

X-PC

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To the Political Committee of the SWP

Comrade,

We, members of the Palestinian Communist Group, would like to open political discussions with a representative of the SWP concerning the building of the Palestinian section of the 4th International.

Attached are various documents which we have issued, and which will give you a picture of our short history. [Note: documents in Intl. office, nlb] However, a few explanatory words are needed.

Avanguard organization, from which we have been ousted, has been affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the 4th International from the date of its constitution (end of 1970). The OCI was the political school and guide of the founders of Avanguard. However, very soon a difference between Avanguard and the OCI on the question of the reconstruction of the 4th International and the 71 split in the I.C., became apparent. From the end of 72 differences concerning the nature of the Zionism, the Palestinian nationalism appeared and deepened ever since.

In the end of 1975, a representative of the OCI came for political discussions. He presented a document - "the Tel Aviv agreement" concerning the nature of the Zionist state, the Palestinian nation and raised the slogan "for a Palestinian constituent assembly" as against "a Jewish Arab constituent assembly," which the Avanguard raised. Avanguard's secretariat signed the document, withdrew from its signature, as a result of which it was ousted from the OC. It capitulated to the consciousness of the Zionist Jewish workers.

The sectarian line of the organization towards the national struggle of the Palestinians brought it to a dead end, and to a confrontation with the living class struggle. Its sectarian line internationally (they proclaimed the S.W.P. to be a right centrist organization, and the leadership of the OCI to be sliding rapidly to centrism) brought it to complete isolation from the world Trotskyist movement.

In Spring 76, Yigal Schwartz, a member of the secretariat, began to develop a political tendency which broke from the sectarian attitude towards the Palestinian struggle for national liberation and from the sectarian hostile attitude to the SWP and the OCI. The political positions to which he arrived both nationally and internationally were basically similar to those of the OCI. A tendency, which later

crystalized as a faction, constituting a third of the members, began forming in the organization.

The political basis of the Palestinian Communist group is expressed in the programmatic theses attached - appendix no. 1. The theses were written during the struggle against Avanguard when we were still a faction inside, and they only draw broad outlines. Transitional demands for action are being worked out and tried in the class struggle; they are not included in the theses.

From the moment the first document representing the views of the faction was presented, Avanguard's majority's leadership barred the political discussion bureaucratically, and adopted stalinist methods. The majority's conduct, and our fight to be granted the democratic right of discussion, are described in a letter which was addressed to the political bureau of the OCI (appendix 2), and in appendix no. 3.

Although only in the beginning of February we received an announcement that we are outside the organization (they do not admit that they ousted us), in practice we were ousted already in the end of September.

In the beginning of January our representatives flew to Paris to discuss with representatives of the OCI the relations between the P.C. group and the O.C. Two important topics of discussion were: the nature of the re-unification of 63, and the common statement of the U.S. and the O.C.I.

Already before the voyage doubts concerning the methodical attitude of the O.C. to the 4th International, and to Avanguard began to raise. During the discussions in Paris the doubts crystalized into negation of the O.C.'s evaluation of the reunification of 63. We also reject the organizational methods of the O.C. which were reflected in the way they ousted Avanguard, although we fully agree that Avanguard indeed has capitulated indirectly to the Zionist state. The resolutions of the P.C. faction explain our differences with the OCI and why we have not joined the O.C. (appendix no. 4), and it is explained again in appendix no. 5.

In Paris our representative had a short meeting with comrade Gus Horowitch who told them that a representative of the SWP is due to arrive here shortly.

Since we regard the common statement issued by the O.C. and the U.S. as a principled statement, we addressed Matzpen's secretariat (section of the U.S.) and suggested discussions concerning common political action on various issues which arise in the class struggle, and discussion towards unification on a principled basis. We suggested the main topic of discussion to be the slogan of democratic Palestine, as against their slogan "socialist Palestine." We are now waiting for their answer to open discussions.

We understand that this letter with the appendixes included gives only a partial and insufficient picture of our political basis. We hope to clarify all questions which remain open in talks with your representative.

Comradely greetings,

The Communist Palestinian group
Y. Schwartz
address
Israel

[Attachments include a copy of this groups's newspaper published in Arabic, they also publish a paper in Hebrew and ask if we want to receive the Hebrew or Arabic editions, nlb].

PROGRAMMATIC THESES -the COMMUNIST PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATION

I. Introduction

The lack of Trotskyist organizations in the Middle East is directly connected to the crisis of the 4th International. The construction of revolutionary leaderships in the Middle East and the Palestinian section, form an integral part of reconstruction of the 4th International and the rebuilding of the leadership of the world proletariat.

A central task which still faces the international Trotskyist movement is to develop a Middle East programme of action. The first step ~~toward~~ towards a new programme ~~the old programme~~ of Avanguard group politically.

That programme does not apply the Transitional Programme in the Middle East. The programme expresses the inability of of the founding group to understand the basic questions of the class struggle. It does not pose a perspective for the construction of the Palestinian section of the 4th International and does not cut itself from the Zionist state.

2. The following theses do not constitute a general Middle East programme. Such a programme cannot be accomplished by the Palestinian section alone. Only in the frame of the struggle for the reconstruction of the 4th International and the building of the sections in the Middle East, can it be accomplished. The following theses are based on the analysis of the international class struggle which was given by the O.C., as it is expressed in the 1972 founding conference document, and the April 73 document of the O.C.

II The Partition of the Middle East and it's Peoples.

→ The delay in the international proletarian revolution which left it's mark on the Middle East, finds it's expression in the complication of the national question in the whole area. This complication is expressed in the reactionary mystification about the existance of an Arab Nation. The revisionist Pabloist theory of the Arab revolution is based on this mystification.

→ The artificial partition of the Middle East which was carried out by the imperialism in 1917 -21 differs from the devision of Ireland, Germany, Korea or Viet-Nam in the sense that it was not imposed upon an already existing nation, but during the ~~development~~ beginning of t the development of the movement of national liberation in the Middle and Arab East.

A nation is not a psychological and cultural entity. The material basis of the crystalization of nations is first of all the growth of the capitalist mode of production and the establishment of a national market. The modern nations were formed in the struggle of the burgoisie against the pre capitalist mode of production and against feo-dalism which tried to preserve it.

The arbitrary partition was carried out in the imperialist epoque. It is impossible to claim the existance of an Arab nation in the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, since the material conditions for it's ~~existance~~ didn't exist.

2. ~~The crystalization of the various bourgeoisies in the Middle East~~

2. The crystallization of the various bourgeoisies in the Middle East with the proletariat, in the frame of the partition and the states which it created layed the material basis for the existence of the Lebanese, Syrian, Irakian and the Palestinian nations. These nations constitute the frame in which the class struggle and a national liberation, anti imperialist struggle developed. But the process of the crystallization of nations in the Middle East never reached it's full materialization. In the era of decline , of imperialism, the realization of the democratic tasks, including the national liberation, is unseparable from the international proletarian revolution. The proletariat in it's struggle for the realization of the democratic tasks creates the conditions which are necessary for the crystallization of nations. The final answer to the question of the exact nationalities which will crystalize, will be found concretely in relation to real problems which will be posed by the class struggle. We determine: the historical experience teaches that all the unification experiments in the Pan Arab frame until today, have served as a tool against the masses.

