

part iv

**ON THE ROAD
TO THE
UNIFICATION
OF THE
WORKERS' MOVEMENT**

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1. THE NECESSITY OF GREATER UNITY IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

As we know, in September 1968 the Central Committee decided by a large majority to give the Secretariat the right to negotiate with the united party of Mapai, Achdut Avodah and Rafi when it comes into existence and examine the possibilities of establishing a united front based on appearing together in the national and local government while retaining, our independence in the Histadrut, the Zionist movement, the kibbutz movement, the youth movement and the international socialist movement. This decision marks a change in the mood and goal of a decisive majority of the members of the Central Committee. In the meantime the "Israeli Workers' Party" has been formed and negotiations with it are about to begin.

The doubters will ask: Has the Six Day War caused such a revolutionary change that a movement like ours which has proven itself for half a century will be required to start everything anew? Do the results of the recent war justify disruption of the continuity between yesterday, today and tomorrow? Has the Israeli army's wonderful victory and the debacle of the Arab armies opened the gates of heaven and a new page in the process of the ingathering of the exiles and national development? Such is indeed the case: new possibilities which we didn't imagine now exist but the dangers have also increased. Although the Israeli army's victory saved us from the danger of extermination it did not, in itself, guarantee peace and accelerate the processes of the ingathering of the exiles and national development?

It is clear that in order to guarantee peace, advance the continuation of the process of the ingathering of the exiles and hasten our economic and political development on our way to realizing socialism in our homeland - it is necessary for all the Zionist socialist workers' parties, i.e. all the forces that established the Histadrut and "Chevrat Ha'ovdim" determined the character of the Haganah and the Israeli army, laid the foundation for the establishment of the State of Israel and played the major role in it from the day it was established to the present time, to unite in this historic task.

Because we are not only faced by new opportunities but also by grave dangers, a broad shoulder is required to strengthen the collective responsibility of the Zionist workers' parties in order to open a road for mass immigration, accelerate the tempo of national development and fortify the worker-pioneer hegemony in the state and nation. The unification of the Zionist socialist workers' parties into a common front of builders and fighters can accomplish this task. No workers' party - large or small - can do it alone.

2. WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ALTERNATIVE WAY AND ALTERNATIVE FORCE?

In the thesis towards the previous convention I distinguished between an alternative way and alternative force. I have no doubt that today, too, Mapam represents the alternative way of the workers' movement in our country most consistently. The ideological program of our party which is a synthesis of pioneering Zionism, revolutionary socialism and the brotherhood of peoples indicates with the greatest clarity the path that can lead us to the concentration of the majority of the Jewish people in a socialist Israel and the restoration of the wholeness of the country by means of peace and agreements between nations. I believe that these goals can be achieved in the way suggested by Mapam's program of peace and security, that is to say by federative cooperation between Israel and Jordan. If cooperation of this kind takes the place of belligerency and enmity then all of Eretz Yisrael can be a common homeland for the Jewish people that is gathering in sovereign Israel and the masses of the Arab people that maintain their sovereignty in the state of Jordan. Mapam believes that in the present circumstances federative cooperation of this kind between two sovereign states can advance the realization of the vision of the peaceful restoration of the wholeness of Eretz Yisrael.

In order to advance national development and the process of ingathering of exiles while guaranteeing peace and security to Israel, it isn't enough to point out the alternative way; it is necessary to strive

toward the unification of a large force that can advance all these goals in the most efficient way in the shortest time. Our convention must say: in the present competition between forces striving for the establishment of a pioneer-worker regime and forces striving to establish a capitalist regime we must march with the socialist Zionist parties.

In the previous convention we only regarded Achdut Avodah and "Min Hayisod" as desirable allies for the establishment of an alternative force not only in the state and nation but also within the workers' movement. Since even at that time Achdut Avodah tended to prefer Mapai to Mapam we were compelled to conclude that as long as there aren't desirable allies we shall constitute this alternative force alone.

3. ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE BUSY IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF MAPAM

In the discussion page of "Al Hamishmar" attempts were made to "beautify" things that happened in the previous convention. The truth is that at that convention there wasn't even a minority that favoured the establishment of an alternative force together with Mapai. At that time members of the party leadership were criticised because they were suspected - as it were - of hypocritically negotiating with Achdut Avodah and Min Hayisod for the crystalization of an alternative force but their clandestine goal, as it were, was to maintain independence for its own sake.

Those who attempt a slightly more than free reconstruction of history forget that at the time of our previous convention Mapai was united, the alliance with Achdut Avodah was not yet a fact and the historic leader of Mapai hadn't resigned as yet in order to establish Rafi. At that time nothing was more important to us than convincing the members of Achdut Avodah and Min Hayisod. I doubt if there are any members in our ranks who have the "patent" for dealing with the comrades of Yigal Alon and Pinchas Lavon more successfully. I don't think it was fair to doubt the fact that we sincerely strove to unify the pioneer left. At that time it was those who were suspicious of a four-way amalgamation including Rafi who labeled the former leader of Mapai and his comrades as the Enemy No. 1 of peace,

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pioneering and socialism in our previous convention. With the approach of another convention I advise these comrades to attempt to create an atmosphere of friendly discussion within Mapam before the successful negotiations with Mapai and Rafi.

When the split in Mapai occurred these comrades forgot their special predilection for Lavon and suddenly his place was taken by Levi Eshkol. No doubt the present Prime Minister has his virtues but these comrades suddenly presented him as faultless. Their orientation toward the pioneer left quickly gave way to a four-way unification. They began to unload our ideological baggage so that we would be prepared for such a step. As we noted in a previous chapter they sought to replace the stern and militant Marx with young Marx who seemed less revolutionary and more congenial to them. These comrades are assiduously engaged in improving our public image and straightening out our deformations. In this way they hope that we'll cease irritating people with our radical ideas.

I don't intend to mention names or complain about anyone in particular. But it is my obligation to lay bare tendencies whose contribution to unification with the other parts of the workers' movement is very questionable but will certainly increase dissension and weaken mutual confidence within Mapam. What is paradoxical about all this is the fact that although these members are part of the majority in our party which favours a more unified workers' movement they nevertheless constitute the written and spoken opposition to our policy.

We are convinced that Mapam will by no means make its contribution to desired unity by unloading its ideology and giving up its special mission in the working class and the nation. Only by being faithful to our mission shall we make our contribution. Only adherence to principles can strengthen the pioneer and socialist backbone of the desired unity. This mission is more necessary today than ever - now that Rafi which was about to form an alliance with the right on the eve of the Six Day War decided to join the workers' front without giving up its

desire to dominate it from within. In the days before the recent war I urged that Mapam use all its influence to prevent the establishment of a rightist alternative in which Rafi would participate because of the danger that threatened the workers' movement in the unification of Rafi and the rightist parties. My call to support the alignment was repeated in Chazan's speech before the Council of Kibbutz HaMeuchad.

After we received power of attorney from the Central Committee to negotiate with the parties of the alignment we held pleasant and friendly talks with the representatives of Mapai and Achdut Avodah. Although they held pleasant clarification talks with us, the real negotiations were not with us but with Rafi. When we realized that there were good prospects for the unification of the alignment and Rafi the institutions of the party decided after another discussion that Mapam would be ready to negotiate about a political front with the united party, including Rafi, after it is established. But we must know: unification with the united party in which Rafi will not necessarily play a minor role, demands supreme unity and cohesion from us.

I am far from seeing only the dangers and shadows. That is only one side of the coin. I want to assume that all the members who strive for the unification of the workers' movement aren't doing so in order to run away from themselves. There isn't any need to belittle our independent mission in order to advance the unification of the workers' movement. The unification of all Israeli workers and the independence of our party can exist together very well. There are excellent reasons - and there isn't any need for self flagellation - to justify the change in our position. Therefore, I'll mention the reasons for unification and closer ties which, as I said, are weighty. But I won't skip reasons to the contrary. Some of the reasons for unification have ripened in the course of the years and others have appeared and taken shape as a result of the shock we received lately.

