

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

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

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

## Political Resolutions of the IVth Congress

### THE PEACE MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

### FOR ISRAELI SECURITY

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

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

### FOR ISRAEL-ARAB PEACE

Tension in our region results from the cold war between the blocs, imperialist intrigue, inter-Arab quarrels, and the lack of peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

Regional peace, Israel-Arab peace, call for non-conditional negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, for the solution, by peaceful means, of controversial problems, with respect for the just rights of both sides. The Congress notes with satisfaction that Israel repeatedly emphasizes her readiness for such negotiations. At the same time, the Congress expresses its regret that this readiness is not accompanied by suggestions, regarding the refugee question for instance, which could help lead to such negotiations. Israel must show active initiative for peace.

The Congress notes that all the Arab countries have so far refused to respond to Israel's proposals, or to those of any other country, concerning the opening of negotiations on peace. Mapam is reassured by the fact that many nations, on all continents, have suggested, in the U.N. Assembly, a proposal for direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. The party expresses its disappointment that the great powers have not supported such a proposal. Friendly countries are called upon to help effect a relaxation of tension between Israel and her neighbours, in order to make peace negotiations possible.

Mapam welcomes the liberation of Asian and African peoples from foreign rule, especially that of Algeria, which involved great struggle and sacrifice. The Congress calls upon all progressive elements among the Arab peoples to support efforts for peace agreements between Israel and their countries, as a step toward a secure peace in the entire region.

### NEUTRALIZATION OF THE REGION

There is growing hope for agreement between the great powers. There is a rising neutralist bloc, which is being more positively estimated by the great powers. There is a trend toward limiting to the great powers alone control over nuclear arms. All these make agreement between the opposing blocs on neutralization of region more possible. Neutralization of the region must be based on the following :

- 1) U.N. and great power guarantees for the sovereignty of the countries and their territorial integrity.
- 2) Guarantees by the powers to do away with military bases and competitive armament within the region.
- 3) Non-intervention by the great powers in the internal life of the region's countries.
- 4) Guarantee by the countries of the region to maintain a policy of neutralism and non-alignment.

The Congress asserts that political integration or military affiliation, direct or indirect, with one of the great powers, is in direct opposition to the vital interests of the State of Israel, which is located at a global cross road, and of the Jewish people, scattered among different blocs and regimes.

The Congress declares that the party will continue to struggle for a change in Israeli foreign policy, for non-alignment and independence, for an effort towards seeking realistic and progressive ways to a peaceful agreement between Israel and the Arab countries, and a strengthening of peaceful tendencies in the region and the world.

### ON THE DANGER OF THE ATOM RACE IN OUR REGION

There is a threat that atomic arms will find their way into our region, and with them will penetrate the danger of havoc and destruction, which could jeopardise the very existence of the peoples who inhabit the region.

It is an illusion to assume that this type of arms represents a deterrent factor, maintaining peace in the region, in the same way as it is maintained in the world, on the basis of a 'balance of terror'. The fabulous means controlled by the great powers make it possible for them to maintain automatic or mobile reaction apparatus, which guarantee a devastating response, even after severe damage from an enemy attack. This fact brings the two sides to negotiations on a cessation of the atomic race, nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear arms, as well as efforts for general disarmament. This is not so in our region. The short distances between countries, and the lack of means for the construction of retaliatory apparatus, make atomic weapons devoid of any deterrent character. Here, perpetual fear of a surprise attack could lead to acts of desperation, acts of mass destruction and annihilation. The penetration into our region by atomic weapons will make the danger of conflict more severe rather than lessening it.

Atomic weapons will not free the countries of the region from the continuation of the conventional arms race. In the shadow of atomic arms, there lurks the danger of a war by conventional means. The multiple, unbearable burden of both conventional and unconventional armament will upset the economies of the region, thus making national development plans unworkable.

So long as atomic weapons remain the sole realm of the great powers, it can still be hoped that humanity will succeed in saving itself from the cataclysm of nuclear war. This hope would dissipate terribly were atomic weapons to fall into the hands of small states in various regions of the world, including our own. Concern for the peace of this region and the world obliges us to do all in our power to achieve an Israel-Arab region free from nuclear arms.

