

translation

IP, M-A, Doug, Blc, Jack, Tom  
(Gru), Peter S, Peter B, Dave F  
USFI Bureau

To the Subscribers of Kol Ha'Poel [Workers Voice]

Haifa, 6/25/78

Dear Comrade/Friend,

In view of the crisis that the Brit Ha'Poalim [Workers League] has been going through the publication of Kol Ha'Poel has been temporarily suspended (after issue no. 43).

In the next few weeks issue no. 29 of Vanguard will be published and we will forward it to you. There is a detailed article in the publication describing the crisis in the Brit Ha'Poalim [Workers League] ~~and~~ as well as an explanation of the temporary suspension of Kol Ha'Poel.

In the period just past we have published a new program, which is enclosed with this letter.

Sincerely,

Asher Mor

TRANSLATION

pamphlet of the Workers League (Israel)

containing the new program of the organization

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Title: The Road to the Socialist Revolution in Palestine

March 4, 1978  
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translation or summary of selected portions of the WL program

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C.-5. The State of Israel: What is it?

"a bourgeois state" "a colonial-settler state"

"Its very existence contradicts the right of the Palestinians to self-determination."

"A bastion of imperialism" "A death trap for the Jews"

C - 9. The Palestinian Struggle for National Liberation

History of the Struggle

a. The 1936-39 general strike and civil war, its defeat leads to the establishment of Israel in 1948

b. After the 1967 war the struggle assumes a mass character once again. The center of political gravity is Jordan.

The disastrous policy of the Palestinian organizations -- i.e. non-interference in Jordan's internal affairs -- prepares the way for Hussein's murderous assault. Thereafter the main area is Lebanon, leading to civil war. The Palestinians are defeated once again by being tied this time to the "progressive front" No revolutionary party, etc.

c. Struggle in Israel and the occupied territories. High points in 1969-70 and 1975-76

Part II A-5. Dismantling the Histradut and the creation of Trade Unions

"The Histradut is not a trade union"

"The fundamental mission of the Histradut is the development of a local Jewish bourgeoisie and the prevention of all independent working class organization "

The Histradut has to be broken up. This task falls upon the workers committees which have arisen.

It is also permissible to work within the Histradut for the specific purpose of breaking it up.

"In the struggle for independent trade unions special attention must be given to the unity of the working class and to the participation of the most oppressed layers. In view of this it is necessary to raise time and again opposition to the national oppression ~~of the Palestinian workers and~~ of the Palestinian workers and for the removal of all obstacles in the way of their full participation (including workers in the occupied territories) in the organization of the class."

#### Part II A--7. The Workers Party

There is a need for a mass revolutionary workers party.

At the same time there exists a sharp contradiction between the weakness of the revolutionary organization (Workers League) and the urgency of the tasks confronting the class. Rakah, as a Stalinist organization, provides no solution. Therefore it is necessary to call for a mass workers party based on a trade union movement.

"In raising the perspective of setting up a mass workers party we tie the need for the mass organization of workers for purposes of political action to the need for a revolutionary class perspective and also to the necessity of fighting for all demands on an independent basis -- right up to the victory and setting up of workers rule in alliance with the oppressed masses in the town and village."

## Part II B--13 The Wars of the Israeli bourgeoisie

Israel fights wars in the interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie and in the service of imperialism. Therefore, revolutionary defeatism. The struggle for peace involves a struggle against both the Jewish and Arab local bourgeoisies. [The formulations here are ambiguous. Nothing is said about the 1967 and 1973 wars. Although not using 'revolutionary defeatism' in connection with the Arab countries as well as Israel, it is possible that this is still the line of the WL -- translator]

## Part II C--3 Constituent Assembly

The only road to national liberation is a working class revolution. At the same time revolutionists do not demand in advance "trust in the working class and its dictatorship."

Therefore it is suggested that a constituent assembly be convened ~~where~~ where the masses can decide on their fate. The constituent assembly would be convened after the seizure of power by the working class where the free-est conditions for convening it would be assured.

## Part I C--6 . The Palestinian Bourgeoisie and the PLO

"The PLO is an umbrella organization encompassing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist organizations, under the political leadership of the Palestinian bourgeoisie. The revolutionary working class unconditionally defends the PLO, its organizations, and its members against the attacks of Zionism. At the same time the proletariat needs political and organizational independence from the PLO so as to

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organize the Palestinian masses under its leadership."

#### Part II C-7. Petty Bourgeois Organizations

The petty bourgeois organizations can at times lead a mass struggle against Zionism. Although often criticizing the Palestinian bourgeoisie they are incapable of breaking with it ("e.g. the PFLP which maintained its membership in the PLO despite its call for mobilization against all agreements with Israel.")

The working class supports these organizations in their struggle against Zionism and their opposition to the Palestinian bourgeoisie in its efforts to compromise with Israel. At the same time it is necessary to guard against tailing these organizations.

Soviet Palestine [section where located?] [Pt. II, D-5?]

A democratic Palestine is only possible on the basis of a Soviet Palestine.

#### Part II. D-6. Unification of the Arab East

"The Arab working class will take ~~it~~ upon itself the smashing of the imperialist-conceived divisions in the Arab East and the unification of the Arab nation. "

"This unification is essential for the completion of the democratic revolution in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine, and the laying down of the basis for economic development of these countries."

"The struggle for liberation begins in each country as a struggle for democracy in that country and for the convening of a constituent assembly."  
No trust to be placed in bourgeois ~~unification~~ unification projects (Syria-Egypt, 1958). These are reactionary.

## Part II E-3. Centrism and its liquidationist policy.

In the Mideast those organizations that tail nationalist movements and Stalinism. Its most extreme expression was in the support these organizations gave to Nasser for over 15 years. These organizations cannot provide consistent leadership for the workers, e.g. the Organization of Communist Action in Lebanon, ~~which~~<sup>which</sup> began as a left-centrist organization and ended up politically and organizationally tied to Stalinism during the civil war.

"Pabloism occupies a special place within the centrist currents in that it ~~represents~~ presents itself as Trotskyist. In Lebanon the Pabloist organization Al Munadel [name of the journal of the Revolutionary Communist Group, the sympathizing organization of the FI in Lebanon] declared, even before the civil war broke out, its readiness to accept the plan for the ~~division~~ division of Palestine and the setting up of a "temporary" Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. It presented the plan as the 'lesser evil' in the given circumstances. In Palestine Pabloism (Matzpen-Marxist) served as the mouthpiece of left Nasserism.