

X'S J.M.A, B.C, Joe, Doug, No

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 25, 1977.

Gus

TO

COMRADE DAVID FRANKEL

THE "MILITANT"

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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DEAR COMRADE FRANKEL,

WE ADDRESS YOU PERSONALLY, SINCE ONE OF US, THE UNDERSIGNED, HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOU IN JERUSALEM, DURING YOUR VISIT HERE LAST APRIL. THE SUBJECT OF OUR LETTER IS THE SITUATION THAT HAS RECENTLY DEVELOPED IN THE "AVANGARD" GROUP, TO WHICH WE HAD, UNTIL RECENTLY, BELONGED. WE ARE WRITING THIS LETTER TO YOU, AND THROUGH YOU TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, SINCE WE THINK THAT THE STRUGGLE OF TROTSKYIST MILITANTS, AND WHAT HAPPENS IN GENERAL WITH ORGANIZATIONS CLAIMING ADHERENCE TO TROTSKYISM, IS A MATTER OF INTEREST FOR THE WHOLE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT, AND PARTICULARLY THE S.W.P., WHICH IN OUR OPINION HAS SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE FUTURE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. WE THINK THAT EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND EXPERIENCE AMONG REVOLUTIONISTS THE WORLD OVER IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EXPRESSIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM, AND IS ENTIRELY WITHIN THE TRADITION AND HERITAGE OF OUR WORLD MOVEMENT.

THE FACT THAT WE FOUND OURSELVES OUTSIDE THE GROUP IS A RESULT OF AN INTERNAL STRUGGLE THAT HAD LASTED FOR OVER HALF A YEAR. THE STRUGGLE DEVELOPED AROUND WHAT HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF AS A PROCESS OF DEGENERATION - WE WOULD MORE PRECISELY CALL IT A PROCESS OF "HEALYZATION" - OF THE AVANGARD GROUP. XX THE STRUGGLE CULMINATED AT THE END OF APRIL, AND THE BEGINNING OF MAY, WITH ONE OF US - DAN - COMPELLED TO RESIGN FROM THE GROUP, AND THE OTHER EXPELLED. SINCE THEN THE CRISIS OF THE GROUP HAS NOT BEEN SOLVED, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, CONSIDERABLY DEEPENED. WITHIN LESS THAN THREE MONTHS NEARLY HALF THE MEMBERS, INCLUDING THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING-CLASS CADRES, FOUND THEMSELVES OUTSIDE THE GROUP. AMONG THE DROPOUTS THERE IS ALSO YOHA, ONE OF THE THREE MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT, WHO EITHER QUIT OR WAS EXPELLED - THERE ARE CONFLICTING REPORTS THEREOF - BECAUSE OF PROFOUND "SCEPTICISM" TOWARD MARXISM AND THE PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN GENERAL. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT YOHA WAS ONE OF THE CHIEF SPONSORS OF THE SECTARIAN AND BUREAUCRATIC LINE PURSUED BY THE LEADERSHIP, WHICH HAS BROUGHT THE GROUP TO THE VERGE OF RUIN. THE MEMBERS, STILL ADHERING TO "AVANGARD", INCLUDE THE RULING "LEADERS" AND THEIR YESMEN, AND SOME YOUNG, PERPLEXED COMRADES, WHO ARE OBSERVING WITH FEAR AND DESPAIR THE DISASTROUS DEVELOPMENTS, AND ARE UNABLE EITHER TO CHALLENGE THE "LEADERS" LINE, OR TO SUGGEST ANY ALTERNATIVE, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ORGANIZATIONALLY.

THESE DEVELOPMENTS ARE IN LINE WITH THE PROCESS THAT BEGAN WITH THE EXPULSION, ABOUT 8 MONTHS AGO, OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST FACTION, HEADED BY YGAL SCHWARTZ. ONE OF THE RESULTS OF ALL THIS IS THE FACT THAT SINCE THE LAST CONVENTION, OVER TWO YEARS AGO, THE "AVANGARD" GROUP HAS LOST THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF ITS MEMBERS. EXCEPT FOR THE COMRADES OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST GROUP (P.C.G.) AND US TWO, ALL THE OTHER COMRADES WHO QUIT THE GROUP HAVE RESIGNED FROM REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS ALTOGETHER, MOST OF THEM GIVING UP ANY PERSPECTIVE AND HOPE FOR REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. THIS PROCESS IS FAR FROM BEING OVER. IF THINGS CONTINUE LIKE THIS - WHICH, REGRETFULLY, SEEMS NOW THE MOST LIKELY POSSIBILITY - THE RESULT WILL BE THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF THE GROUP, AND, WHAT IS MORE DISASTROUS, THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LAST FEW HONEST AND DEVOTED COMRADES STILL ADHERING TO IT.