In view of the danger of the nuclear arms race, Israel must initiate an energetic campaign for non-penetration of atomic arms into our region, and the prevention of their production within it. Israel should announce that she is prepared for arrangement on bi-lateral de-nuclearization of the region; this is to be put into effect by mutual control or U.N. control, as agreed upon by both sides. This initiative of Israel would contribute greatly to lessening tension in our region, and would fit in with the initiative of many countries in Europe, Africa and Latin America, for the de-nuclearization of regions, aimed at lessening tension and achieving world peace.

The Congress affirms the proposals of Mapam's parliamentary faction for de-nuclearizing the Israel-Arab region. The Congress expresses its regret that the government has not accepted these proposals. The Congress notes with satisfaction that various public circles, including scientists and men of letters, have organized for struggle towards achieving the nuclear disarmament of this region. The party institutions and the parliamentary faction are delegated by the Congress to act within the public, in cooperation with other bodies of like views, in order to make the general public more conscious of the importance of Israeli initiative for the atomic disarmament of our region, and in order to put public pressure on the government, that it take suitable steps in this direction.

#### **THE REFUGEE PROBLEM**

The problem of the refugees is both political and human, and it continues to occupy a place on the agenda of the United Nations and world public opinion. A just and complete solution of this tragic problem will be made possible only with the achievement of a peace agreement between the Arab countries and Israel. So long as the Arab countries follow a policy that states 'The only solution of the refugee problem is their return to Israel'; as long as Israel, on the other hand, follows a policy stating that 'The only solution is the settlement of the refugees in the Arab countries', this problem can only become more severe. Israel's preparedness to absorb an agreed-upon number of refugees within the framework of a peace settlement could contribute to the eventual complete solution of the Arab refugee problem. Israel is called upon to express her willingness to expand the program of uniting families and reparation arrangements, for the creation of a suitable atmosphere for the general solution of this problem.

#### **THE WATER PROJECT**

Israel has, as have all nations, the right to utilize her natural resources. Israel has certain natural resources in common with her neighbors, paramount among them water reserves. It would be most fitting were these resources exploited in common, according

to mutual agreement. Since the Arab countries refuse to join Israel in building a regional water project, it is Israel's unchallengeable right to utilize the waters of the Jordan River, which are pumped from the Sea of Galilee, within Israel's sovereign territory, in the same way as the Kingdom of Jordan exploits the waters of the Yarmuk River. The water project is essential for the development of the country, for enlivening Negev wastes, for the good of all the country's citizens. Israel will continue to strive for a regional arrangement on the utilization of water resources, and for development projects to serve all the region.

#### **AGAINST ORIENTATION ON GERMANY**

The general orientation of Israeli foreign policy on the West is true also in respect to the N.A.T.O. political and economic appendages. In this sphere, we note the government's efforts towards closer relations with West Germany. Mapam has opposed and continues to oppose this policy concerning Germany, where Nazi influence has not ceased; Germany, which continues to be a hotbed of expansionist drives that could well lead to war. Any step which could be interpreted as a political or military alignment on Germany and her militarist circles could only cause harm to Israel.

The IVth Congress of Mapam, which took place during the days of memorial commemorating twenty years since the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt, renews its warning against the danger of German militarism. The Congress calls once more upon the Israeli government to cease its sale of arms and uniforms to the West German army. The Congress also calls for firm political steps toward ceasing the activity of German scientists in producing unconventional weapons in Egypt, or, for that matter, all mass-destructive weapons.

The Congress protests against the Prime Minister's attempt to prevent the unanimous resolution of the Knesset on this issue from being put into effect. The Israeli government should publish a White Paper, which would bring to the attention of the world the criminal activity of German scientists in Egypt. The government must also act upon this issue in the United Nations.

#### **CONTACT WITH THE NATIONS OF ASIA AND AFRICA**

The State of Israel should cultivate relations of understanding and friendship with countries on all continents. At the same time, she must make every effort to establish herself within the Afro-Asian expanse, wherein she is located.