3. The Syrian civil war in Lebanon teaches that as against the Syrian conquest, it is impossible to give a unification answer such as a "Syrian - Lebanese constituent assembly" which justifies the Syrian oppression. The struggle in Lebanon is for the ousting of the Syrian army from Lebanon, a call for the Syrian masses to struggle for the ousting of the Syrian army from Lebanon. The revolutionary party struggles for a Lebanese constituent assembly, for a Lebanese workers and farmers government which will take the Palestinian struggle into it's hands, and not for a 'workers, farmers and refugee's government'. The Palestinian struggle passes through the realization of these of these tasks.

4. The partition of 1947-48^{is} a qualitative new phenomenon. The establishment of the state of Israel was a reactionary victory through and through against the masses in the whole Middle East. The victory of the imperialism was possible only by the expulsion of the Palestinians from their national homeland. Israel is qualitatively different from any other state in the Middle East. Israel is the spearhead of the imperialism in our area, it's military, political and diplomatic fortress, which was established at the expense of the Palestinian people, Israel is a colonialist state.

5. Jordan too, is different from the other Middle East countries, but it's also different from Israel. The establishment of Jordan was not accomplished by the expulsion of millions of Palestinians and by the import of of a foreign population. But it's existence denies the national aspirations of the Palestinians. The Jordanian state is not a colonialist state. Yet it did not create a Jordanian people such as did Lebanon, Syria and Irak. The first task of the democratic task of the "abolition of the Partition" is unseparable from the destruction of the Jordanian state. The accomplishment of these tasks lays the foundation for a democratic unified Palestine.

6. The revolutionary party determines decisively; the unification of the Middle East will be accomplished only by the construction of the socialist united states of Middle East which poses the 'abolition of the partition' as the central task.

The aspirations for unification of the Arab countries which exist among the masses, can become a powerful tool against the imperialism and the local bourgeoisies only on the condition that the revolutionary party will educate the workers' vanguard against the mystification of the 'Arab Nation' or the 'East Arabian Nation', only if it guides the vanguard against the Pan Arabic trap. The proletarian vanguard will take upon itself the progressive aspirations of the masses towards unification and will channel them to the struggle for power in every state, as a step towards the socialist united states of the Middle East.

III The wars and regimes of the Middle East.

I. Bolshevism differs from all the other tendencies in the workers movement primarily in that: "The national orientation of the proletariat can and must follow only from an international orientation and not vice versa. This is where rests the basic and principal difference between communist internationalism and the various shades of national socialism" (The Third International After Lenin). The basic condition for a revolutionary party in determining a position in wartime is the understanding of the role that each bourgeoisie plays in the frame of the imperialist division of roles, and the definition of the character of each state. "Lenin taught us to differentiate sharply between oppressing and oppressed bourgeois nations. From this followed conclusions with extra ordinary importance. For example, our attitude to a war between an imperialist state and a colonial state. Thus Lenin raised the wars of national liberation, the colonial uprisings and the wars of the oppressed nations, to the level of democratic revolutions -- bourgeois revolutions." (op. cit.)

The incorrect positions which was taken by the vanguard on the partition; "The 1947-8 partition is the continuation of the 1917-21 partition, and as such did not form a separate Palestinian people" does not distinguish between Israel, the fortress of imperialism, and the other states in our area. This position led to a liquidationist conclusion, that in the wars of 48, 67, and 73 one must pose the adversaries on the same level.

2. The 48 war has to be placed in the frame of the collisions of the working class with the imperialism during and after World War II internationally. In the situation of the rising of the world proletariat; the weakness of the imperialism in the European centers, and the crisis which it faced in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the imperialism established a new international order, a new world equilibrium, cooperating fully with the Soviet Bureaucracy and its local agents. The state of Israel was established in the frame of this world order as an answer to the rising of the masses in the Middle East and their anti imperialist struggle. In the course of its establishment, the Palestinian people was driven out of its lands.

3. The various Arab bourgeoisies, which, as a result of their fear from the masses, were not able to assume the political power directly to their hands in 48, fought in this war for the defence of their own narrow class interests: They tried to reserve ^{positions} which they were abandoning as a result of the new imperialist order in the Middle East. They were trying to prove to the imperialism that they could preserve the existing order without the help of the Zionist state. In view of the mobilization of the masses to the anti imperialist struggle in the Middle East the bourgeoisies couldn't avoid entering the war.

4. The Bolshevik party's point of departure is the overall interests of the masses = working class. The party must ask whether the masses have an interest in this war. In 48, as in any other war, we must distinguish between the interests of the masses and those of the bourgeoisie, which remain opposed even in a national war. The masses mobilize to this war against the imperialist plans to establish the Zionist state. The masses understood that the meaning of a defeat to the Arab armies means the shattering of the anti imperialist Palestinian movement, which had already suffered a defeat in 36-9, a defeat from which it would take years to recover.

5. The revolutionary tide during the end of World War II created new relations between the imperialism and the Bureaucracy on one hand, and the proletariat on the other hand - internationally. The establishment of the bureaucratically deformed workers' states in east Europe, the victory in China, and the accomplishments of the European working class. The imperialism and the bureaucracy succeeded in establishing a new world order, but it was not established through a decisive defeat of the international working class. The instability of the new order was the result of the inability of the imperialism to destroy the accomplishments of the proletariat in the imperialist European states, and it's failure to destroy the deformed workers' states during the cold war. In this frame a new situation developed in the Middle East, which was characterised by the inability of imperialism to make use of his old local agents, as against the constant mobilization of the masses against imperialism.

6. The need to divide the Middle East between the imperialism and the bureaucracy was dictated by the class struggle in our area. The imperialism could not rule directly in Syria, Irak Egypt etc. The struggle of the masses against the direct domination of the imperialism, the Bagdad Pact (57-8), resulted in the fall of the feudal-bourgeois regimes, and in the rise of bonapartist regimes. The crisis of the proletarian leadership resulted in that the European proletariat invested it's whole revolutionary energy in the traditional workers' parties. The law of uneven development in the lack of workers organizations and parties similar to those of Europe. This ^{is expressed}

explains the appearance of bonapartism which is able to channel the revolutionary energy of the working class to petty bourgeois and bourgeois organizations and parties (Nasserism, Ba'ath, F.I.N. etc). The bureaucracy which played the role of the break to national liberation movement, undertook the bonapartist regimes, to strengthen the illusions of the masses in them, and thus paved the way to the 58 defeats.

7. The 56 war marked the final departure of ~~the British~~ French imperialism from our area, and the strengthening of the American imperialism and the Soviet Bureaucracy.

The defeat of the French and British imperialism in 56 gave impetus to the movement of the masses.