WE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION OF "AVANGARD" IS A RESULT OF A SERIES OF CAUSES, THE MAIN OF WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO SUMMARIZE BRIEFLY:

(1) A SECTARIAN, HOSTILE AND PARASITIC STANCE TOWARD THE ENTIRE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT. THE AVANGARD GROUP WAS, SINCE ITS FOUNDING IN 1970, IN POLITICAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE "INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE", IN WHICH GERRY HEALY WAS THE DOMINANT FIGURE. FROM GERRY HEALY IT HAS INHERITED THE HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT AND TOWARDS THE EFFORTS BEING MADE INTERNATIONALLY TO UNITE AND STRENGTHEN IT. IN THE 1972 SPLIT IN THE "COMMITTEE" AVANGARD SIDED "ORGANIZATIONALLY" WITH THE O.C.I., BUT "POLITICALLY" SUPPORTED THE S.L.L. AS A RESULT OF THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE "INT. COMMITTEE" AND THE PARALYSIS OF THE "ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL", OF WHICH IT BECAME A MEMBER, AVANGARD WAS PUSHED, MORE AND MORE, TOWARD ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD MOVEMENT. ONE OF THE MOST NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THIS PROCESS HAS BEEN ITS GROWING SUSCEPTIBILITY TO PRESSURES IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE. THIS HAS BECOME ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS AFTER A BREAK OCCURED BETWEEN X "AVANGARD" AND THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE IN ~~1973~~ 1975. DIVORCED FROM ANY PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT, AVANGARD HAS LAUNCHED A COURSE BASED MORE AND MORE ON IMPRESSIONIST AND PRAGMATIST CONSIDERATIONS, RATHER THAN ON A SCIENTIFIC AND REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION.

ALONG WITH THIS, AVANGARD HAS 'DEVELOPED' ITS SECTARIAN STANCE TOWARDS THE WORLD MOVEMENT. IT DEFINES THE EFFORTS CURRENTLY BEING MADE TO UNIFY THE MOVEMENT AS A "SELLING OUT" OF THE PRINCIPLES OF TROTSKYISM; IT DENOUNCES THE O.O.S. FOR APPROACHING THE UNITED SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AS A "CAPITULATION TO PABLO-ISM"; IT REFUSES TO DEFINE EVEN THE S.W.P. AS A TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION. FOR EXAMPLE, AN ARTICLE ON THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, WRITTEN BY ONE OF THE UNDERSIGNED FOR THE GROUP'S ORGAN, "KOL NAPOEL" ("WORKER'S VOICE"), WAS CENSORED, SO THAT ANY CHARACTERIZATION OF THE S.W.P. AS A TROTSKYIST PARTY WAS DROPPED. THE SAME LINE WAS ADOPTED

BY THE LATEST "GENERAL MEETING" OF THE GROUP, LAST MONTH.

THE LEADERSHIP OF AVANGARD FAILS TO SEE ANYTHING POSITIVE IN THE WORLD MOVEMENT. IF THE AVANGARD "LEADERS" WERE TO BE BELIEVED, THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE IS "FINISHED", THE UNITED SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IS A "LIQUIDATIONIST" FRAMEWORK, AND THE ~~EFF~~<sup>EF</sup>ORTS TO UNITE AND STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL ARE "INTERNATIONAL MANOEUVRES" BY THE O.C.I., THE L.T.F. AND THE I.M.T.. THE CONCLUSION OF THE LEADERSHIP'S POSITION IS THAT AVANGARD IS THE ONLY TRULY TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION THE WORLD OVER, AND THAT ~~THE~~ THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE IS "BLEAK". THE RANK AND FILE IN THE GROUP, WHICH TODAY HARDLY COUNTS - ALTOGETHER - ONE AND A HALF DOZEN MEMBERS, ARE EDUCATED IN THE SPIRIT OF "TROTSKYISM IN ONE COUNTRY", ARE IGNORANT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL AND ARE "SCEPTIC" TOWARDS THE POSSIBILITY TO BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. NO ~~WONDER~~ WONDER, THEREFORE, THAT ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS PUSHING GOOD AND DEVOTED COMRADES OUT OF THE FROUP IS THE "LACK OF INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE."