Israel has supported a long line of struggles by African and Asian peoples for political independence, and has granted them constructive aid of great importance in the fields of economy, education and health. But in order to stabilize her position in the

Afro-Asian expanse, she must follow a policy of non-alignment, neutrality and consistent struggle against every vestige of colonialism, which blocks the road to national and social liberation of peoples.

#### IN VIEW OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

The developments which have been taking place in the internal regimes of a number of the region's countries, and in relations between them — some of them positive from the point of view of the economic development of the Arab countries, social progress of their masses, and the overcoming of backward and outdated regimes — all make timely a declaration on the part of Israel, that she will not intervene in the internal affairs of these nations. For these developments are the concern of the Arab peoples alone. The State of Israel would sign a peace agreement with any country, regardless of regime. But she will resist aggressiveness, from wherever it comes.

#### ON THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT

The Congress notes that changes which have taken place in the world, and the socialist countries in particular, since the IIIrd Congress of Mapam verify the conclusions received at that Congress as to the path of the party within the world revolutionary workers' movement. These conclusions have, for the most part, stood the test of time.

Within the period between the two Congresses, there has been taking place a rapid-moving process of liberation of the peoples of Africa and Asia from the yoke of colonialism. After a hard struggle the socialist revolution has established itself for the first time in Latin America, in Cuba. Despite difficulties and obstacles, there has been noticeable progress in the socialist countries in the spheres of economy, culture and science. The Soviet Union has reached record heights in scientific and technical development, especially in respect to the conquest of outer space. There is a growing assuredness of the final victory of socialism by means of peaceful competition. Within this competition, the capitalist monopolies have shown vitality and adaptability. But the basic Marxist principles still hold true, uncovering the chronic contradictions at the heart of that society, built on capitalist exploitation. Capitalism cannot overcome these contradictions, nor can it bridge the contradictory gap between a few countries, drawing huge profits from the exploitation of others, and the vast majority of countries, still impoverished. The new, underdeveloped nations, which have been liberated from the yoke of colonialism, will surely join the struggle of the nations for complete national and social liberation, and for the establishment of a socialist regime according to their particular national characters.

Inasmuch as peace shall be assured in the world, and the danger of annihilating war shall have passed the superiority of the socialist economy over the capitalist one will become more pronounced. The stronger the struggle of the working class, the stronger the possibility for the complete victory of socialism.

At the IIIrd Congress, we criticized manifestations in the Soviet regime and signs of degeneracy which had become attached to the proletarian dictatorship. We expressed our belief that the socialist countries, which laid strong foundations for the building of the socialist economy, would overcome these manifestations and signs.

The 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party uncovered additional signs of degeneracy which had become enrooted under the Stalin regime. At the same time, the Congress called for a rapid process of destalinization. And, indeed, we have become witnesses to important changes in the Soviet regime, in the direction of democratization. But, in reality, it is still a long way from declarations to the full realization of these goals. We look forward to democratization being further accelerated so that proletarian dictatorship may give way to complete socialist democracy.

There is an ideological debate in the socialist world, and especially serious differences between the Soviet Union and China. These differences, to the best of our understanding, grew out of a background of the different political and economic realities of those countries. The differing conditions in achieving socialism bring forth, in each country, problems calling for their own particular solution. We remain convinced that every country will follow its own road to the achievement of socialism, according to its own specific conditions, the unity of the socialist camp and guaranteed peaceful co-existence between regimes. We are in favor of complete equality in relations between the socialist countries, both large and small, and complete independence for every nation.

The policy of preventing the acceptance of China in the U.N. is a source of grave injustice. We call upon all the nations, and especially Israel, to support China's just demand to be received as an equal partner in the family of nations.

To this, we add that the general line of foreign policy of all the socialist countries must be peaceful co-existence, as is forwarded by the Soviet Union. We hope that the mutual relations will be founded upon principles of internationalism, mutual aid, equality and independence.

Though much has been corrected in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death, in our opinion there has been no improvement in the position of the Jews as a national minority.