4. FACTORS OF ATTRACTION

A) BROTHERS IN ARMS

The beginning of this brotherhood in arms is to be found in the days of the Haganah and the Palmach. It brought about the political unity between us and Yitzchak Sadeh, Y. Tabenkin, Y. Galili, Y. Yizchaki, M. Aram, M. Sneh, S. Kaplanski and others. This was the result of a common struggle shoulder to shoulder in the Jewish Brigade, the Haganah, Aliyah Bet, the Palmach and the War of Liberation. Brotherhood in arms continues in the Israeli army and constitutes one of the most unifying and attracting factors among the Zionist socialist workers' parties. However, we are far from complete agreement about matters of security; as I've already indicated we often disagreed with military projects bordering on personal terror in the days of the mandate just as we disagreed with the Sinai Campaign. Nevertheless this brotherhood did not suffer but grew and developed; these differences never led to a rift. We always expressed our opinions frankly within the camp but we never attempted to make political capital out of them and in matters of security we never separated ourselves from the public.

Now we are in a political-security emergency period such as we have seldom experienced. No one knows when we'll see the light. This emergency draws us together and demands a maximum of collective responsibility.

B) THE COALITION PARTNERSHIP

This is a coalition without "bad affairs", scandals that bring in their wake the resignation of the entire government, and browbeating tactics. The majority which the alignment has had until now in the coalition usually didn't confront us with accomplished facts decided on in advance by "our ministers" and "our comrades". It should be said to the credit of the parties of the alignment that in recent years they generally refrained from appearing in the government with a previously agreed upon position even in decisive matters such as security, foreign policy and the like.

In this government, too, it has happened more than once that a minister confronted us with decisions that were contrary to the letter and spirit of the coalition agreements that both we and they signed, in our opinion. This didn't only happen to us but to other minority parties also. But I must say that the Prime Minister, the Secretary of the Treasury and other ministers of the present government didn't behave like people who fortify themselves behind considerations of prestige. They didn't tell us accept and bless what has been decreed but on the contrary more than once they held up the works in order to hold lengthy and sometimes wearying clarifications with us until mutual understanding was attained. Usually we reached a compromise on which there was the seal of responsibility.

When we come to summarize the years of our participation in the present government, it is only fair to admit that we achieved more within it than we could have achieved by remaining in the opposition. This is true not only of matters such as security and foreign affairs but also of questions in which the interests of the state and the Histadrut are interrelated. We mean primarily the war against unemployment, the concern for price stability, the prevention of rising prices and the means to be employed in order to set the wheels of the economy in motion again.

In a previous chapter I pointed out that last year's budget was far from being a retrenchment budget and the great efforts to combat unemployment are beginning to bear fruit. At the end of the Six Day War a quasi-obligatory, quasi-voluntary loan bigger than any that even Mapam ever dreamed of was levied on the citizens of Israel. We also indicated the grants to the unemployed. All these facts prove once more the justness of our slogan: Cooperation through Struggle. Such achievements would have been impossible if we hadn't participated in the coalition during these years of trial and emergency.

From all that has been said can we conclude that everything is all right and all we have to do is to get drunk on our achievements and give up our struggle? Have we ceased disagreeing with the outlooks of

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the economic ministers and broad circles in the coalition concerning relations between capital and labour, the status of the worker in society and the Israeli economy and the role of the pioneer-worker economy in national development? The truth is that now, too, the struggle continues to go hand in hand with cooperation. But this time the struggle is being carried on while we listen to each other. Although there was a struggle between the original parties of the coalition (we will discuss our relation to the government of national unity and its components later on) it was a struggle not against individuals but against mistakes that require correction.

C) THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT

The various kibbutz tendencies that belong to all the Zionist socialist parties participate in the League of the Kibbutz Movement. This cooperation is increasing and already includes adaptation of activity and close cooperation in agriculture, industry, culture, education and representation in external affairs. Lately the joint concern of all the kibbutz trends for the renewal of pioneer immigration has been added. This cooperation which has been going on slowly for years deepens its roots without crisis, considerations of personal or party prestige or competition of the usual kind among a known type of unifiers in Israel.

D) AND FINALLY - THERE IS A DECISIVE REASON THAT PUSHES ALL OF US TOWARD GREATER UNITY OF THE ZIONIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, NAMELY THE NEED TO PAVE A WAY FOR THE RENEWAL OF IMMIGRATION, CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF THE INGATHERING OF EXILES, PREVENT THE ETERNAL VICTORY OF THE DIASPORA OVER THE ETERNALNESS OF ISRAEL, PAVE THE ROAD TO TRUE PEACE WHILE GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY OF THE STATE AND GUARANTEE WORKER-PIONEER HEGEMONY IN THE STATE AND NATION AGAINST CAPITALIST REACTION. AS I ARGUED EARLIER WE WON'T BE ABLE TO REALIZE THIS COMPLEX HISTORIC TASK EXCEPT BY GREATER UNITY OF THE ENTIRE WORKERS' CAMP.

5. ON THE REPELLING FACTORS

A) THE STRUGGLE TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT

I repeat that the struggle between the pioneer-worker tendency and the tendency of capitalist adaptation in the economy and society is being waged not only outside the workers' camp but within it as well. This struggle became fiercer with the entrance of Gachal into the Histadrut. Thus the struggle over pioneer-worker alternative in Israel is being waged within the Histadrut and the trade unions also.

B) THE FACT THAT RAFI JOINED THE UNITED PARTY

The fact that Rafi joined the united party tests once more our relation to that party and its desires and plans. In the Rafi convention that agreed to this union, Moshe Dayan made two points in his famous speech that merit our special attention:

A) Rafi's goal is to depose Levi Eshkol and Pinchas Sapir after the united party is established

B) Rafi strongly desires to guarantee the continuation of the government of national unity "indefinitely". To them should be added the declaration of the Minister of Defence shortly before he joined the present government that he prefers Menachem Begin and Yigal Alon to Mapam. We didn't oppose the establishment of a government of national unity. But in the light of what is happening now it isn't clear that the exchange of a coalition founded on clear-cut lines and a definite agreement between its various components for a government of all-national unity that guaranteed the cohesion of the entire nation during the war but whose components aren't united at all about economic policy or the way to achieve peace and security can be justified for a long time.

Sooner or later the government of national unity will be forced to reveal its opinion, to state where it is headed. It would be quite dangerous if such a decision were made on the eve of the next Knesset elections. If this happens it won't be difficult at all to imagine what a devil's

dance there'll be when Rafi's aims to dominate the alignment and Cherut's chauvinistic goals are helped at one and the same time by the incited masses.

C) ALL THIS MAY HAPPEN BUT IT DOESN'T HAVE TO

It should be said to Rafi's credit that in the end it rejected the plan of right wing unification against the pioneer worker regime in the state. But, as I said, it is possible that Rafi will try to dominate the united party from within. If this happens we will once more witness "affairs" and depositions. May we be proven wrong: all this may end in another split. But the development can be different. Since in the last analysis this is a return to Mapai before the split at Kfar Vitkin, it is conceivable that there will be new combinations and connections in the new party. These combinations are certainly possible in the areas of security, economics and sociology. In as much as we can't prophecy how the relations between the united party and Mapam will turn out nor what combination will appear in its midst, we mustn't ignore the possibility that our isolation will increase in this front and then the question will arise: where do we go from here?

If, nevertheless, we take the chance of joining the "front" with the united party, it will be the result of my assumption that there may also be circles within it that will cooperate with us in one sphere or another.