(2) AN OVERALL WRONG POLITICAL ANALYSIS WHICH LED TO <sup>BOTH</sup>/AN ULTRA-LEFT, SECTARIAN, AND AN OPPORTUNISTIC LINE IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE. THE LAST CONVENTION, HELD IN JULY, 1975, ADOPTED A COMPLETELY INADEQUATE ANALYSIS OF THE UNFOLDING SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE, AND AN ADVENTUROUS LINE RESULTING FROM IT. THE LINE, ADOPTED BY THAT CONVENTION, SPOKE OF THE "FINAL" CRISIS OF ZIONISM, NOT AS A PROLONGED PROCESS, BUT AS AN IMMEDIATE REALITY. THE COLLAPSE OF THE ZIONIST STATE WAS DESCRIBED AS LYING AROUND THE CORNER. ORAL "INTERPRETATION", GIVEN BY THE "LEADERS" - AND UNDER THEIR INFLUENCE THIS WAS ADOPTED BY THE WHOLE GROUP, WHICH THEN COUNTED NEARLY THIRTY MEMBERS - SPOKE OF A TIME-TABLE OF 2-3 YEARS, WITHIN WHICH SOMETHING APOCALYPTICAL MUST HAPPEN. AT THE BEGINNING OF 1976 A "PRE-REVOLUTIONARY" SITUATION WAS PROCLAIMED FOR PALESTINE, WHICH HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY "THESES", ISSUED BY THE "CENTRAL COMMITTEE", TALKING OF "PRE SOVIET" FORMATIONS AS A VERY IMMINENT PHENOMENON. THE WHOLE GROUP WAS THEN REORGANIZED IN A HIGHLY ADVENTUROUS FORM, FOR A TERRIFIC EFFORT TO FACE THE NEW SITUATION, ALLEGEDLY DEVELOPING IN REALITY.

THE ~~EFFECT~~ EFFECT OF ALL THIS UPON THE MEMBERSHIP WAS DISASTROUS. THE COMRADES WERE PUT INTO A WAR OF ATTRITION AGAINST REALITY ITSELF. UNBEARABLE TENSIONS SOON AROSE, AND THE COLLAPSE WAS INEVITABLE.

AROUND THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE DAY OF LAND AND ITS AFTERMATH, AND THE GROWING INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE GROUP <sup>FROM</sup>/THE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT, THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST FACTION WAS FORMED. WE WILL NOT MAKE HERE A POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND BALANCE <sup>SHEET</sup> OF THAT FACTION, AS THIS REQUIRES A SEPARATE - ALTHOUGH NECESSARY - REFERENCE; WE WILL DWELL HERE ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SPLIT UPON THE AVANGARD GROUP.

FOLLOWING THE SPLIT, WHICH WAS A MATTER OF FACT MONTHS BEFORE THE FORMAL EXPULSION

OF THE FACTION IN JANUARY, 1977, THE AVANGARD LEADERSHIP MADE A 180 DEGREES TURN ABOUT IN ITS POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND APPROACH. NOW, ALONG WITH THE DEFEAT IN LEBANON, THE WHOLE WORLD WAS DEPICTED IN DARK COLORS. THE DEFEAT IN LEBANON WAS COMPARED TO GERMANY, 1933. THE SETBACK IN PORTUGAL WAS PROCLAIMED - FOLLOWING VARIOUS EUROPEAN ULTRA-LEFT SECTS - A DEFEAT ON AN ALL-EUROPEAN AND EVEN WORLD SCALE. EVERYTHING WAS TURNED UPSIDE DOWN. WHILE THE THESES FORX THE 1975 CONVENTION SPOKE OF THE EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIES' "INABILITY" TO CONTAIN THE WORKERS' UPSURGE, NOW WORLD-WIDE "STABILIZATION" AND RETREAT WERE ENVISAGED. FOR THAT PURPOSE FACTS WERE CHOSEN SELECTIVELY - EVERYTHING NOT FALLING WITHIN THE BLACK FRAME/<sup>WAS</sup>LEFT OUT. THE "LEADERS" MADE A CARI-CATURE OF EVERYTHING - BOTH SIDES. FOLLOWING THE REFERENDUM IN SPAIN, AT THE END OF LAST YEAR, THE AVANGARD LEADERSHIP SAW THERE AN ALLEGED "STABILIZATION" AND "STRENGTHENING" OF THE BOURGEOISIE, ENTIRELY OVERLOOKING BOTH THE MASS UPSURGE OF JANUARY, 1977, AND THE ONGOING RADICALIZATION OF THE WORKING-CLASS AND THE YOUTH. A SPECIALLY GROSS ERROR WAS MADE BY IT CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN EGYPT. SADAT'S REGIME WAS, ACCORDING TO THEM, STRENGTHENING AND STABILIZING ITSELF, WHILE THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION UNFOLDED IN AN OPPOSITE DIRECTION. BITTER DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD IN THE HAIFA BRANCH BETWEEN US AND TWO OTHER COMRADES AGAINST THE "LEADERS'" LINE, WHO PERSISTED IN THEIR WRONG CONCEPTION OF "STABILIZATION" EVEN AFTER THE CRISIS OF SADAT'S REGIME HAD COME <sup>up</sup> TO THE SURFACE.

