

RESISTANCE in the Middle East

NUMBER 6

SUMMER 1972

IRAQ & I.P.C.
Fictitious Independence
poor say NO! to DAYAN
KHANAFANI — *mourning in BEIRUT*
EGYPT and 'non-alignment'

land reform in Yemen
DAMASCUS FILMS
EXPULSIONS: GAZA
GALILEE
HUNGER & POPULATION



Where We Stand

With this issue, Resistance in the Middle East makes an important change in direction, following a struggle among those who had previously worked on the magazine. Regular readers and, particularly, subscribers may have wondered why no "Spring" issue followed Resistance #5, (March, 1972). This delay arose when a group within the staff began to insist that preparation of Resistance #6 be suspended until "internal differences" could be settled.

In addition to making a long overdue apology for the delay, we consider it our responsibility to inform readers of its causes and to define the perspectives that will guide Resistance in the future. We hope that, for the first time since the magazine was established (January, 1971), readers can actively participate in shaping its growth.

Even though the staff tended to agree that recent issues, such as #4 and #5, which included a higher proportion of analytical articles, represented an improvement in quality, we were forced to deal more directly with the question- Which analysis is going to be applied? Despite general agreement upon opposition to imperialism and Zionism, or upon commitment to socialist solutions for the Mid-East crisis, this level of agreement finally proved insufficient. On such vital questions as the present state of the Palestinian Resistance or the over-all role of national liberation movements, or the particular audience that Resistance is trying to reach, two clearly identifiable tendencies emerged, even before publication of Resistance #5.

Between May and July, protracted discussions between the two groups failed to produce agreement upon political issues or upon a structure that would permit publication to continue as scheduled, despite existing differences. The political principles that we have consistently defended are outlined within this editorial.

We particularly disagreed with the claim raised that Resistance should be oriented "to the American left in general and to the radical Zionist left in particular."

While we have always regarded the Left as Resistance's priority audience, we regard Zionism and "leftism" as being inherently at odds. It is our conviction that continued presentation of an anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist perspective of the Mid-East crisis is our most important task.

Ultimately, we agreed that a choice had to be made...!publish or perish!...for others within the staff continued to insist that publication should be indefinitely suspended.

Thus, the present issue of Resistance has been produced by a smaller, but more politically unified group than in the past. The political principles that we have upheld and have tried to apply in preparation of Resistance #6 are as follows:

- ◆(1) We define imperialism as the fundamental enemy of the masses in the Middle East, with American Imperialism operating as the primary exploiter and oppressor. In recent decades, imperialism has relied upon Zionism as the front-line defender of its interests. Its second line of defence against the opposition of the masses has been "Middle East reaction," embodied by subservient regimes whose internal political character can vary from feudal monarchy (Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iran) to bourgeois democracy (Lebanon), or military dictatorship (Turkey).
- ◆(2) Zionist colonization of Palestine and the state of Israel have been consistently based upon a reactionary ideology that defines European Jews as defenders of a "superior" Western civiliza-

tion. In practical terms, Zionist society is founded upon oppression and exploitation not only of Arabs, but of Jews, particularly Afro-Asian Jews. While some Zionists have tried to define themselves as "leftists" or "socialists," the colonial goal of building a Jewish nation in Palestine is incompatible with a socialist solution to anti-semitism, which can only be ultimately defeated by the overthrow of world capitalism.

- ◆(3) We unconditionally support the democratic right of self-determination for oppressed nations in the Middle East (Palestinians, Kurds, Dhofaris, and others). Moreover, we recognize that national liberation struggles can be the bacilli of the socialist revolution. While our support for the struggles of oppressed nations is unconditional, our support of specific leaderships that emerge during these struggles is critical, since choice of correct leadership is, first and foremost, the right of the oppressed nation itself.

- ◆(4) We consider that Socialism is the only solution to the problems of the Middle East. Since the education of the American audience to the validity of the socialist solution is one of the primary tasks of Resistance, we will attempt to familiarize readers with the ideological and strategic differences among separate tendencies within the forces of the Mid-East Revolution. However, we shall refrain from uncritically supporting any of these tendencies.