The Congress calls upon the Soviet Union to drop its dogmatic stand, preventing the unity of the Jewish people, and declares once more that the solution of the Jewish problem must come about

through the territorial concentration of the Jewish people in their historical homeland. As friends of the Soviet Union, and loyal sons of our people, we demand the right of national and cultural self-determination of the Jewish minority, and the right to maintain adherence to the Jewish people as a whole, and the right for those Jews who wish to emigrate, according to the accepted practice in a number of socialist countries.

Relations between Israel and the Soviet Union are marked by the latter's preference for the Arab countries.

As regards the Israel-Arab conflict, the Soviet Union refuses to support initiatives for peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. The Soviet Union participates in the arms race in the region, supplying arms to the Arab states, and not even maintaining proper trade relations with Israel.

While criticizing the policy of the Soviet Union on the affairs of this region, we do not lose sight of the fact that Israel's one-sided pro-Western policy has a negative effect on her relations with the socialist countries. It is Israel's essential interest that she act toward the improvement of her relations with the Soviet Union. We look forward to the re-establishment of good relations between our countries.

Mapam reaffirms its declaration that, together with its demand for a neutralist line in Israel foreign policy, the party is not neutral as regards the struggle for peace and the victory of socialism in the world.

We have faith in the socialist vision and wish for close rapport with the forces of socialism throughout the world, while staying fully independent and free in our judgement. We are neither doctrinary nor dogmatic, but support a vital, creative Marxism and an undogmatic Leninism.

While maintaining an attachment to the revolutionary world, built on political and ideological independence, we hope to see a more rapid process of transition to socialist democracy, with parallel guarantees for the maintenance of the fundamentals of the socialist regime. Under conditions of socialist democracy, the freedom of the working man will grow, as will his freedom of thought and spiritual creativity. All this will strengthen and fortify socialist society.

Mapam will continue to develop its contacts with socialist parties and progressive groups, and with forces which support peace in the world and in our region, in the interests of the advancement of socialist struggle and understanding for the project of national and social liberation of our people, who are being concentrated in their homeland. The party will strive especially for contacts with progressive and socialist movements in Asian and Africa.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN ISRAEL

Mapam is true to the Pioneer-Zionist and Revolutionary Socialist ideals, and will fight for the achievement of socialism in Israel,

in line with the following principles :

- a) Continuation of the process of the Ingathering of the Exiles, toward the concentration of a majority of our people in a socialist Israel.
- b) Class struggle integrated in the construction of the country.
- c) Struggle for labor-pioneer hegemony and a democratic regime.
- d) Peace and the Brotherhood of Nations; achievement of national and ethnic equality in fact as well as in principle.
- e) The achievement of socialism in our country, by mobilizing the masses of workers for a change of regime as the result of a democratic decision.
- f) A policy of non-alignment, neutrality, peace, solidarity with the struggle of other peoples struggling for their national liberation.
- g) The establishment of an alternative force, strong enough to bring about the victory of the labor-pioneer and socialist ideals within the people, country and class.
- h) A fortified union between the socialist creativity of the workers settlements led by the kibbutz movement, on the one hand, and the working community in city and village, on the other.
- i) Strengthening of the role of the kibbutz movement, as the vanguard of socialist construction in our country and, support for the struggle of all forms of workers' settlements: kibbutz, moshav (smallholders settlement), moshav shitufi (collective moshav).
- j) A consistent class and trade struggle, in the interest of the hired workers.
- k) A policy of inclusive economic planning and the direction of all productive factors toward the achievement of economic independence, development and the absorption of immigrants; social equality, and encouragement of productive initiative by the pioneer elements in our society.

- l) Guarantee for the principle of nationally-owned land, while fighting against land speculation; nationalization of Israel's natural resources.
- m) Preservation of the broad network of workers' enterprises; its expansion and the guarantee of genuine participation by the workers in management and profits; overcoming signs of deterioration prevalent in these enterprises.
- n) Development and strengthening of public, national and government-owned enterprises of all sorts, within the framework of an all-inclusive economic plan; workers rights; reduction of bureaucracy and the prevention of control by monopolistic capital over these enterprises.