In 58 we witness a sharpening of the class contradictions in the whole area: In Lebanon and in Jordan, the strengthening of the C.P. in Syria and the disintegration of it's regime, the disintegration of the Nuri Sa'id regime in Irak and the growth of the Iraki C.P. These contradictions opened a revolutionary crisis in Syria and Lebanon, a crisis which reached it's peak in Irak, where the question of power was posed on the order of the day by the working class. In this situation the imperialism and the bureaucracy played their roles. This was made possible by the relative stability of the imperialism internationally, the retreat of the world working class which was expressed in the rise of De Gaulle to power in France, and the relative stability of the bureaucracy in East Europe. The working class in our area suffered a defeat. The Bureaucracy took this task upon it's shoulders in Irak, where the C.P. led the masses to a massacre under Kassem's regime, and in Egypt and Syria by supporting the establishment of the U.A.R. which meant the liquidation of all the political parties, and a defeat for the Syrian C.P. At the same time the American army invaded Lebanon and ended the civil war there. The defeat suffered by the working class didn't imply that the imperialism and the bureaucracy succeeded to establish their domination in our area.

The years 58-67 were characterized by the instability of the local regimes. We witness the liquidation of the U.A.R. already in 1961 and the rise of the Ba'ath to power in Irak and Syria in 63. These regimes as well as Nasser's are in constant struggle with the masses. Only in the frame of these struggles is it possible to understand the nationalization process in Irak, Syria and Egypt, and the repeated statements of the various bonapartists claiming to lead their states toward socialism.

10. The basic characterizations of the international class struggle in 67 are: The rising of the masses in the colonial countries which is combined with the aggravation of the contradictions in the countries which are under the control of the bureaucracy, and in the imperialist countries, contradictions which prepare the way the uprising of 68 which is a qualitative turning point in the international class

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struggle. The international Stalinist apparatus which found itself under the growing pressure of the masses under its control, found it more and more difficult to perform the role of the brake to the national liberation movement in the colonial countries. This is the frame in which the 67 war took place. Due to the reducing possibilities of the bureaucracy to play the brake to the national liberation movement, a process which takes place simultaneously with the rise of the masses in the Middle East, as a part of the tide in all the colonial countries, and which in its turn sharpened the contradictions in the imperialist centers, a process began whereby the bureaucracy left its posts in the Middle East: The local bourgeoisies attached themselves directly to the imperialism.

9. The imperialism, cooperating with the bureaucracy, organized an assault on Nasser with the purpose of replacing him with sections of the bourgeoisie which would be under the direct control of the imperialism. Nasser had built himself as the absorber of the revolutionary energy of the masses, channeling it to the building of a bourgeois state. In the new situation which arose in the class struggle in 67, Israel functioned as the direct military arm of imperialism and the direct performer of its plans. Nasser functioned as entered the war in the conditions dictated by the imperialism, with the cooperation of the Bureaucracy while remaining an integral part of it as a bonapartist counter revolutionary.

10. The massive mobilization of the masses in Egypt caused the failure of the imperialism's main aim - the overthrow of Nasser. But the war left imperialism with a few important political cards - territories and strength. This enabled it to play the main role in the area while the bureaucracy's role was reducing. With these political cards, the imperialism exercised pressure on the local bourgeoisies to confront the masses directly. The bourgeoisies attached themselves more and more to the imperialism which was "the sole possessor of the keys to the occupied territories", in addition to the constant financial pressure which it exerted. The war exposed to the masses the weakness of the Arab regimes as against imperialism, and sharpened the conflict between the masses and the Zionist state. The frustration of the imperialism's intentions by the mobilization of the masses in Egypt, opened the door to the rising of the Palestinian movement.

The departure of the bureaucracy and the entrance of the American imperialism did not express the strengthening of the latter; on the contrary, it meant the aggravation of the contradictions in the Middle East.

11. The Black September (1970), constituted the continuation of these processes. Due to its weakness, the imperialism had to expose the bonapartist regimes in front of the masses and to use them to carry out its tasks in the whole area, directly. This explains the full support Nasser gave to the Roger's plan and to the massacre which Hussein carried out in 1970, as well as Assad's rise to power.

September 70 constituted a landmark in the confrontation between the masses and the imperialist order, the center of confrontation being the Palestinian movement. The immense strength of the masses was expressed in the Irbid soviet. The masses were dealt a blow but this blow was not a decisive defeat in the scale of the whole Middle East and didn't form the conditions for the imposition of the imperialist order.

12. The 73 war was the outcome of the failure of the imperialism to impose its aims in the Middle East, and internationally (Viet Nam):- crushing the mass movement, the destruction of the Palestinian movement which is in its center, and the strengthening of the bourgeois regimes.

The entrance of the Egyptian and the Syrian bourgeoisies into the war remained in the frame of their efforts to stabilize themselves. The Egyptian bourgeoisie tried to manoeuvre between the anti imperialist pressure of the masses on one hand (the struggle against Zionism) and the pressure exerted on it from the imperialist side through the Zionist state to strike against its masses. The results of the war confirm this position. Sadat took the aspirations of the masses into his hands in order to brake them, cooperating fully with the imperialism and the bureaucracy. Insofar as Sadat and Asad took the progressive aspirations of the masses to free the conquered lands, there is an element of national liberation in their war, which we support unconditionally.

The Syrian and Egyptian bourgeoisies had to stand against the Palestinian movement, which is in the center of the mass resistance movement. The national bourgeoisie is not able to fulfil the national aspirations because by this it opens the door to the liquidation of the existing regimes.

The position of the proletarian vanguard is correctly included in the resolution of the O.C. concerning this question. Avanguard's leadership voted against this document.

13. The international situation today is characterized first of all by the collapse of the equilibrium of the imperialist order, which was founded in the end of World War II with the cooperation of the soviet bureaucracy. The main aim characterization of the braking of the equilibrium is the rise of masses simultaneously in the imperialist centers and in deformed workers states. This process went through a qualitative change in 68. The defeat inflicted upon imperialism in Viet-Nam, and the opening of the revolutions in Portugal form a sharp curve in the relation of forces internationally, to the benefit of the working class.

It would be too simplistic to draw from this analysis the conclusion that the imperialism cannot gain partial victories. The most important conclusion from this analysis is that the ability of the imperialism to confront the masses directly, have been greatly reduced, and on the other hand the difficulties of the bureaucracy to break the national liberation movement are increasing.

This situation is expressed in the Middle East by the weakening of the imperialist domination in our area, the weakening of the bourgeois regimes, the sharpening of the class contradictions, and the rise of the mass struggle in Palestine and Lebanon.

...
We determine that the crisis of the imperialist Zionist state does not result from the fact that "the imperialism turned it's back to it's faithful servant" but from the very fact that the weakness of the local bourgeoisies, of the imperialism, the retreat of the soviet Bureaucracy, and the international rise of the working class, open new possibilities for the masses to anti imperialist and anti Zionist struggles, although this does not exclude that at certain moments there exist conflicts between the interests of the colonialist Israel bourgeoisie and it's master (such as in Rhodesia).

IV Palestine

1. The forms of domination which the imperialism exercised determined that the struggle in Palestine against it, is the struggle for the right to become a nation

2. In the era of the imperialist decline the struggle for the national liberation in the colonial and semi colonial countries is part of the the world proletarian revolution. The struggle for national liberation undermines the basis of domination of the imperialism in the colonial countries, and as such is part of the struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist centers. The national bourgeoisie is incapable of realizing the national democratic tasks in the imperialist epoque. The proletariat takes the struggle for the democratic tasks upon itself, and conducts them in it's own methods and under it's own banner.

