

# Joint Declaration of Israeli and Arab Socialist Militants

*The following statement is reprinted from Informations Ouvrières No. 577, 13-20 September, organ of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. The OCI identifies the document as a "joint declaration of the Trotskyist 'Vanguard' group of Israel and of some Palestinian Trotskyist militants who are struggling together in the Near East for the construction of the revolutionary party and the reconstruction of the Fourth International. This declaration responds politically to the situation created by the terrorist act of Munich which delivers up the Palestinian masses defenseless to the massacres undertaken by the Meir-Dayan government, with the support of the reactionary Near East regimes and of imperialism." We note only that the declaration, which concludes with a call for a "constituent assembly of Palestine" to install a "Socialist United States of the Middle East into which the Palestinian soviet republic will be integrated," fails to also raise the slogan of self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew peoples, which is a vital link to defuse the long-standing national hostilities and direct the hatred and combativeness of the working people squarely against the class enemy at home.*

## ***Proletarians of all countries, unite! The main enemy is at home!***

All of the world's imperialist governments, their politicians, their priests of all faiths, their journalists, their political branches in the Middle East: the government of Meir-Dayan, the Hussein regime, the Sadat government, and with them Nixon, all shed pious tears over the Munich victims or declare themselves "moved" and embarrassed over the break in the Olympic "peace."

Workers and militants, peoples of the world! Those who, today, bow down hypocritically before the Jewish victims of the "terrorists" are lying!

Mr. Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee who bowed down before Hitler in Berlin in 1936 and who had blocked access to the games to athletes of Jewish descent, is "crying."

Those who, in 1948, sowed hatred among Jewish and Arab Palestinian workers, are lying. They divided the Middle East and Palestine to rule it—the U.S. leaders and those of all the imperialist countries, with the complicity of the leaders of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Today, they say: "Enough of the Palestinian 'terrorists'! Enough of the Palestinians!" This international unanimity is in fact a call for a new pogrom organized against the Palestinian masses.

Workers and militants, let us not forget! "They" have all agreed on the

plan proposed by U.S. imperialism. All of them: Hussein the butcher, and Meir-Dayan. All of them: Nixon and Brezhnev. All of them: Sadat, following Nasser and the King of Araby, they all agreed on the "Rogers plan" in August 1970. The Rogers plan is the political and military framework through which Hussein organized the September 1970 massacre and had tens of thousands of Palestinians assassinated in order to crush the struggle by the Arab people of Palestine for their national independence. They were massacred because, at Irbid, the Palestinian workers had built soviets to carry out the democratic and national tasks of the revolution.

### ***Terrorism and Class Struggle***

Workers and militants! At what point in history does the Munich act of terror take place—an act which is opposed to the interests of the laboring masses in all countries and most of all, opposed to the interest of the Arab masses of Palestine. It takes place at a time when strikes organized by factory union committees against the Histadrut (integrated into the government apparatus of Meir-Dayan) are developing; at a time when street confrontations in Jerusalem are taking place; demonstrations of anti-governmental solidarity with the Palestinians expelled by the army (the opening of Rafiah and the land in Arba in 1972 and of Riram and Ikrit in 1950). At a time when the

holy union was splitting apart in Israel when the class struggle was again breaking through nationalist and racist chains. This is the moment when the terrorist act at Munich tends to weld the Jewish workers to the bourgeois state and to its Meir-Dayan government, their enemy. From now on, a new obstacle has arisen to the necessary realization of unity among Jewish and Palestinian Arab workers, and through that unity, the unity of all workers of the Middle East.

The "Black September" organization is mainly the creation of some guerilla fighters from Al Fatah who have sought a way out in individual terrorism after the feudal-bourgeois Jordanian regime, acting under the aegis of its imperialist protectors and with the complicity of the Soviet bureaucracy and the state of Israel, had crushed the Palestinian organizations.

"Black September," the expression of disenchanted elements of Al Fatah sees itself as an organization for revenge against Hussein. The death of Abou Ali Iyad (the military leader of Arafat's branch of Al Fatah), tortured to death by Hussein's executioners consecrated the failure of a policy of conciliation with the Jordanian feudal bourgeois regime, a policy with which the Al Fatah, Habash's PFLP, Hawatmeh's and Al Saika's DPFLP were associated. In every epoch and in all countries, refuge in individual terrorism has represented a tragic and erroneous response to the real problems.

### ***The Palestinian Resistance Betrayed By Its Leadership***

We—the Israeli Vanguard group and Palestinian Trotskyist militants—point out:

Before the 1970 massacres, Arafat in the name of Al Fatah, considered the butcher Hussein as his "brother"; Habash, in the name of the PFLP, felt that the problem of the political regime and the nature of the Jordanian state was not the central question to be settled. Hawatmeh, in the name of the DPFLP affirmed his solidarity with Arafat, who proclaimed his solidarity with Hussein who received, under the pretext of the Rogers plan, tanks and planes to crush the Palestinian masses.