D) THE OPPOSITION IN MAPAI TO IDEOLOGICAL AUTONOMY

On the road to workers' unity we must overcome another obstacle, namely, the unwillingness of Mapai to grant a minority that may be created within the united party autonomy and that degree of broad political and organizational independence that we shall demand for ourselves within the united front. In an interview in "Ma'ariv" the General Secretary of Mapai, Golda Meir, spoke against ideological factions and in favour of "open ideological circles". The truth is that until the present Mapai had a

choice between the creation of ideological factions and the creation of pressure groups. Strange as it may seem it is a fact that Mapai which always presented herself as a broad class party tended to a form of organisation that was completely opposed to its character of a class and state party during almost all the years of its existence. Although Mapai was wont to promise that all world outlooks that crystalized in the past and might crystalize in the future could find expression within it but it ignored the fact that these shades of opinion and different outlooks were never those of an individual or individuals. To the extent that they had any significance they were common to many people that combined, strengthened their ties and improved their relations of cooperation in order to make converts to their ideas as a faction. In this way they sought to broaden their influence in the entire party and confront the ideas and outlooks of other parties. In conclusion it can be said that there isn't anything more legitimate and logical than ideological differentiation within a party with broad class dimensions.

As I said, all the factors enumerated above are repellent ones but they are insufficient to prevent us from daring to act in favour of the desired unity. If I suggest that we cast our bread upon the waters I'm not thereby recommending that we endanger our lives and unload our ideology for the sake of unity. We must dare and reveal new horizons to our movement and the entire workers' movement without reaching a dead end.

6. ON A DISTORTED VIEW OF THE CLASS-PARTY

Achdut Avodah which was established in 1919 always saw the advancement of worker unity as its main task. In the name of unity Achdut Avodah declared war on every ideological faction within it. Ever since it united with "Hapoel Hazair" in order to found Mapai, the united party acted like Achdut Avodah in the past. Mapai also waged war zealously against every minority in the party, state and Histadrut. It fought ideological and political differentiation in the youth movement and especially in "Hanoar Haoved". Due to the instigation of Mapai, youth movement activity in the schools was forbidden. Mapai's general attack sometimes assumed

distorted forms and was grotesque at times.

There isn't any doubt that the split that occurred at Kfar Vitkin stemmed from ideological motives but the blame for it goes mainly to Mapai's unyielding war against all factions. This was accompanied by calculations based on a struggle for power of considerable importance among Faction B that broke away from the mother party. Radical struggle against bureaucratic centralism was mixed with socialist enthusiasm and admiration for the Soviet Union. In conclusion it can be said that Faction B led by Y. Tabenkin adhered to pioneering, socialist radicalism, the Marxist idea and affirmation of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and regarded itself as the most legitimate successor of Achdut Avodah from the days of the Second Aliyah.

Years passed and history repeated itself. As a direct result of the "bad business" and the Lavon affair another ideological faction left Mapai and once more ideological motives were mixed with calculations based on a struggle for power. This time an ideological group with deep roots in the workers' camp was ground between the gears of party centralism. Its leader was sent to the desert as it were - and that was a shame. Like a Shakespearean tragedy only a few years passed until the deposers of Pinchas Lavon were themselves deposed. Thus another split occurred in Mapai and Rafi was born. Ben Gurion and his comrades continued to regard themselves as the legitimate bearers of the idea of workers' unity but in an ostensibly statist and "classless" version this time. He and his comrades were ready to put not only the parties of the alignment and Mapam in the line of workers' unity but also Hapoel Hamizrachi, the Liberals and even the workers of Cherut.

Power was always the main thing with Ben Gurion and his students; ideology only served them as a helpmate. The slogan "local elections" which the members of Rafi still use was always a means by which the majority in Mapai hoped to completely dominate the minorities in the workers' movement and force political and ideological unity upon them. When they were in Mapai the students of Ben Gurion tried to force the regional

system on the entire state in order to guarantee the sole rule of the majority party. In the meantime they left Mapai but they haven't forgotten their old slogan.