Only the working class, at the head of the peasantry can lead the struggle for national liberation and the agrarian struggle to a complete victory. Thus one of the main tasks which the revolutionary party, the Palestinian section of the 4th International, takes upon itself is the national liberation of the palestinian people. The realization of this task which is national in it's form and international in it's content, will be a link in the international socialist revolution.

3. The local bourgeoisies which are subject to the constant threat of the masses, are forced to block the mass struggle against the imperialism and Israel- it's agent, and try to reach an agreement with them. In the mobilization of the masses against the imperialism in the Middle East, the Palestinians constitute the most militant and uncompromising part, due to the fact that their national struggle confronts them directly with Zionism and the imperialism. This is the source of the conflict of the Palestinian masses with the local bourgeoisies. The struggle of the masses poses as a task in each state of the masses who fight against the domination of imperialism, the necessity of the destruction of Israel.

4. The tasks of the revolution in Palestine are first of all bourgeois democratic tasks. The national Palestinian struggle is the struggle for the right of constituting an independent nation, whose only meaning is the destruction of the Jordanian state and the 'abolition of the partition', and the establishment of a unified democratic Palestine. To argue that the Palestinians are not a people because

in the present context their right to separation is meaningless, is to accept the frame of the existence of Israel, and not to see the "abolition of the partition" an ~~unassessable~~ ~~an~~ indispensable ~~part~~ democratic issue which the working class has to take upon itself.

5. The reactionary ideology of the existence of an Arab nation, or East Arabian nation conflicts directly with Palestinian national interests. Its application in the reality brings about a physical collision with the Palestinian organizations, liquidating them in Syrian Lebanese and Jordanian parties, and in this constitutes a tool in the hands of imperialism, Zionism and the Arab League. The theory of the existence of an Israeli people is no less reactionary, and collides again directly with the national interests of the Palestinians thus forming a tool in the hands of Imperialism and the Zionism.

6. In the imperialist epoch, the tasks of the bourgeoisie democratic revolution in the semi colonial and colonial countries, are intertwined with the demands of the proletariat in its struggle for socialism. Demands such as: the independence of the trade unions from the state, workers' control, workers' militias, nationalization of banks and the means of production, are intertwined with the democratic tasks - the national liberation and the agrarian reformation. The revolutionary party takes upon itself the democratic tasks and the mobilization of the peasantry while preserving the political and organizational independence of the proletariat as the leading class.

7. The question of the imperialist settlement - the establishment of a mini Palestine in the west Bank or in any other territory can be understood outside the context of the international class struggle and the crisis of Imperialism. The efforts of Imperialism to impose upon the Palestinian masses a mini Palestine, are carried out in the frame of its efforts to stabilize its domination while inflicting an overwhelming defeat on the masses of the area. The inability of the Imperialism to impose its domination and carry out its plans, does not depend on its will or on the lack of will of a local bourgeoisie, but rather on the class relations on a world scale.

The Palestinian section of the 4th International condemns any Imperialist plan of establishing a Mini Palestine, because such a plan can be accomplished only by becoming the graveyard of the Palestinian people, only by the infliction of a new defeat to the international and the Middle East proletariat.

8. The definition of the class character of the Palestinian organizations, and the analysis of the concrete relations between the masses, the organizations and the bourgeoisie, necessitates, among other things, the definition of the position of the Palestinian bourgeoisie. The political and material state of the Palestinian bourgeoisie can be understood in the frame of the mass struggle of the Middle East against the Imperialism, and the struggle of the latter to stabilize itself.

The Zionist penetration to the area which was carried out the

by the expulsion and the destruction of the Palestinian masses, hit the material basis of this feudo-bourgeoisie as well. From the first minute of its existence, it is not capable of taking the revolutionary national aspirations of the masses into its hands and leading them into victory. During the struggle in 21, 29, 36-9, this feudo bourgeoisie led the struggle, in the frame of its narrow class interests, to defeat, collaborating with Zionism and Imperialism.

During the 48 war, the Palestinian bourgeoisie was unable to mobilize even the smallest resistance against Zionism. The establishment of the state of Israel undermined the already weak material basis of the Palestinian bourgeoisie. Its weakness doesn't convert it to be more progressive or less counter revolutionary in comparison with the other bourgeoisies. Its weakness only explains its difficulties in dominating the Palestinian organizations.

play in the class struggle
9. The role which the Palestinian resistance can be understood only in the frame of the lack of the Proletarian answer internationally, which is a result of the crisis of the international proletarian movement. The Stalinist, which stand directly against the national aspirations of the masses, nurish their illusions in the petty bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships. This situation- the lack of proletarian alternative which can give an answer to the revolutionary energy of the masses, which is motivated by their national revolutionary aspirations, and the weakness of the bourgeoisie on the other hand, explains the extraordinary pressures and contradictions which exist in the P.L.O. organizations.

Only by understanding the stresses and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletarian elements, can we define their class character. Today, they should be correctly defined as petty bourgeois organizations.

10. The Refusal Front's organizations do not differ qualitatively from the P.L.O. During the Black September, and today in Lebanon, they did not and do not provide a real solution to the masses. Nevertheless we do not overlook the differences which enable them at certain moments to denounce strongly the Mini Palestine plan. The terrorist actions of the Refusal Front which are the other side of the coin of opportunism, and which are common in the P.L.O. as well, indicate again that there is no qualitative difference between the two.

These anti proletarian methods play directly into the hands of Imperialism, and Zionism and the local bourgeoisies, constitute an obstacle on the way to mobilizing the working class, and cause the extermination of devoted militants. The revolutionary party fights against these anti proletarian methods.

11. The Stalinist parties which stand directly against the revolutionary national aspirations of the Palestinians, a fact which expresses itself in their very acceptance of the Jordanian and Israeli states, are subject today, while the masses are rising, to an open and unprecedented crisis. One cannot exclude the possibility that under the local conditions, a partial mobilization of the masses will pass through the existing frames of these parties. But such a mobilization will not strengthen them, on the contrary, it will only sharpen the existing contradictions inside them.

12. The Imperialism, exploiting the Jewish problem, exported a big population which it used as its political, military and diplomatic fort. From the moment of its arrival, the Jewish population was a colonizing one. Never did it pass through an anti-feudal or an anti-imperialist struggle, on the contrary it based itself on them against the masses. Zionism for the Jewish population is a death trap from which the only way out is to join the struggle for national liberation, which means to become a part of the struggle against the Israeli state, which when succeeds will crystalize the Jewish population as a part of a Palestinian nation. The solution for the Jewish population in Palestine, as in any other place in the world, is to integrate itself in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, wherever it is.

13. The term 'a colonizing population' does not imply a mutual ~~in~~ interests of any kind between the Jewish workers who live in Israel, and the Zionist bourgeoisie. The Jewish workers who live in Israel, constitute an integral part of the proletariat. Their class interests is the international socialist revolution which passes through the realization of the Palestinian national liberation - i.e. "the abolition of the partition".

IV. Building the revolutionary party in Palestine.

1. The only basis for the construction of the Palestinian revolutionary party as a part of the revolutionary world party - the 4th International, was and remains the Transitional Program. The following theses determine only basic strategic lines taken from the Transitional Program, for the construction of the party. We don't mention here various economic and other demands which exist in the Transitional Program.