We say: It is because none of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance have seen the destruction of the feudal bourgeois Jordanian state as a precondition to the solution of the problem of the national independence of the Palestinian people; it is by not drawing the lessons of the September 1970 defeat to their conclusions that "Black September" rapidly accepted once again the political control of Al Fatah, in particular after the murder of the deputy butcher of Amman, Wasfi Ta'.

That is why "Black September" now allows Al Fatah to act out two com

plementary scenarios: the fundamental one of subordination to the feudal-bourgeois regimes of the Middle East and another of terrorist pressure on governments which are in too much of a hurry to negotiate with the Israeli government.

In fact, there can be no doubt that rather advanced negotiations are underway in the Middle East. Thus a former minister of the court of King Hussein came to Israel for three months for a "cure." Thus the under-director of the Jordanian secret services recently visited his "family" which lives in occupied territory. All these visits, all these talks have only one aim: to force the masses to accept the United-Kingdom-Trans-Jordan-Cis-Jordan-Gaza which has been put forth by Hussein and Washington, or some other form of imperialist territorial division.

The recent secret encounters between Allon, the vice-president of the Israeli council, and Hussein; the "indiscretions" of Israeli journalists close to Dayan concerning the future map of the area; the statements of Rached El Charva, the mayor of Gaza, on Amman radio after his lengthy conversations with Hussein—all this on the one hand, and on the other hand the semi-official confirmation which Israeli radio gives to the Dayan plan, as revealed by *Time* magazine—all these maps which the rulers draw in the living flesh of the Palestinian people demonstrate the dead end into which the petty-bourgeois organizations have thrown the Palestinian masses.

We say: there is no other path for the laboring Israeli and Palestinian masses, for the exploited and oppressed masses on the two banks of the Jordan than that of the common struggle against the Meir and Hussein governments. This is the path by which we will liberate the imprisoned Palestinian militants.

Workers, Palestinian militants! We warn you: individual terrorism has carried out a new Al'Brk; it has facilitated a new September 1970. The peasants on the Golan heights, the Palestinian refugees herded into the Southern Lebanese camps will have no refuge when the Israeli, Lebanese and Syrian armies strike their blows. A new September 1970 is on the program of reaction in the Middle East and worldwide.

### ***The Palestinian Masses Menaced With the Worst***

What is being prepared is even more than a new September 1970, because in September 1970, even though the masses suffered serious losses, the Palestinian people remained upright. What the Meir-Dayan government, with the support and complicity of Hussein and all governments, including the Moscow bureaucracy, wants to bring about is the destruction of all the political cadres

of every tendency, of the Palestinian people. In Gaza and in the zone occupied by the Israeli army, repression is already combined with setting up of Palestinian "Quislings," the instruments of imperialism, the Arab feudal-bourgeois states and the state of Israel against the people.

Israeli and Palestinian workers, workers of the entire Middle East! Faced with the open or de facto alliance of Meir-Hussein-Frandgié-Sadat-Assad, with the failure of the current Palestinian organizations, we say:

*To unite the Arab workers of Palestine and the Jewish workers of Palestine, we must undertake a common struggle for the constituent assembly of Palestine. We say that today, given the bloody dramas which unfold in the Near East, the expression of the decomposition of world imperialism, we, the Vanguard group of Israel and Palestinian Trotskyist militants, who bear the whole weight of the impasse in which the peoples of our country are plunged because of the delay in the international proletarian revolution, are discussing these difficult problems of strategy and of slogans which will allow us to unite the Jewish and Arab workers of Palestine. Thus it is with the slogan of the Constituent Assembly of Palestine, on which discussion is open in our organizations and with all militants.*

There is only one road: the revolutionary mobilization of the laboring Jewish and Arab masses against imperialism, against the bourgeoisies and the caste of landowners, for a united Palestine with the two parts which constitute it—Jewish and Arab, for the abrogation of all measures of expulsion taken since 1948, for the expropriation without indemnification or repurchase of Jewish and Jordanian capitalism, and of the land possessed by the caste of landowners, for the return of the land to the tillers, against the division of Palestine perpetuated directly by Zionism and the Hashemite regime—let us unite to install the Socialist United States of the Middle East into which the Palestinian soviet republic will be integrated, whose internal legislation will be decided fraternally by the Israeli and Palestinian working masses in power.

Workers, we repeat: those (imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy) who divided Palestine in 1948, those who accepted and supported the Rogers plan in 1970, those who gave political and material support to General Numeiry who massacred all the leaders of the Sudanese union movement and the Sudanese CP—the facts, the events, have demonstrated the real content of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The 'Vanguard' group of Israel and the Palestinian Trotskyist militants affirm their will to continue the fight in their countries against imperialism and their own bourgeoisie.

—translated by J.S.