

## INTRODUCTION

IN ALL THE MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL LIBERATION AROUND THE WORLD, THE BEGINNINGS WERE BLESSED WITH GREAT VISIONS AND HOPES. THE PROCESS OF TRYING TO ACHIEVE GREAT GOALS BY ITS VERY NATURE FORCES ONE TO DEFINE THE GOALS MORE CLEARLY AND PRECISELY. NO MATTER HOW LIBERAL THE DEFINITIONS, THEY ARE BOUND TO SEEM NARROW AND CONFINING COMPARED TO THE WIDE HORIZONS OF IDEALISTIC VISION. FURTHERMORE, ALL ACHIEVEMENTS, BE THEY CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, OR SOCIAL, ARE WORKS OF MEN WHO ARE FLESH AND BLOOD; THEREFORE THEY MUST CONTAIN LIGHT AND DARK, GOOD AND BAD.

WE ARE LOYAL TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST-ZIONISM IN OUR LAND AND WE LOOK POSITIVELY ON THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF WORLD SOCIALISM. IT IS NATURAL THAT, TOWARDS OUR CONGRESS WHICH TAKES PLACE AT A STATION ON OUR LONG ROAD TO ACHIEVING THE GOALS OF SOCIALISM AND ZIONISM, WE SHOULD REVIEW A FEW POINTS :

- a) IN CONTRAST TO THE FIRST DAYS OF THE ZIONIST VISION, BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL AND, IN SPITE OF THE TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENTS OF INGATHERING THE EXILES SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE, WE CANNOT IGNORE PRESENT LIMITATIONS TO ACHIEVING OUR GOALS.
- b) AT THIS POINT ON OUR ROAD THE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PUT NOT ON REFORMULATING FINAL GOALS — THESE WERE FIXED AT THE FOUNDING CONGRESS AND THEY ARE NOT OPEN TO QUESTION — BUT ON THE EXAMINATION OF THE LIMITATIONS AND THE DANGERS WE HAVE RUN INTO MEANWHILE, AND THE WAYS TO OVERCOME THEM.
- c) WE SHOULD PAY ATTENTION EQUALLY TO THOSE WHO CRITICIZE SEVERELY AND TO THOSE WHO EMPHASIZE ACHIEVEMENTS.

- d) THERE ARE GREATER DIFFICULTIES STILL TO COME IN THE LANDS FROM WHICH THE IMMIGRANTS COME AND IN ISRAEL ITSELF.
- e) THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVING SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD FACES A SIMILAR SITUATION: THOSE LOYAL TO THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM CAN BE DIVIDED INTO THOSE WHO, LIKE RABBI HILLEL, EMPHASIZE THE GOOD POINTS AND THOSE WHO, LIKE RABBI SHAMAI, CRITICIZE SEVERELY THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM, EMPHASIZE SHADOWS ONLY, IGNORING THE LIGHTS. THEY PROPHECY COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN ITS VERY ESSENCE, BOTH IN ITS METHODS AND IN ITS GOALS.

IN LIGHT OF WHAT HAS BEEN SAID, THE TASK OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS WILL BE TO EXAMINE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR BASIC GOALS AT THIS STAGE IN OUR STRUGGLE. THIS EXAMINATION WILL COVER THE MAJOR AREAS OF OUR STRUGGLE AND CREATIVE ENDEAVOR :

- a) CONTINUATION OF THE INGATHERING OF THE EXILES UNDER THE PRESENT CONCRETE CONDITIONS.
- b) THE DANGERS THAT LIE AHEAD FOR THE LABOR-PIONEER REGIME, LABOR HEGEMONY (IN GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMY), SOCIAL EQUALITY, INTEGRATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS, EQUALITY OF NATIONAL GROUPS, AND A POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY UNDER THE PRESENT REGIME.
- c) DEVELOPMENT OF IDENTIFICATION WITH THE SOCIALIST FORCES IN THE WORLD.
- d) MAPAM'S POLICY FOR A POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE.
- e) THE ISRAELI ROAD TO SOCIALISM.

THIS INTRODUCTORY BOOK DOES NOT INCLUDE FORMULATED PROPOSALS. THAT IS THE JOB OF THE COMMITTEES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH WILL PREPARE THE DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE PARTY CONGRESS. THIS INTRODUCTION ONLY TRIES TO CRYSTALLIZE GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE BACKGROUND OF CHANGES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION AND ON POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. I THINK THAT A REPORT OF THIS NATURE IS IN-

DISPENSABLE IN PREPARING THE CONGRESS OF A WORKER-PIONEER PARTY SUCH AS OURS.

THERE ARE MANY COMRADES WHO GIVE IN TO THE SPIRIT AND FASHION OF THE TIMES. THIS FASHION IS TO BE SATISFIED WITH A TWO DIMENSION PICTURE OF LENGTH AND WIDTH WITHOUT GOING INTO THE BACKGROUND OF AN EVENT. THE FASHION ALSO TENDS TO MINIMIZE IDEOLOGY OR IN OTHER WORDS, TO MINIMIZE THE STRIVING TOWARD A BROADER VISION. THESE COMRADES THINK THERE IS NO NEED TO DIG INTO HISTORY. THEY "DON'T NEED" TO CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH WHAT WE THOUGHT AT THE TIME OF THE 2nd OR 3rd ALIYAH\* OR EVEN BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE IN CONNECTION WITH THE PACE OF INGATHERING THE EXILES. THEY ARE TAKEN ABACK WHEN ONE REMINDS THEM OF THE BILTMORE PLAN. THEY THINK SUCH THINGS ARE FOR THE MEMORIES OF THE OLD-TIMERS; THAT THOSE WHO LIVE ACCORDING TO THE SPIRIT OF OUR DAY WILL DO WELL TO LEAVE SUCH THINGS DEAD AND BURIED.