AT THE SAME TIME THE GROUP LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN FOR A WORKERS PARTY. THIS CAMPAIGN WAS WAGED IN BOTH AN EXTREMELY SECTARIAN AND OPPORTUNISTIC WAY. NO WONDER THAT IT COLLAPSED DISGRACEFULLY, AFTER ONLY THREE MONTHS. FOR EXAMPLE: THE ARABIC VERSION OF THE PROGRAM, SUGGESTED FOR THE PROJECTED WORKERS PARTY, WAS DIFFERENT FROM THE HEBREW VERSION, IN THE <sup>KEY</sup>CHAPTER DEALING WITH THE DEMOCRATIC TASKS IN PALESTINE. THE ARABIC VERSION SPOKE OF THE "PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION", WHILE THE HEBREW ONE SPOKE SIMPLY OF THE "REALIZATION OF ALL THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS", NOT MENTIONING THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE BY NAME. THIS WAS IN LINE WITH THE GROUP'S HABIT OF DOUBLE BOOK-KEEPING AND LENIENCY AT CHAUVINISTIC PRESSURES AND PREJUDICES AMONG THE JEWISH MASSES, TRYING TO AVOID ANY CONFRONTATION WITH THEM ON THESE SUBJECTS. THIS WAS NOT AN ACCIDENTAL 'MISTAKE' OF AN AGITATIONAL CHARACTER, BUT A PROGRAMMATIC POSITION DELIVERED TO WORKERS, ARABS AND JEWS, INCLUDED IN A PROGRAM FOR A WORKERS PARTY. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THAT NATURE WAS THE COVERAGE GIVEN IN THE GROUP'S ORGAN, "KOL HAPOEL", OF THE LEBANESE DEVELOPMENTS. THE PAPER CONCENTRATED ITS FIRE ON SYRIA, THE P.L.O. AND JUMBLATT'S LEADERSHIP, MINIMIZING THE ROLE OF ISRAELI INTERVENTION<sup>N</sup> TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT IN A FULL-PAGE ARTICLE ON THE RIAD-CAIRO ACCORDS DIDN'T MENTION IT EVEN BY ONE WORD! THUS, AN ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY ONE OF THE UNDERSIGNED, FOR THE JANUARY, 1977, ISSUE, APPEALING TO THE JEWISH MASSES AND CALLING THEM TO OPPOSE THE ZIONIST INTERVENTION IN LEBANON, WAS DISQUALIFIED BY THE LEADERSHIP, WHICH CONTINUED TO

CONCENTRATE ITS CRITICISM ON VARIOUS LEADERSHIPS IN THE "PROGRESSIVE FRONT".