2. The proletariat in Palestine, at the head of the peasantry, struggles for a unified Palestinian republic. In the course of the consistent struggle for this slogan and for a Palestinian Constituent Assembly, which expresses the revolutionary national aspirations, a way shall be paved to an independent organization of the working class.

3. In the course of a struggle for a unified democratic Palestine

the slogan of an all Palestinian Constituent Assembly will occupy a central one role. The assembly will be democratic, all the political currents and organizations which exist in Palestine, will participate in it. The struggle for its realization will be the center of collision between the struggle of the masses for the Palestinian republic as against the Imperialist settlement plans.

4. All the democratic demands must pass through the aim of the returning of the national territory, occupied by the state of Israel, to the Palestinians,

5. The main task which is posed to the Palestinian section of the 4th International is the construction of the proletarian leadership. The construction of such a leadership will be carried out by a militant intervention in the living mass movement, in the existing workers organizations, as well as through the intervention in petty bourgeois organizations, where there are thousands of workers who search for a way. The course of its intervention in these organizations, the Palestinian section will raise of a Palestinian workers' party. The struggle for a workers' party is the struggle for the gaining of political and organizational independence of the working class - the condition for the victory of the revolution.

6. There can be no other Palestinian section for the 4th International, but that which fights against the state of Israel. This question, like the question of popular front marks the dividing line between Bolshevism and Menshevism, between internationalist proletarian policy and social chauvinist policy.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

The Palestinian Communist Faction.

Dear comrades

To out

This letter is sent to you after a qualitative change in the crisis of the organization has taken place. We were ousted from AVANGARD. On 3.12. 1976, in a meeting which our representative held with the secretariat, he was told that the faction will not be allowed to take part in any political discussion preparing the next convention. Moreover, the secretariat suggested establishing a committee which "will take care of property matters". Considering the fact that we have already been removed from political activities for two months (cell meetings, selling the paper, political discussion), this decision can be understood only as the final step which can only mean our ousting from the ranks of AVANGARD.

AVANGARD's letter which was addressed to the political bureau of the C.C.I. in which you are asked to cut all your connections with us, basing itself on gossip, slander and curses, ought to be understood only in the frame of the petty bourgeois political line, and organizational methods of AVANGARD's leadership. Their address to you is another move in the Machiavellist behavior of the secretariat which tried to eliminate the Trotskyist program in Palestine by isolating the faction members from all international connections as well as in the organization.

We must emphasize that all these measures were taken without any effort from the side of the secretariat to pose any arguments against the program which is loyal to the principles of the 4th International.

The very address from the secretariat to the political bureau of the C.C.I. is quite surprising; bearing in mind the secretariat's statement in the pre-convention that the "policy of the C.C.I.'s leadership is an obstacle on the road to the building of the 4th International", and that "AVANGARD's fight against the C.C. is the fight of the French majority against Pablo in 1953", and after having named the C.C.I. as a "boutique" whose leader is its "pope". The statements which were given in the pre-convention constitute the climax in the systematic attacks which the secretariat has been waging for years against the C.C.I. The secretariat conducted this fight by cheating, hiding documents, and distorting positions. They have been educating the members to political non-confidence in the C.C.I.'s leadership. When they were members in the political bureau of the C.C. they launched a sharp, open and irresponsible attack from their theoretical organ "AVANGARD".

"In questions which arise from the international discussion such as the united front, workers and farmers government, work in the trade unions, among the youth, the building of the revolutionary party, the reconstruction of the 4th International, the evaluation of the resistance movement in the countries which are ruled by the stalinist bureaucracy, the C.C.I. clashes with the same questions. One can clearly claim that that its positions form a slide to the centrism, which it is supposed to fight, and actually meet the traditional stands of centrism, beginning with Brandlerism in the 20's and 30's in Germany and ending with Pabloism through the SAA, the French "SO" and the Spanish "COM". (The Crisis In The C.C. February-March 1972).

Every rapprochement between the C.C.I. and the S.W.P., the American Trotskyist party was defined as the final liquidation of the C.C.I.

as a Trotskyist organization.

"In the discussion which developed after the lecture it was agreed that it is impossible to define the O.C.I. as a centrist organization. It did not join the support to the popular front in France... All the participants agreed that the links between the O.C.I. and the S.W.P. will determine, probably shortly, the political essence of the French organization. Joining the American centrist organization will constitute the final transition to centrism." (From the 73 convention resolutions).

Such attacks were waged by the Karmi, Zvi, Yoha leadership without making the real positions of the O.C.I. available to the comrades, and without presenting any arguments against the S.W.P.'s positions. Not even one document of the O.C.I. was translated to Hebrew, when most of the members don't read French. These conditions supply the explanation that the 'international policy' of the group became the monopoly of the three.

The systematic concealment of documents and convention resolutions of the O.C. constitute a severe offence on the most basic principle of democracy. An example for this brutal offence was the case of the document which was issued by the International Political Bureau "The War In The Middle East And The Palestinian Constituent Assembly". The explanation to this act was indirectly by Zvi, member of the the secretariat, in the Preconvention. "If the organization exists today and if it didn't pass over to the ranks of the petty bourgeois this is due to it's positions in 73. At that time I was called to the army, and I heard from a comrade that Yigal is oscillating. I sent Karmi to Yigal and he was checked." So in order to check completely any 'oscillations' and any attempt to confront systematically the Zionist logic of the organization's positions, the very existence of the O.C.'s document, which refutes in all it's positions Avangard logic, was simply concealed.

This is the proper time to remind the leadership of Avangard, Trotsky's words which were addressed to the Spanish Oppositionists. "Are the Spanish Oppositionists acquainted with the course of this struggle with... I have in mind not only the leaders of the Spanish Opposition, but the organization as a whole. If the Spanish Oppositionist remain unacquainted with this struggle that must be considered as a great shortcoming. We cannot develop true revolutionists without giving the young communists the chance to follow the day to day elaboration of the Bolshevik policies, not only in the Spanish section but in the other sections of the International Opposition as well ... this is precisely the most important part of the democratic work of the party regime that we strive to establish."

(L. Trotsky; The Spanish Revolution 1931-9, p. 75)

Avanguard's leadership conducted it's struggle with purely opportunistic methods; without having the least idea concerning the reconstruction of the 4th International.

"one of the problems which were raised at the convention was that we have no clear perspectives concerning our participation in the international discussion...we haven't established yet the way which the reconstruction of the 4th International will take". (from the preconvention). The explanation to this astonishing fact - the lack of perspective or any clear idea as to the solution of the crisis of the 4th International on one hand, and on the other hand slander and curses directed against the international Trotskyist movement, accompanied by such evaluations as "the sliding of the O.C.I. to centrism", "the S.W.P. the rightist centrist organization", and the

position in the VI split in the I.C., which was correctly defined by the Irish section of the C.C. as "sectarian, unprincipled position", - can be found in their capitulation to the Zionist state "The 47-8 partition is nothing but the continuation of the 17-21 partition, and as such did not create a separate Palestinian People". Bearing in mind that all the trends in the international Trotskyist movement

without exception, view Avanguard's position as irreconcilable with the positions of the 4th International, the only way which remained open to this leadership was to carry out an unrestricted attack against the international Trotskyist movement.