DOES SENSIBILITY TOLEKATE A MARXIST'S IGNORING HISTORICAL PRECEDENT? WHAT DIFFERENTIATES HISTORICAL MATERIALISM FROM VULGAR MATERIALISM IF NOT THE FACT THAT IT IS NURSED FROM THE ROOTS OF THE PAST AND PENETRATES TO THE THIRD DIMENSION OF PAST EXPERIENCE? THESE COMRADES HAVE, I AM AFRAID, GIVEN IN TO A KIND OF PRAGMATISM WHICH BELITTLES THE LESSONS OF HISTORY AND ALSO BELITTLES IDEOLOGY; IN OTHER WORDS, THEY BELITTLE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD. NOT ONLY THE PRAGMATISTS IN MAPAI, BUT ALSO COMRADES WITH A RICH PAST AND MUCH EXPERIENCE IN ACHDUT AVODA AND MAPAM RUN AFTER THIS NEW FASHION. WHEN SOMEONE FROM ACHDUT AVODA TALKS ABOUT "CORPSES OF IDEOLOGIES" THAT MOVE AROUND IN THE WORLD, HE SPEAKS TO THE HEART (WITHOUT HIS

\* Aliyan — historic wave of immigration.

KNOWLEDGE) OF THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WISH TO JUSTIFY THEIR BEING IN KIBBUTZ BECAUSE IT IS COMFORTABLE LIVING AND FOR NO OTHER REASON. THEY TURN TO THESE YOUNG PEOPLE, CALLING THEM TO SHAKE OFF THE WORN-OUT BELIEFS OF THEIR FATHERS IN SOCIALISM AND BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. IN THE NAME OF THE SAME IDEOLOGICAL DISILLUSION THEY CALL ON THE SONS TO REVOLT AGAINST "THE PARTY OF THEIR FATHERS!"

A REVOLUTIONARY PIONEER PARTY WILL NOT FULFILL ITS MISSION IN OUR LAND IF IT ENCOURAGES ITS MEMBERS TO LIVE FROM HAND TO MOUTH IN A SORT OF EXISTENTIALIST AND "CONSUMER CULTURE" WITHOUT ASSUMING THE FULL BURDEN OF THE MISSION. WE MUST NOT GIVE IN TO A CORRUPT, IRRESPONSIBLE STYLE OF YELLOW JOURNALISM, WHICH KNOWS NO YESTERDAY OR TOMORROW, WHICH SLANDERS POLITICAL THINKERS AND PARTIES. IT SPREADS CYNICISM AND BREAKS DOWN PUBLIC TRUST IN THE HONESTY OF ALL POPULAR BODIES THAT SERVE THE WORKING CLASS. IS IT ANY WONDER THAT THIS FASHIONABLE PLAGUE LEADS YOUTH AWAY FROM POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND FROM PROBING TO THE HEART OF THINGS? IS IT BY CHANCE THAT THERE ARE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MARXISTS IN OUR COUNTRY, BUT SO FEW READERS OF MARXIST OR OTHER PROGRESSIVE IDEOLOGICAL WRITINGS? WILL WE ALSO GIVE IN TO THIS PLAGUE NOW IN FASHION ?

IN THE COURSE OF THE BOOK I WILL RETURN TO THIS SUBJECT, BUT I ALREADY THROW DOWN THE CHALLENGE TO MY READERS. THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT TO DECIDE DEMANDS, FIRST OF ALL, PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE MATTERS UP FOR DECISION. THIS DECISION IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT A FUNDAMENTAL STUDY OF THE ISSUES WHICH SO DEEPLY CONCERN US. THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS REQUIRES SUCH STUDY.

I CALL UPON YOU, COMRADES, JOIN ME IN THIS GROUNDWORK !

## DESERTION OF THE PIONEER REGIMÉ

It has been pointed out quite often that despite the fact of continued mass immigration pouring in from a number of countries, there is an imminent danger that the reserves of immigration may diminish. I find the crux of the matter in the anti-pioneer trend which has placed its stamp on government activities in the field of immigration and immigrant absorption. The Zionist leadership is also found responsible in part, since it is being carried along by this trend.

I am obliged, therefore, to consider the situation, from this point of view, as very gloomy indeed. The horizon of continued mass immigration is, for the present at least, overclouded. This is not so in the field of national development. In this field, the skies are bright and the roots still healthy. The efforts of pioneer generations were not in vain. Though branches are broken, though the trunk is sometimes damaged, the field of national development continues to draw strength. And because the roots are deep, one can still hope that if, in this field, a turn for the better would take place, then the trunk and the whole tree would regain the vigour they once had.

Since the worker-pioneer project of construction is still strongly rooted, it can justifiably be assumed that, if this hoped-for change will eventually take place, worker hegemony over national construction will reassert itself, and new sources for mass immigration to Israel will be opened. The worker-pioneer project is the well from which we draw our faith in the renewed partnership of the pioneer forces within Israel's workers parties.