ANOTHER EXAMPLE WAS THE ULTIMATISTIC APPROACH TO THE WHOLE SUBJECT. A LEAFLET WAS DISTRIBUTED, CALLING UPON THE WORKERS TO FORM A WORKERS PARTY "IMMEDIATELY"; A HEADLINE OF "KOL HAPOEL" SCREAMED IN THE SAME TONE, ETC. THE MEMBERSHIP AND SYMPATHISERS WERE - AGAIN - PUT IN A MOOD OF UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS, AND THE GREATER THE EXPECTATIONS, THE GREATER THE FRUSTRATION. ANOTHER ASPECT WAS THE SECTARIAN AND BUREAUCRATIC WAY THE CAMPAIGN WAS WAGED. THE LEADERSHIP OPPOSED ANY SUGGESTION TO ACTIVATE THE NUMEROUS SYMPATHISERS - TENS IN THE HAIFA BRANCH ALONE - WHO CONCENTRATED AROUND US, WITH IT'S FAVORITE PRETEXT: "SECURITY". IN FACT, IT DIDN'T WANT ANYTHING TO ESCAPE ITS STIFLING "CONTROL". FUNDS WERE RAISED AT THE MEETINGS, WITH PROMISES MADE TO THE <sup>CONTRIBUTING</sup> WORKING PEOPLE PRESENT, THAT "ALL ACCOUNTS WILL BE OPEN TO EVERY WORKER" - A PROMISE THEY DIDN'T EVEN DREAM TO FULFIL, EVEN TO THE COMRADES OF THE GROUP, ETC.ETC.. THE SECTARIAN AND ULTRA-LEFTIST APPROACH WAS MANIFESTED VERY RECENTLY ONCE AGAIN, WITH THE GROUP'S CALL TO "BOYCOTT" THE ELECTIONS TO THE HISTADRUT, THE ALLEGED ~~MMX~~ UNION FEDERATION, IN WHICH HUNDREDS OF THOUSAND WORKERS TOOK PART, AND WHICH WAS AT THE FOCUS OF POLITICAL LIFE HERE FOR WHOLE WEEKS.

THE INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF THIS WHOLE COURSE WAS A COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE CAMPAIGN AND A TREMENDOUS INTERNAL CRISIS.

(3) INTERNAL BUREAUCRATIZATION - "HEALYZATION" - OF AVANGARD, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REIGN OF TERROR INSIDE THE GROUP. THE LAST CONVENTION, IN JULY, 1975, WHICH ADOPTED THE ULTRA-LEFT, ADVENTUROUS LINE, ALSO DECIDED UPON A "RE-ORGANIZATION" OF THE GROUP. FIRST OF ALL, IT SET UP IMPERMEABLE WALLS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS BODIES OF THE GROUP, LEAVING OPEN ONLY VERTICAL CHANNELS IN ONE DIRECTION: FROM THE TOP DOWN. THE MEMBERS OF ONE CELL WERE, FOR REASONS OF A FAKE "SECRECY", FORBIDDEN TO TALK OF THEIR ACTIVITY WITH MEMBERS OF OTHER CELLS, EVEN IN THE SAME BRANCH, AND A FORTIORI WITH MEMBERS OF OTHER BRANCHES. SECONDLY, SPECIAL POWERS WERE GIVEN TO THE SECRETARIAT. THE STATUTES, WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE RIGHT OF LOCALS AND CELLS TO ELECT THEIR OWN LEADERSHIPS, WERE CHANGED SO AS TO TRANSFER THIS RIGHT TO THE SECRETARIAT, WHICH WAS ENTRUSTED WITH THE RIGHT TO NOMINATE BRANCH AND CELL ORGANIZERS AND OTHER FUNCTION ~~HOLDERS~~ HOLDERS, AND LOCAL LEADERSHIPS IN GENERAL. THE SECRETARIAT WAS NUMERICALLY REDUCED FROM 5 TO 3, FORMALLY RESPONSIBLE TO A "CENTRAL COMMITTEE" OF 7 MEMBERS, WHICH HAS HELD, SINCE THEN, ONLY TWO (!) SESSIONS, THE LAST OF WHICH HELD IN MAY 1976, WHERE THE CRISIS, LEADING UP TO THE SPLIT, WAS REVEALED. SINCE THE CRISIS AROUND THE ~~MMX~~ P.O.F., THE TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE O.C. (TWO WERE EXPELLED AS FACTION LEADERS, AND THE REST ARE THE SECRETARIAT ITSELF) HAVE BEEN "CO-OPTED" TO THE SECRETARIAT, WHICH HAS, IN FACT, MANAGED TO CANCEL THE ~~MMX~~ O.O., AS AN INDEPENDENT BODY, TO WHICH IT WAS FORMALLY SUBORDINATED. IN REALITY, THE SECRETARIAT <sup>ELEVATED</sup> ROSE ITSELF ABOVE THE ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE, AND INTRODUCED A TYRANNICAL, USURPING, RULE OF ITS OWN.