Achdut Avodah grew weary on the struggle for ideological and organizational independence which she had waged for decades. Slogans that characterized Faction B in the past were put on ice in the meantime or were voiced in a whisper. Actually there isn't any real difference between the program suggested by Mapai and Achdut Avodah for the united party and the program formulated by these two parties for the recent Histadrut and Knesset elections. The assumptions included in this program blur all the colours of the rainbow for the sake of joint organization. This is a program that doesn't fully express the essence and all the political and ideological desires of the partners.

Before the Alignment was formed Achdut Avodah enthusiastically supported the demand of members of Min Hayisod for ideological autonomy as a condition for their return to Mapai. Only a few years passed and Achdut Avodah forgot and abandoned Min Hayisod and its demands. Finally Achdut Avodah joined the union with Mapai. In spite of the great concession by Achdut Avodah we are firmly convinced that a workers' association of broad dimensions will not succeed for long without the ideological autonomy of its component parts. All oppression of factions and lack of self and ideological determination drag behind them the formation of pressure groups struggling for power which combine and separate alternately and sometimes end in further division.

In no country in which a democratic regime exists will you find a broad party with aspirations to rule on a national scale that will try to grasp the stick by both ends. Broad class parties can not be interested in the oppression of ideological factions that are forming within them. Not only the British Labour Party and the United Socialist Party in Italy but general parties in Europe and the U.S. did not suffer because they contained ideological factions. Is there anyone in Israel who thinks that Mapai will permit the same freedom of action in its ranks that the Democratic

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Party in the U.S. grants its Senators who sometimes join the Senators of the opposing party? Sometimes those "rebel" Senators even vote against the policy of the Democratic President and the stated positions of their party without being called to task. I haven't come to praise American political practice but to call attention to a "miracle". Paradoxically it is Ben Gurion and his students who always praised the system of elections in Anglo-Saxon countries that pursued methods in Mapai and the government that are completely opposed to those practiced in the countries that serve them as models to be copied. It is the irony of fate that those comrades of Ben Gurion who waged relentless war against factions in Mapai finally decided to establish a faction of their own.

There is one person who learned this lesson like us and he is Yitzchak Tabenkin. After he examined the roots of things he, too, suggested establishing a four-way alliance of the Zionist workers' parties while preserving the ideological and organizational independence of everyone of them. He understood that there isn't any other way except to create a joint framework for the four parties that will guarantee all of them both unity and independence at the same time. If this were feasible, I assume that we would grasp the suggestion with both hands. Unfortunately the suggestion of the historic leader of Achdut Avbdah didn't even receive a favourable response among his comrades. The united party that was established is also based on the same anti-faction idea that always characterized Mapai.

7. TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE POSITIVE IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES

We often declared that we would be ready to respect every group, every faction and every person in the framework of broad workers' unity on the condition that we meet with them as equals among equals. If the above mentioned suggestion of Y. Tabenkin had been accepted it would have been possible to hope that only concrete and ideological considerations would determine the relation of forces within the suggested association and they would decide matters on which there were differences of opinion. But, as I said, for the time being matters are being handled as usual. We won't have any choice, therefore, except to carry out the programatic and

organizational negotiations in the present circumstances. I said that we must cast our bread upon the waters, dare and even endanger ourselves. But the parties of the Alignment and Rafi know very well which border we will not cross. I assume that our party won't join any alignment that doesn't guarantee it ideological and organizational independence in areas that seem vital to us for the accomplishment of our mission among the people and the working class.

Moreover, the idea that "our deeds are good but our views and words are evil" hasn't ceased making the rounds among the publicists and functionaries of Mapai. They express their amazement - but sometimes even overdo it - at our achievements in the economic, social, educational and cultural spheres. But at the same time they don't desist from their stupid notion to the effect that all our plans and decisions were only a long chain of mistakes and failures. These functionaries and publicists know the truth and try to rebel against it. They know full well the value of our struggle for peace and security in the public, state and government; the weight of our class struggle integrated with national development and the known value of our struggle for a fair standard of living for the workers and a pioneer-worker regime in the state. They certainly know our share in establishing the Histadrut, strengthening the Haganah as well as the role we played in the war of the Ghettos and the Wars of Defense and Liberation. If they didn't rebel against this truth they would now receive Mapam's political-ideological contribution to the people, working class and the suggested union with blessings. It has already happened that the leaders of Mapai told us: "Accept us as we are and we'll accept you as you are". If they want unification they'll have to take us as we are and agree to our joining the workers' association while preserving our organizational and ideological independence in all the areas that will be agreed upon between us.