Comrades,

You will probably understand the opportunist sectarian policies of this leadership caused confusion and total despair among the comrades from the international proletarian revolution, and from the reconstruction of the 4th International - the international party of the proletariat.

The irresponsible methods of Avanguard's leadership, and its bureaucratic manoeuvres which are alien to the Bolshevik conception of democratic centralism, can be understood only on the basis of the Zionist state, twinned with the sectarian attitude to the Palestinian movement, together with the total despair from the 4th International. We ought to emphasize that Trotskyism has been waging heroic battles against petty bureaucratic methods, for decades:

I. The brutal offences against the basis of democracy which was made during the discussion and before it, found its theoretical justification in their evaluation of the place of the petty bourgeois intellectuals occupy in a revolutionary organization, and their contempt towards the proletariat.

"The socialist ideas and theory are brought to the working class from the outside, hence the special importance which Lenin attributed to the intellectuals in the revolutionary organization, both as the providers and developers of the revolutionary theory, and the layer of leadership... contempt to theory from the working class constitutes an important element in their falling behind the bourgeoisie". (M. Kakmi; Some Aspects of Lenin's 'What's To Be Done').

Loyal to its intellectual's theory, Avanguard takes the right to systematically deceive the working class, as well as the group's members and sympathisers and the readers of its papers by converting, 'improving' and hiding the groups' conventions' resolutions. The most outrageous example is found in its position to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. In its position "The partition of 47-8... and as such did not create a separate Palestinian People" and as the logical extension of this position, Avanguard's leadership not only denied the right of existence of separate national Palestinian organizations, but even their right to self-determination. But in spite of this resolution, in their publications they declare the existence of a Palestinian People and its right to self-determination.

Beyond the fact that the meaning of this resolution is - capitulation to the Zionist state, we find here a systematic abuse of the principles of democratic centralism. It is unheard of in the history of the Trotskyist Movement, that the political bureau and the central

committee conduct a policy which contradicts it's own conventions' resolutions, and in nothing less than the most principled questions.

2. With the opening of the discussion, the opposition members met an unrestrained attack from the side of the secretariat whose sole aim was to isolate and discredit comrade Yigal in the organization. This attack followed Yigal's voyage to Paris, which was approved by the secretariat. The aim of the voyage was to clarify the principle disputed topics which arose in the secretariat following the failure of Yoha's voyage to Paris. The majority in the secretariat - Karmi and Zvizi claimed that that the failure resulted from "unprincipled manoeuvres from the part of the O.C.I. leadership, which followed the evaluation of the ousting of Avanguard from the ranks of the O.C. as another "unprincipled manoeuvre".

returning from France, Comrade Yigal was accused to be a liar, manoeuvrist, agent of the O.C.I., and was faced with an ultimatum, accompanied by a threat: "Decide! either Lambert is a liar or Yoha is, or else the appropriate measures will be taken".

3. In order to deafen the comrades to our positions, and in order to erect a wall between our positions and theirs, it was established by the secretariat before the preconvention that a class wall separate between the majority and the minority, whose stands constitute a pass over to the petty bourgeoisie. Further more they claimed that this is an expression of the opposition's capitulation to the Arab chauvinism, to the O.C.I. which is "already fed up with being Trotskyist".

Immediately thereafter the minority was forbidden to educate the comrades on their positions. They justified this brutal offence by claiming that "the disputed questions can't enter the frame of educating new members". Since the secretariat announced that all the questions are under discussion beginning with the attitude towards the building of the party, the permanent revolution, the independence of the working class, the international, and dialectics, the only meaning of this prohibition was - blocking the minority from educating new members and sympathizers.

4. The declaration of the preconvention can be understood only in the general atmosphere of slanders and threats, which were aimed at the complete discrediting of our members and at the destruction of our political image. This declaration expressed the unconsolidated state of our positions, as well as our doubts concerning the principled character of the rejection of Avanguard from the O.C.. These doubts are explained by the international isolation of the opposition members, the systematic education to non confidence in the leadership of the O.C.I. by distorting positions and concealing documents. Analysis of the lessons of the preconvention clarified to the opposition members that the secretariat systematically blocked all possibilities of holding mutual political discussion, consequently, the only way which was left to the opposition in order to defend it's positions was organizing a faction, fighting to win the leadership. It is our duty to mention the important contribution that the O.C.I. representative made to clarify our above mentioned

doubts. The continuing use of our declaration by the secretariat points once again to the petty bourgeois character of Avanguard's leadership.

We must stress that the faction bears no responsibility to the pre-convention declaration, since it was given by the then unorganized opposition members. Moreover, the opposition itself withdrew from it a week after it was given, as a result of re-examination of the O.C.I.'s stands which were accompanied by intensive political discussions.

5. The summer camp affair which is used by the leadership as the strong card against the faction another step in blocking all discussion, and enforcing silence on opposition members.. Whereas all the lectures and discussions were directed against the opposition we were forbidden to express our positions, even in private conversation with members of the group. Moreover, the O.C.I. was forbidden to present the O.C.I.'s position in front of members and sympathisers. Later in a branch meeting he was called a "stranger".

6. From the moment of the founding of the faction, the secretariat escalated its attacks in order to choke any political discussion. The secretariat did not hesitate to apply the most unworthy methods.

a. Prohibition of closed faction meetings.

b. Shutting the mouths of faction members in cell meetings, and forbidding us the right of voting in the cells.

c. Removal of faction members from all leadership posts.

d. Defining the faction as non Trotskyist tendency, enemy to Avanguard, which aim is "the destruction of the organization".

e. The faction reacted to this statement by declaring that it is impossible to continue any orderly discussion from the moment that the faction is defined as the organization's enemy, and posed the principled demand to the secretariat to withdraw from the definition of the faction as enemies of the organization, as the condition to the formation of a proletarian frame of discussion.

f. The secretariat, ignoring the principled demand of the faction responded by prohibiting faction members to sell the newspaper, or to participate in the group's activities, including cell meetings, refused to accept to the group a Palestinian sympathiser who defended the O.C.I.'s positions, and consequently was defined as an Arab chauvinist. Moreover, the secretariat confiscated private property of faction members, and finally ousted us on 3.12. as mentioned above.g.

g. Until this day, after more than seven months after the discussion has opened, the secretariat hasn't published even one document, not mentioning a program, and has turned the internal bulletin to a stage from which they throw slanders and curses at the O.C. and the faction. The secretariat's inability to issue any political document is explained by the unprincipled block which they formed, which covers the differences between the clique members whose aim is to attain organizational control.

Comrades,

We must address in front of the world Trotskyist movement, just as we do in front of the group members that in spite of the removal from the group, and in spite of our definition by the group as it's 'enemies' who have to be destroyed, and in spite of the anti-democratic methods which the secretariat imposed, we don't recognize our ousting, we don't recognize a split.

Avanguard's leadership leaves us today no other alternative than opening the discussion to the Avanguard of the proletariat, to the students and youth who are searching for a road.

We don't consider the political battle in Avanguard as terminated, neither can we establish that the group as a whole has turned to be an enemy to Trotsky, an enemy to be destroyed, on the way to the construction of the Palestinian section of the 4th International.

