DETAILED TABLE OF CUNTENTS

Introduction - 19

Part Cne: In the Struggle for Political Independence, Peace and Security

- 1) We Have Reason to be Proud of our Past 18
- 2) Without Truly Knowing Our Past We Won't be Able to Decide on Our Future - 19
- 3) The Custom of Discrimination 20
- 4) In Regards to Security We and Our Opponents are in the Same Boat - 21
- 5) Mapam Wholeheartedly Supported the Six Day War 22
- 6) On Two Unusual "Fronts" 23
- 7) On the Orientations of the Students of Jabotinsky 25
- 8) On the Urientations of Ben Gurion and His Students 26
- 9) Un the Permanent and Temporary in the Political Policy of Our Movement 30
- 10) On the Role of the U.S.S.R. in the Six Day War 32
- 11) The Fable of Security Failure 33
- 12) How We Stood the Test 34
- 13) How to Achieve Peace? 35
- 14) What Should We Bo in the Meantime? 37
- 15) International Morality and Justice are Indivisable 38
- 16) On the Crisis in the Relations between us and the Peace Movement - 40
- 17) In Conclusion 43

Part Two: National Development Integrated with the Class Struggle

- 1) The bix Day War and the State of the Economy 48
- 2) The Coalition Partnership Stood the Test 48
- 3) There Isn't Any Alternative to Worker-Pioneer Hegemony 49
- 4) The Dependence of Private Initiative on Pioneer-Worker Initiative 52

- 5) On the Essence of the Striving for Capitalist Change 54
- 6) We Don't Envy Private Initiative 55
- 7) Tendencies of Adaptation to the Capitalist Line 55
- 8) What Has Worker-Pioneer Hegemony to do with the Rule of One Party? - 55
- 9 The Slogan "From A Class to A People" 58
- 10) Statism, Centralism, and Technological Efficiency 58
- 11) Decentralization and Democratization of the Society of Workers
 to Insure Collective Responsibility of Workers and Managers 60
- 12) On the Role of the Workers' Settlements in Guaranteeing Worker-Pioneer Hegemony in the National Development - 64
- 13) On the Special Hole of Our Members in the Administration of the Histadrut 66
- 14) Our Technocrats Grease the Wheels of Economic and Political Reaction 68
- 15) The Same Analogy Again 68
- 16) How Shall We Correct the Distortions? 70
- 17) In the War For the Soul of Youth 70
- 18) The Role of Mapam in the Struggle for Social Progress in Government Policy - 72
- 19) Conclusion 76

Part Three: On the Road to Socialism

A. The National Aspect

- The Ordinary Polemic Will be Replaced by a New Examination of Basic Concepts - 80
- 2) Social Demagogery and the Class Struggle 82
- 3) On the Unity of Economic and Trade Union Functions in the Histadrut 84
- 4) Communism Socialism Reformism 85
- 5) Reformism, Statism and the Capitalist Welfare State 86
- 6) Adaptation to the Capitalist Line is Increasing 87
- 7) A Very Interesting Excerpt from an Excellent Book 87

B. The International Aspect

- 8) Uncritical Approval and Disapproval 89
- 9) One Thing Compared to Another 92
- 10) Characteristics of a Socialist Regime 94
- 11) On Changes in the Superstructure 95
- 12) Economic Improvements of Professor Lieberman 97
- 13) Even Agriculture Isn't Marking Time 98
- 14) Dictation Continues in the Areas of Policy, Literature, Art,
 History, Philosophy etc. 98
- 15) It's a Long Road 99
- 16) Bureaucratic Centralism The Malignant Disease of Dictatorship of the Proletariat 101
- 17) What is the Connection between Leninism and Stalinism? 101
- 18) Will the Patient Live after the Brilliant Operation? 103 .
- 19) On the Change Occurring in the Communist Camp 106
- 20) On the Riddle of the Chinese Cultural Revolution 107
- 21) Un the Rejuvenating Power of Revolutionary Pioneering Voluntarism 108
- 22) Is There a Substitute for Socialism in Construction? 108
- 23) On the Crisis in the Relations between Us and the Socialist World and Our Representatives in the Peace Movement 110
- 24) Conclusion 111

Port Four: On the Hoad to the Unification of the Workers' Movement

- 1) The Necessity of Greater Unity in the Workers' Movement 114
- 2) What is the Difference between Alternative Way and Alternative Force? - 115
- 3) On Those Who Are Busy Improving the Image of Mapam 116
- 4) Factors of Attraction 119
 - A. Brotherhood in Arms 119
 - B. The Coalition Partnership 119
 - C. The Kibbutz Movement 121
 - D. Decisive Reason 121

- 5) Repelling Factors 121:
 - A. The Struggle over the Character of State Power 122
 - B. Rafi's Decision to Join the United Party 122
 - C. All This May Happen But Loesn't Have to 123
 - D. Opposition Within Mapai to Ideological Autonomy 123
- 6) On the Confused Idea of Class-Party 124
- 7) Fully Utilize the Positive in the Present Conditions 127
- 8) Conclusion 129

SUPPLEMENTS

Proclamation on the 50th anniversary of October - 133
Resolution on the Alignment - 138
Mapam's Peace Program - 139
Mapam - Facts and Data - 142
Proclamation of the Party Congress - 145