ACCORDING TO THE STATUTES, A CONVENTION MUST BE CALLED AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR. CONTRARY TO THIS UNEQUIVOCAL PROVISION OF THE STATUTES, THE LEADERSHIP HASN'T CALLED AN AUTHORITATIVE CONVENTION FOR OVER TWO YEARS. LAST MONTH A "GENERAL MEETING" OF THE REMAINDER MEMBERSHIP WAS CALLED - A BODY UNRECOGNIZED BY THE STATUTES - WHERE THE "LEADERS" GOT A QUESTIONABLE "MANDATE" FROM THE FRIGHTENED MEMBERSHIP. IT IS SUPERFLUOUS TO NOTE THAT NO BALANCE SHEET WAS MADE, THE "REPORTS" BEING PERMEATED WITH SELF-DECEPTION THROUGH AND THROUGH. THE INFALLIBLE "LEADERS" OF AVANGARD, LIKE IN EVERY TOTALITARIAN SECT, WERE NOT MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BANKRUPTCY OF THEIR LINE AND FOR THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE GROUP AS A WHOLE; FOR THAT, EVERY CRETIN FINDS HIS SAFE SHELTER: THE "OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS", <sup>OR OTHER SCAPEGOATS</sup> THE 'MEETING' WAS HELD, OF COURSE, IN "SECRECY" FROM ALL OTHER TROTSKYISTS IN PALESTINE, EVEN FROM THE GROUP'S SYMPATHISERS. NEEDLESS TO SAY, NO POLITICAL REPORT, DOCUMENT OR RESOLUTION HAS BEEN PUBLISHED, AS NOTHING WAS PUBLISHED ALSO TWO YEARS AGO, AFTER THE 1975 CONVENTION.

SINCE MAY 1976, NO REPORT, CONCERNING POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE SECRETARIAT, HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERSHIP, WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED THE INALIENABLE RIGHT TO KNOW HAVE A FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE DISCUSSIONS AMONG THEIR "LEADERS" (3 SECRETARIAT MEMBERS, AND 2 "OO-OPTED"). THE SECRETARIAT ESTABLISHED A REGIME OF "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM" WITHIN ITSELF, DIRECTED AGAINST THE MEMBERSHIP. WHILE THEY WERE TORN UP BY DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING ALMOST EVERYTHING, THEY PRESENTED, IN FACE OF THE RANK AND FILE, A FAKE FAÇADE OF "UNITY", AND COVERED FOR EACH OTHER. THE RANKS WERE ONLY ENTITLED TO ACCEPT THE "LINE" COMING DOWN FROM THE TROIKA - A LINE WHICH OFTEN CHANGED FROM WEEK TO WEEK.

THE LEADERSHIP ALSO VIOLATED OTHER RESOLUTIONS OF THE 1975 CONVENTION, E.G. THE RESOLUTION TO SUBMIT A DRAFT PROGRAM WITHIN 6 MONTHS - CLEARLY TO AVOID A THOROUGH DISCUSSION WHICH COULD HAVE TORN THE TROIKA APART, AS ULTIMATELY HAPPENED.

THE PRESENT CRISIS, WHICH IS THE GRAVEST OF ALL, BEGAN TOWARDS THE END OF 1976, IN THE HAIFA BRANCH OF THE GROUP. IT BEGAN AROUND THE STRUGGLE OF TWO COMRADES, YOSSE BEN-AKIYA AND RÉMY MANDELZWEIG, AGAINST THE POLITICAL LINE AND ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES OF THE BRANCH LEADERSHIP, HEADED BY YOHA, WHO WAS TOTALLY SUPPORTED BY HIS PARTNERS IN THE SECRETARIAT. THESE TWO COMRADES STRUGGLED AGAINST THE LEADERSHIP'S EFFORTS TO STIFFLE ANY INITIATIVE BY THE RANK AND FILE TO PROMOTE THE GROUP'S ACTIVITY AMONG THE MASSES. WHILE THE LOCAL LEADERS PURSUED A PARASITIC, DECLASSIFIED WAY OF LIFE, WHICH WAS, BY THE WAY, CHARACTERISTIC OF THE WHOLE AVANGARD LEADERSHIP, THESE TWO COMRADES WERE AT THE CENTER OF THE EFFORTS OF THE BRANCH TO STRIKE ROOTS IN THE WORKING MASSES - IN THE PLANTS, IN THE POVERTY-STRIKEN NEIGHBORHOODS AND IN THE ARAB VILLAGES IN THE NORTH OF THE COUNTRY. A FOCUS OF FOUR COMRADES - INCLUDING THE TWO UNDERSIGNED, AND RÉMY AND MARION MANDELZWEIG, FOUGHT AGAINST THE SECTARIAN, BUREAUCRATIC, HYSTERICAL AND ~~XXXXXXXX~~ PARANOIC POLICIES AND PRACTICES PURSUED BY THE LOCAL "LEADERS", BACKED BY THE SECRETARIAT THE LEADERSHIP FOUGHT AGAINST US UNSCRUPULOUSLY. OUR INITIATIVES AMONG THE MASSES, WHICH