It is true that the opportunist, sectarian, Zionist trends in the organization are growing stronger, as the following examples will demonstrate:

a. The call to the unification of Syria and Lebanon, using the

slogan "a Syrian Lebanese constituent assembly", a slogan which enters the frame of the Syrian occupation.

b. The burial of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ revolution in Lebanon in view of the difficult defeats in Tel Al Zatar and in the Lebanese Mountains where as the imperialism and it's local agents, haven't succeeded until this day to enforce their reactionary solution by destroying the revolutionary forces.

c. Identifying the P.L.O.--the leadership as well as the rank and file-- with the representatives of the imperialist settlement. "All the settlement powers - Rabin, Assad, Hussein, the P.L.O.,-- prepare themselves to the next struggle on the settlement in the Middle East" (Worker's Voice, no. 34), a positions which supplies a cover to the Zionist state and thus feeds the illusions of the masses in the P.L.O. leadership and blocks the way of revolutionary elements to the 4th International.

d. Taking a stand against the local council's strike, following the Kenning document under the justification, which is true in itself, that the local councils organized this strike in order to prevent an independent mass struggle. This sectarian position places the majority on the same side with the Zionist army against the strike which spread to Gaza Strip and to the Western Bank, confronting workers and youth with the occupation forces.

e. The majority doesn't educate it's members, whose origin is the Zionist petty bourgeois immigrants, to unconditional defence on the P.L.O. and it's leadership against the attacks of imperialism. This found an extreme expression in an attack made by a member on the P.L.O. militants, calling them 'murderers'.

We do agree with your evaluation that the Avanguard leadership protects, in it's policies and positions, the Zionist state. However, we think that the most accurate definition of their political essence would be: a group which is in advanced stages of leaving Bolshevism.

The political essence of the group cannot be understood outside the deep crisis which the 4th International has been passing through. There is no doubt that in a frame of an International which functions on the basis of democratic centralism, which directs and guards the activities of the national sections, an International which constitutes a real alternative in the eyes of the International proletariat, it would have been possible to change the political course, or even to prevent the deterioration of the group.

In view of this principle definition, we regard the struggle for the changing of the group's course, and its returning to the International Trotskyist movement on the basis of the Transitional Program as an important part of the construction of the Palestinian section as a part of the 4th International.

The mutual declaration of the O.C. and the U.S. constitute a real step forward on the road to the reconstruction of the 4th International, and the reconstruction of democratic centralism, internationally.

The mutual declaration of the O.C. and the U.S. opens perspectives to the construction of the Palestinian section and to the returning of Avanguard to the International Trotskyist movement.

Your political and moral contribution was indispensable in the establishment of the program and in organizing the faction on the basis of its principles. Our ability to resist the pressure of the Zionist state and its representatives as well as against the intentions of Avanguard's leadership to eliminate the faction, and through it the program loyal to the principles of the 4th International in Palestine, is to a great extent conditioned by your support to our struggle to construct the Palestinian section of the 4th International and in our full participation in the international life of the Trotskyist movement.

Considering our acceptance of the principles of the O.C. both internationally and nationally, we ask the international conference to accept the faction as a member in the O.C., after having approved of the "programmatic theses of the Palestinian Communist Faction".

Bolshevik Greetings
The Palestinian Communist Faction

a copy: Avanguard's secretariat.

J January, 1977

This document is the summary of the discussions which were carried out between representatives of the Communist Palestinian Community Faction and representatives of the O.C.I.

1. The P.C.F. re establishes the principled mutual agreement between it and the O.C.I. concerning the position towards the Zionist state, and the Palestinian national liberation. This principled agreement was expressed in the O.C.I. approval of our programmatic theses, and the corrections which were suggested by the O.C.I. and which were discussed and approved mostly by the P.C.F.
2. The P.C.F. agrees basically on the analysis of the of the international and Middle East class struggle, as well as the analysis of the results of the civil war in Lebanon, the position towards the P.L.O. in general, and the nature of the crisis of the Zionist state as well as the natural bourgeoisie of the area.
3. We must emphasize that throughout the discussions, a number of basic theoretical questions remained open, such as: The origin and the development of nations in the Middle East, and especially the question of the Palestinian nation. No political progress has been made on the question of the Jewish proletariat in the Palestinian revolution, either.
4. We confirm again our basic estimation concerning the character of Avanguard group, as it appeared in the document from the I2.I2 76 which was addressed to the political bureau of the O.C.I. (end of page 6, beginning of page 7). In order to prevent any ambiguous interpretations to this estimation we determine that Avanguard is a Trotskyist organization whose leadership adopted to the Zionist state. Our organization was born from the O.C.I. where it was given its legitimation as a Trotskyist organization. Until today it has not gone through a qualitative change, which could justify its ousting from the international Trotskyist movement.
5. We confirm again that our struggle towards Avanguard is to bring it back to the international Trotskyist movement, unconditionally. In the frame of this struggle, we struggle to withdraw it from its adoption to the Zionist state and to return it to the principles of the Transitional Program.
6. The P.C.F. determines that its struggle in Avanguard is an inseparable part of the struggle to strengthen the 4th International, and to reconstruct its leadership on the basis of democratic centralism.

7. We regard the definition which was issued by the O.C.I. and the U.S. concerning the U.S. and the L.C.R. in the mutual declaration as a principled definition which opens a way to the unification of the 4th International. The declaration opens perspectives to the building of the 4th International Palestinian section and to the returning of Avanguard to the international Trotskyist movement.

8. The declaration puts in a new light the re-unification of 63, and the establishment of the U.S. and enables us to establish unequivocally the principled character of the 63 unification.

9. We regard the S.W.P. and the Trotskyist Leninist Faction as Trotskyist organisations which take the struggle for the full realization of the Transitional Program through the construction of the international centralized leadership, and which fights against the deep adaptation of the majority's leadership, adaptation which was fully expressed in the Portuguese revolution.

10. The P.C.F. sees ground for full cooperation with the O.C., and demands its complete support in our struggle in Avanguard, despite in spite of the differences which were revealed during our stay in Paris, cooperation on the basis of the basic agreement on questions which are raised in the class struggle as well as concerning the Zionist state and the Palestinian struggle for national liberation.

signed:
Y. Froymovitch
Y. Schwartz.

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x Gao, Dore, Peter L.
January 30th, 1977

NO TO AN UNPRINCIPLED SPLIT

To Vanguard's see retariat.

8 months have passed since the Palestinian Communist Faction has been unofficially ousted from the organization, ten months have passed since the discussion has opened, and no final decision has yet taken place.

It is not accidental that you are unable to announce officially of our ousting, just as it is not accidental that you can't give a political explanation to defining us as "the organization's enemies" and the "enemies of the working class". It is just as obvious to you as it is to us that justifying the situation by saying "we don't want to give the C.C.I. a weapon against us" as you said, is un-Bolshevik, un principled.

It is clear to you that you can't explain to the world Trotskyist movement our ousting from the organization (we form a third of the organization's membership) on the basis of slanders and gossip against the faction and especially against comrad Yigal Schwartz. It should be clear to you that no Trotskyist organization problems such as the Chess and card game. It is your duty to explain the programmatic basis of our ousting and this you are unable to do. Your inability to reach the principled logical conclusion of our definition as "enemies of the working class" only verifies our estimation of the organization:— a Trotskyist organization which was born while capitulating to the Zionist state. Your unprincipled manoeuvres towards the faction, which play directly to the hands of Zionism and imperialism, can only be explained in the contradiction which constitutes the basis of the existence of the organization.

