitalist way which means putting most of the burden on the workers. Once more we argue that no part of Israel's economy can prosper at the expense of the workers' standard of living. In our times the employers in the most economically developed capitalist countries seldom resort to this primitive means. If the employers in the United States or England have to find a solution to their troubles, they don't hasten to seek it in infringing the freedom of the trade union

struggle and constant attacks on the workers' wages; this is not the case in Israel. But the pride and well being of the workers are of decisive importance in a country of development and pioneering. Every attack on the workers' standard of living results in a contraction of consumption and indirectly causes a decline in production and savings. It strengthens the processes of de-proliferization and flight to the services and commerce and also increases hidden unemployment.

The Six Day War and the unification of the entire nation around the defense of the homeland seemed to have leveled all barriers. It seemed as if the integration of the exiles celebrated its complete victory, In the meantime our soldiers have returned to the work shops and other places of employment and it seems to be taken for granted that of all people they will be the first ones to pay the price of unemployment - especially those who belong to oriental communities the vast majority of whom are in low income brackets. Once more it has been decided to freeze wages for two years and once more there has been an attempt to tamper with the payment to compensate for price rises. It can be said, therefore, that we haven't finished with the vestiges of the policy of retrenchment. In the last analysis such a policy serves the social demagogery of the rightist parties; it also weakens the workers' allegiance to the Histadrut and his faith in its leadership.

We have already said that we don't support every professional demand automatically; sometimes they are the expression of purely specific and special interests. And it is to them that the economic leaders of the Ma'arach surrender. The productivity of labour and the competitive ability of our products depend on many factors. Wages do not play the main role among them. Nevertheless, all the brickbats are hurled at wages. On the other hand, they attempt to lightly pass over decisive production factors such as technological improvements, exact planning, concern to maintain and improve the quality of the product, decreasing waste in general expense and moderating the pursuit of easy profits. Of course the productivity of labour must be raised. But what do we mean? We favour raising the productivity of labour provided that this demand isn't directed one-sidedly toward the worker and the examination of the productivity of labour goes hand in glove

with the examination of the profits off the employers. If the economic leaders of the state continue to be lenient about everything that affects the profits of the employers and severe about everything that concerns the wages of the worker, Mapam will have to intensify its struggle against this policy. This is the reason that we must maintain and continue our partnership while carrying on the struggle and demanding freedom of action for ourselves in everything connected with the trade-union struggle and the workers' standard of living.

19. CONCLUSION

A) In the last analysis we must conclude that the coalition partnership stood the test.

B) Our struggle to increase the development budget bore fruit and the addition of one and a half billion Israeli pounds to the development budget of the previous year for the purpose of combating unemployment not only reduced its extent but assisted appreciably in setting the wheels of the economy in motion again. In the last fourteen months the stability of prices has been preserved. It was only slightly affected by devaluation. The gap between imports and exports was reduced. Even though the abolition of the military government and other improvements in the condition of the Arab minority didn't bring about complete equality between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority, they sufficed to guarantee the exemplary loyalty displayed by the Arab population during the Six Day War. All this is to the good. But, on the other hand, the growth in the number of people employed in services and other non-productive employment, the freezing of the extent of production in the past year and the policy of freezing wages which the economic ministers of Mapai pursue with the help of their comrades in Histadrut are all to the bad. From all this we can conclude that just as we must favour the continuation of cooperation while carrying on the struggle, we must also pursue - and with greater vigor - our special mission as the defenders of the workers.

C) The last years have again proven that there is no alternative to a worker-pioneer regime. All the phraseology about "change" that we hear from Gachal and Rafi is revealed in its total bankruptcy in the test of daily reality. Today, as in the past, the prosperity of private capital in Israel depends first of all on strengthening the economic base of the workers', state, national and public economies. Private capital won't be able to play a truly productive role except in the framework of general planning designed to increase exports and to raise the professional and technical level of industry in our country. This planning must take into consideration the fair share of production workers in the national income no less than increasing the productivity of labour.

The struggle of the reactionary right against the workers' economy and for the separation of the economic functions from the trade-union function of the Histadrut is not only anti-worker and anti-pioneer but also anti-national. Increasing the share of private initiative by weakening public initiative bears within it the danger of increasing unemployment, stopping immigration and weakening that force in the people which is the main guarantee of the existence and future of the State of Israel.

D) Statism and the slogan "From a Class to a Nation"; withdrawing the workers' trend in education from the Histadrut and the danger that threatens the Sick Fund as a workers' institution; the policy that intends to increase the profits of private capital at the expense of the wages and standard of living of the workers and the attempt to force the Histadrut to become an instrument subject to the dictation of the economic ministers - all testify to the intention of preferring private initiative and adapting to the capitalist way of developing the country.

E) Since the integration of the class struggle with national development is the main guarantee of progress on our special way to socialism, Mapam must achieve it by carrying on her independent struggle in the Histadrut and continuing to cooperate in the government.

F) The centralistic approach which is at the foundation of the Histadrut gave birth to manifestations of perversion in the past and threatens to bring about the rule of a technocratic regime in the future. The participation of the workers in profits, decisions, and responsibility is the indispensable condition for the democratization of Histadrut enterprises.

G) We mustn't jolt the state educational system. In this area, that is to say education to the age of 14, we must content ourselves with suggesting improvements and corrections. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Histadrut to again assume the responsibility for secondary and higher education that is not under the jurisdiction of the compulsory education system. Worker and pioneer education that will know how to combine socialist humanism and pioneer values with excellent professional and technical instruction will assure reserves for the workers' settlements. It will guarantee the continued cultivation of the pioneer Palmach inheritance for the soldiers of the Israeli army. It will train suitable personnel for the economic and administrative institutions of the Histadrut. It will educate toward renewing the creative drive of Histadrut enterprises - and finally it will serve as a faithful guarantee of the continuance of worker-pioneer hegemony in the state and nation.