RESULTED IN UNPRECEDENTED SUCCESSES FOR THE BRANCH AND THE GROUP AS A WHOLE, WERE STIFFLED AND BROKEN UP. RÉMY - AND TO A LESSER DEGREE YOSSEI - WERE RECURRENTLY SUMMONED TO THE SECRETARIAT FOR "INVESTIGATION", WHICH DIFFERED VERY LITTLE FROM HEALY'S NOTORIOUS "INVESTIGATION" OF COMRADES, EXCEPT FOR VIOLENCE. A SHAMELESS SMEAR CAMPAIGN WAS WAGED AGAINST RÉMY AND ESPECIALLY YOSSEI, WHO WERE DENOUNCED AS "SABOTEURS". HEAVY PRESSURES WERE EXERTED UPON DAN - A MEMBER OF A WORKERS' COMMITTEE IN A STEEL PLANT OF OVER 3000 WORKERS - WHO WAS FINALLY COMPELLED TO QUIT THE GROUP AT THE END OF APRIL. IN APRIL YOSSEI WAS ORDERED TO STOP HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FOR A MONTH. HE WAS ALSO ORDERED NOT TO TALK TO OTHER COMRADES ABOUT THE CRISIS IN THE BRANCH AND THE GROUP AS A WHOLE. IN MAY HE WAS DEPORTED FROM HAIFA TO JERUSALEM AND, UPON ARRIVAL, AFTER HAVING GOT A JOB IN A STEEL SHOP, <sup>HE WAS</sup> EXPELLED FROM THE GROUP. HE WAS CHARGED WITH "UNDERMINING THE CONFIDENCE" IN THE TROIKA AND WITH "RESPONSIBILITY" FOR DAN'S RESIGNATION.

YOSSEI WAS PROCLAIMED "ENEMY OF THE ORGANIZATION", AN OUTCAST, AND THE MEMBERS WERE FORBIDDEN, WITH A THREAT OF EXPULSION, TO TALK WITH HIM. THERE ~~WERE~~ HAVE ALSO BEEN REMARKS, SPONSORED BY "LEADERS", THAT SOME "MENTAL" PROBLEMS ARE INVOLVED WITH HIM. THE LATEST SLANDER AGAINST DAN, BY THESE HIGH PRIESTS OF SECTARIANISM, IS THAT "HE HAS NEVER BEEN A "TRUE" TROTSKYIST", AND THAT HE SEEKS UNITY WITH THE... STALINISTS.