We are not the sole possessors of this view. One of the founders of the organization, whom the secretary of the organization tried to use against us shares indirectly this view. (His letter following May day 76).

"No need to remind you that this isolation (international) was no less deep here. This is why it is unjust to say that the organization is contaminated with Zionism. There is no doubt that we stood, partially, on one plane with Zionism. Yes! But Zionism was not a banner we raised high. These were holes in our program."

Beyond the question of injustice, which can be discussed in the frame of the organization, the principled question which should be discussed consists exactly of these holes in the program which placed the organization partially on one plane with Zionism.

I Yehuda Coupperman.

It is no accident that in your 72 theses preparing the next convention, filling 8 folio pages, even the smallest attempt to fill these holes in the program isn't made - the capitulation to the consciousness of the Jewish proletariat, and through it to the Zionist state. Hiding the head in the sand cannot help. Filling the holes in the program means not only ~~meaning~~ confronting the principled ~~quest~~ ~~ions~~ positions raised by the faction, but the positions of the world Trotskyist, the principles of the 4th International.

It is a known fact that to Vanguard's positions on the state of Israel, the wars of the Middle East, as well as the position on the P.L.O., there is only one partner which considers itself Trotskyist and that is the hopelessly sectarian group - Spartacist, whose strategy for the building of the 4th International passes through the destruction of the Trotskyist leaderships, including those of the O.C.I. and the S.W.P.

The definition of the state of Israel as qualitatively different from all the other states in the area, as the sparehead of imperialism is not unique to the O.C., the O.C.I. and the Palestinian communist Faction. This position belongs to the whole world Trotskyist movement.

"The colonialist, capitalist, conquering state of Israel functions as the breachhead of imperialism in the Middle East, it's spare head against the Arab masses who struggle for their liberation from imperialism. The wars of 48, 56, and 67 completely confirm this ~~asse~~ assertion. They demonstrate that the struggle of national liberation of the Arab peoples in the whole of the Middle East must be directed against imperialism as well as against it's Israeli sparehead" (National convention of S.W.P. 1971).

"We support the Arab states in all the military confrontations between them and the state of Israel, notwithstanding the character of the regimes of the Arab states. (op. cit.)
And in the an article from the I.P. from Dec the 27th, 1976.

"Because of it's colonial - settler character, the Israeli state is abjectly dependent on the support of American imperialism. This ensures it's reliability as an agent regardless of what government is in control at any given ~~moment~~ time.

"The same guarantee does not hold in the case of the Arab states. The regimes in these countries are subject to mass anti imperialist pressure by their own people, and a government friendly to American interests one day, may turn into a hostile one the next...The American imperialism...will continue to favor Israel as a main instrument in the Middle East".

The positions of the P.C.F., the O.C., the O.C.I., and the S.W.P. concerning the P.L.O., the right of existence of separate national Palestinian organizations, and the Jewish proletariat, are the same.

Comrades,

Your inability to reach the logical conclusion of your position that we are "enemies of the working class" is nothing but an expression of your inability to face the principled positions of the world Tro

world Trotskyist movement. This inability forms the political basis to all the bureaucratic manoeuvres at which we pointed out in a previous document which was addressed to the political bureau of the C.C.I., and copies of which were directed to the secretariat and to the members of the organization. We do not intend to repeat them here.

Your refusal to open a serious discussion on the meaning of your "enemies of the working class" constitutes an inseparable part of your despair which found its expression in the theses preparing

the next convention:-

"The difficulties in our political work are that for the Jewish workers we appear as an alien element, whereas to the Arab masses we appear as "kind jews". Although this situation is largely not dependent on us, and results from the objective situation, from the tailing of the Jewish masses behind the Zionist bourgeoisie, as well

as from being until today basically a Jewish organization, which makes the real enlisting of Arab militants very difficult. We must make every effort to fight this situation. In order to overcome our isolation we must struggle on the political... and even on the personal level against all tendencies of closing in... a real struggle to plant real roots on the political, organizational as well as the personal realm in the Jewish society, and first of all among the wo

workers and the youth, is a condition for a serious work towards the Arab masses".

It is easy to blame the objective situation for the isolation of the organization; It is more difficult to face the principled question, the political assumptions of the organization, and the capitulation to the Zionist state.

We determine without any hesitation, that the cause for this melan

choly is not found in the objective situation, which of course, should not be ignored, but in the program. A correct fusion between a Marxist program which doesn't capitulate before the petty bourgeois leaderships of the Palestinian organizations, with a flexible tactics towards the national movement, the abandonment of sectarianism which is expressed in such theses as this:-

"The democratic struggle for the right of national Palestinian organization, be it what it be, cannot hide that the struggle for trade unions and a workers party ~~and a workers~~ stands opposed to national organizations".-whereby the democratic struggle is posed as

against the socialist struggle- all these open the door to breaking the isolation and to the construction of the Palestinian construction of the 4th International.

We determine again: Defining us as "enemies of the working class" while not daring to throw us officially from the organization, means the breaking of democratic centralism. Our struggle is to establish again democratic centralism, and to return the full rights to the faction members, to convene a democratic convention. The

condition to the re building of an organizational frame and to the preparation of a truly democratic convention, is your withdrawal from defining us as enemies of the organization and of the working class.

A first step towards a democratic convention should be an all-organizational discussion, in which the members will be given full opportunities to determine on a political, programmatic and principled basis, the faction's political character and its principled positions.

We don't demand, as a condition for discussion your withdrawal from your positions and from your capitulating to the reactionary consciousness of the Jewish proletariat. We determine, as our delegation determined in its discussions with the representatives of the O.C.I. in Paris, that Avanguard is still a Trotskyist organization, in spite of its "sliding off" from the Transitional Program and from the principles of the 4th International. The living events have not yet determined a qualitative change in the organization as well as its leadership, which are in advanced level stages of abandoning bolshevism.

In the document summing the factions' positions, which we addressed to the political bureau of the O.C.I. we established:

"4. We reconfirm our basic estimation as concerning the character of Avanguard group as it appeared in the document from the 12.12.76. which was addressed to the political bureau of the O.C.I.... In order to prevent any ambiguous interpretation to this estimation, we determine that Avanguard is a Trotskyist organization whose leadership adapted to the Zionist state. Our organization was born from the O.C. and with the help of the O.C.I., from whom it received its legitimation as a Trotskyist organization. Until today the organization has not gone through a qualitative change which could justify its ousting from the world Trotskyist movement.

"5. We emphasize again that our struggle in Avanguard is its return to the world Trotskyist movement unconditionally. In this frame can it withdraw from its adaptation to the Zionist state and be placed fully on the basis of the Transitional Program."

Although we do not pose any programmatic preconditions to the discussion, we establish again: There can be no organizational frame as long as we are defined as enemies of the organization. We demand again from Avanguard's secretariat, the majority's leadership, and from the members: - stop an unprincipled split! We demand that the full political principled explanation to our definition should be given! We demand that all organizational discussions will take place in 2-3 weeks time.

With Bolshevik Greetings
The Palestinian Communist Faction.