

sions that took place at the Secretariat of the Israeli Labour Party on the future of the occupied territories.

"The doves were more concerned about keeping Israel a predominantly Jewish state and therefore advised returning the heavily populated centres to a Jordano-Palestinian state and planning Jewish settlement in the territories. The hawks called for a policy of dynamic annexation and settlement in all of the occupied territories, of integrating their economy with that of Israel and of leaving the problem of the Arab population in them to be solved at a later date.

"Dayan's advice was to allow conditions and the new facts to develop into a solution without having to reach an agreement with the Arabs. Allon feared that integrating the territories without giving Palestinians an Israeli citizenship would raise political issues.

"Sapir objected to Arab labour in Israel, as giving Israel a racist character, the Arabs doing the "black work" and having to return to sleep in their own villages. He objected to integrating a million Arabs into the Israeli economy and having to pay for improving their social conditions. He also objected to having them send their representatives to the Knesset and feared that by the end of the century, the Arabs would equal the Jews in Israel.

"Peres agreed with Dayan on keeping all of the occupied territories. He advised establishing a kind of local autonomy in them, to be federated with Israel. He said Israel should not be touchy about Arabs doing the "black work", for that is what they can do.

"Eban, a dove, was on the side of returning the populated areas and of keeping all lands needed for Israel's security. He recommended the Allon plan, but said the map could be altered.

"He advised not drawing a map, since keeping things dark added a flexible element to negotiations. Eban said that peace in the territories had so far been preserved because Israel had not closed the options for a solution since it had not annexed the territories nor had it tried to unify the economic and legal statutes. Eban spoke about the advantages derived by Israel from providing work for the Arabs in Israeli industries, since this deprived the occupied territories of its labour force and stagnated its economy." 152

This dovish-hawkish polarization of the Labor Party reflects the internal crisis of the hegemonic power bloc in the dual transition from the domi-