HOWEVER, THE CRISIS OF THE GROUP ONLY DEEPENED. FOLLOWING THE FORMAL CALLING OFF OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR A WORKERS PARTY, COMRADES ~~WERE~~ STARTED TO BREAK UP AND QUIT ONE AFTER THE OTHER, INCLUDING THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING-CLASS MILITANTS, SOME OF WHOM HAD SACRIFICED A LOT (STUDIES, FAMILY RELATIONS, MONEY, ETC), IN ORDER TO GET INTO THE PLANTS AND STRIKE ROOTS IN THE WORKING-CLASS. WITHIN LESS THAN THREE MONTHS AVANGARD LOST NEARLY HALF OF ITS MEMBERS, AMONG THEM MOST OF ITS FRONT LINE IN THE MASS MOVEMENT, DEVOTED AND EXPERIENCED COMRADES. THE FEW HONEST COMRADES WHO REMAINED IN THE ~~THE~~ GROUP ARE FRIGHTENED AND DON'T DARE OPEN THEIR MOUTHS, AND OPENLY FIGHT FOR THEIR VIEWS AND THEIR RIGHTS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE SECRET OF THE SECRETARIAT'S "SECRECY" HAS COME TO LIGHT - AT LEAST PART OF IT. YOHA, ONE OF THE RULING TROIKA, QUIT THE ~~THE~~ GROUP, REPORTEDLY BECAUSE OF "DISILLUSIONMENT" WITH MARXISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. HE NOW STATES THAT THE WORLD IS "BEAUTIFUL", SO YOU DON'T HAVE TO CHANGE IT. IT HAS BECOME EVIDENT THAT THE DISCUSSIONS WITH YOHA, ON THE A-B-C OF MARXISM, HAD ~~BEEN~~ BEEN HELD, FOR AT LEAST 6-8 MONTHS, BEHIND CLOSED DOORS, BEHIND THE BACKS OF THE WHOLE MEMBERSHIP. THIS - AND NOT "SECURITY" CONSIDERATIONS - STOOD BEHIND THE FACT THAT WE WERE DENIED ANY HONEST AND REAL REPORT CONCERNING THE SECRETARIAT'S DISCUSSIONS, OVER SO LONG A PERIOD!

WITH THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP - OR WHAT HAS REMAINED OF IT - AND ITS LINE, AVANGARD HAS LITTLE CHANCES TO SURVIVE OTHERWISE THAN A CLOSED-IN, BUREAURATISED AND PARANOID SECT, A MINIATURE CARICATURE OF HEALY'S W.R.P., AND DIVORCED FROM BOTH THE WORKING-CLASS AND THE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT. THE ONLY HOPE FOR ITS REMAINING MILITANTS IS TO

BREAK THE SECTARIAN WALLS SEPARATING THEM FROM THE WORLD MOVEMENT AND THE OTHER TROTSKYIST MILITANTS IN PALESTINE, OF MATZPEN MARXIST AND THE P.C.G., AS WELL AS MILITANTS TEMPORARILY UNORGANIZED.

WE HAVE RECENTLY INITIATED CONTACTS WITH THE OTHER TROTSKYIST GROUPS HERE. WE THINK THE BEST WAY TO PROMOTE THE BUILDING OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY HERE, IN PALESTINE, IS TO START A FREE AND FRIENDLY DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE THREE GROUPS, WHICH WILL OVERCOME THE SECTARIAN SPLITS AND METHODS OF THE PAST. WE THINK SUCH A DISCUSSION SHOULD BE BASED, FIRST OF ALL, ON A MUTUAL RECOGNITION AS REVOLUTIONISTS, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE UNITED SECRETARIAT OF THE F.I. AND THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. ANY OTHER APPROACH SHOULD BE DENOUNCED INTERNATIONALLY, AS A SECTARIAN OBSTACLE, HARMFUL TO THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING-CLASS. SUCH SECTARIANISM, AFTER THE HEALYITE MODEL, SHOULD BE FOUGHT <sup>R/</sup>ME/CILESSLY. THE DISCUSSION SHOULD BEGIN, IN OUR OPINION, BY DEFINING, FIRST OF ALL, WHAT UNITES US. AFTER DOING THIS, WE'LL BE ABLE TO DEFINE OUR DIFFERENCES ~~AND~~ AND DISCUSS THEM IN A PATIENT AND FRIENDLY WAY, IN A COMMON FRAMEWORK, WHERE EVERY COMRADE WILL BE ABLE TO EXPRESS HIMSELF FREELY. WE THINK THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT SHOULD HELP US PROMOTE SUCH A DISCUSSION, THE FINAL GOAL OF WHICH MUST BE THE UNIFICATION OF ALL THE TROTSKYIST FORCES IN PALESTINE, IN A SINGLE ORGANIZATION - THE PALESTINIAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

WE HOPE TO HEAR FROM YOU,

WITH TROTSKYIST GREETINGS,

DAN DONATH, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ 17 KIRYAT SEFFER ST., HAIFA.

YOSSI BEN-AKIVA, 4/11 BOLIVIA ST., KIRYAT YOVEL,

JERUSALEM.

CC. MATZPEN MARXIST

PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST GROUP

AVANGARD

PIERRE LAMBERT, ORGANISATION COMMUNISTE INTERNATIONALISTE

UNITED SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.