I hope that if workers' unification becomes a fact the joint decisions, responsibility and implementation will be concerned with the vital tasks of the Zionist workers' parties in Israel, such as collective concern for the immigration of pioneer youth, mass immigration and a worker-pioneer regime in the state and nation. On the other hand, we are convinced that

there is no substitute for our party as an advocate for the workers in their distress and as a fighter for the pioneer and socialist character of the society of workers. In my opinion we won't be able to present a joint list in the Histadrut elections unless we agree upon a programmatic platform that will be consistent with the elements of our independent appearance in the Histadrut and the trade unions. We are convinced that if the "front" is based on relations of equality and mutual respect and not on the exertion of pressure and the use of elbows our organizational and ideological independence will not weaken the workers' amalgamation but will strengthen and consolidate it.

Unlike the other parts, I am leaving this chapter without a conclusion. I leave the conclusion to the institutions of the party that will make their decision after the negotiations with the united party. If I acted otherwise it would be like putting the cart before the horse.

8. CONCLUSION

Anyone who peruses this outline will be convinced that I didn't make things easy for myself. I tried to point out both the positive and the negative aspects of every subject I discussed and show both sides of the coin. If you like - this is the dialectical way of seeing things that advances and builds by revealing the unity of negatives. It finds the positive even when it is accompanied by doubts. This thesis was tested by the institutions of the party and now it will be presented to all members in all branches. I must emphasize that I am far from saying accept and bless this as it stands. As in the previous convention this thesis - after it is approved by the Political Committee - will only serve as a basis for free discussion and decision. This discussion should have only one limitation - the preservation of friendly relations and mutual respect.

There were those who complained of the fact that I didn't deal with the integration of diasporas, questions connected with the brotherhood of peoples and internal and organizational problems of the party in particular.

If I did so, I would need to write a little encyclopedia. I chose to limit myself to matters that have been of major importance and have served as subjects of long and exhaustive discussion and clarification in the institutions of the party, the branches and the papers of the movement and party in recent years.

And in conclusion: this thesis was discussed in the Political Committee. This time the members of the Secretariat of Kibbutz Artzi and members of the Executive of the Young Generation participated in this discussion. Forty seven members that represent 80% of all the participants in the debate suggested changes, dozens and dozens of which have been incorporated in this thesis. The first three parts of this thesis were approved by all the members of the Political Committee except four and the last part which deals with the unity of the workers' movement received the approval of more than two-thirds of them. Suggestions to the Convention will be formulated by the Resolutions' Committee that will be elected by the institutions of the party and will reflect the suggestions of both the majority and the minority. I don't know of any more democratic procedure in any public body in our country.

The discussion on this thesis will continue about two months. Before the previous convention fifty-two members participated in the exchange of views conducted in the pages of "Al Hamishmar" and more than a hundred members took part in the debate in the convention itself. According to the preparation for our approaching convention and the seriousness of the decisions to be made, it is clear in advance that this time, too, the discussions will be lively and penetrating.

Our ability to draw a maximum number of comrades into a sincere and friendly discussion will be our test. We shall not rest nor pause until the members realize that the decisions to be made will determine the future of their home-kibbutz-movement-party. Every "gareen", group or "hashlama" from the diaspora that reaches a kibbutz in the EmeK, the Galilee or the Negev arrives because of the strength of its vision, principles and mission. The members of the party in city and village must understand that there isn't

any private or professional interest that isn't related to and dependent upon national and class interest. If this thesis helps bring all our comrades to the colours that will be the reward for my labour.

REVOLUTIONARY