- ◆(5) Our approach to bourgeois nationalist regimes that arose from post-World-War II anti-colonial struggles is based upon critical support. We understand that these regimes (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Sudan) grew out of mass struggles against imperialist domination and feudalism. They have struck blows against imperialism on specific occasions, such as Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal (1956). We also recognize that imperialism has, on many occasions, staged armed

يا عمال العالم اتحدوا!



attacks against nationalist regimes or tried to subvert them from within, in order to thwart the aspirations of the masses. However, we realize that, on other occasions, bourgeois nationalist leadership in many Middle Eastern countries has made truces with imperialism or has severely attacked revolutionary forces. In these instances, the defense of the left is a very fundamental obligation.

Recognizing that, in the past, Resistance may have lacked clarity in application of political principles, we wish to underline that the principles explained above have been consistently advocated by those who have prepared the present issue and will be working on future issues. We urge readers to correspond with us and are pleased to announce that, in the future, a "letters to the editor" section will be a regular feature. We would welcome contributions of articles or other items.

Finally, we wish to announce that we are interested in selecting a name that would be more consistent with Resistance's political content. [Any and all] suggestions on this and other matters will be highly appreciated.

STRUGGLE IN DHOFAr

In order to check the eight-year old Dhofari revolution, Great Britain has lent the Sultan of Oman 70 officers and 108 "Blue Berets" (special paratroopers). They collaborate with a royal army that includes 7,000 Omanis, as well as mercenaries from Iran, India, Pakistan, and Somalia. London's military assistance to the Sultan Qabus is not based upon any military pact--only a vague commercial agreement signed in 1951.

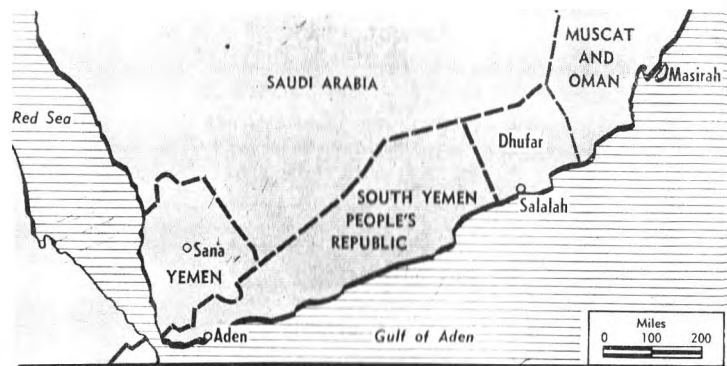
The war costs Qabus at least 60 million dollars a year, or nearly half of the yearly revenues that he receives from Shell Oil and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles. Recently, the guerrillas destroyed the irrigation canal that watered his palace gardens, causing all of his coconut trees to die.

Except during the monsoon season, Britain's "Blue Berets" undertake frequent helicopter missions that are coordinated by the Royal Air Force base in Salalah, the capital of Dhofar. During the fall of 1971, they participated fully in "operation Jaguar," a large-scale campaign whose objective was to control the coastal plains all the way to Dhofar's border with the Democratic Republic of Yemen. At least 50 mercenaries, as well as three British officers, lost their lives in this operation, which has subsequently turned to be a failure.



L'INSTRUCTION DES JEUNES RECRUES.
Ni solde ni officiers.

During the monsoon season, the guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation



of the Occupied Arab Gulf took advantage of the terrain, which is similar to that of the Mekong Delta, and destroyed all the British installations that Operation Jaguar had established. Since May, General John Graham, sent by London to serve as Qabus' chief military advisor, has proposed a new set of tactics.

British forces have recently occupied Simba, a village on the border of the Democratic Republic of Yemen. Their goal is to interdict the guerrillas' steady flow of supplies from South Yemen, which also permits the guerrillas to operate hospitals and training camps inside its borders. Similar "interdiction bases" were established at Habrout, 50 miles inland from Simba, but, after twelve days, rocket barrages forced a withdrawal.

British advisers have sought to create a special force of deserters from the guerrillas' ranks, called the "Gamal Abdel Nasser" company. They have instructed these troops that it is their duty to defend Allah against the atheist PFLOAG.

Yet this tactic and others seem to no avail. On July 1, the guerrillas carried out a half-hour bombardment of the Royal Airforce Base at Salalah. Fearing that the guerrillas will step up activities after the monsoon season, British officers fear that PFLOAG may soon seek to open a new front in the "Green Mountain" area near the mouth of the Gulf. Acknowledging that the Sultan's army would collapse within days if a British withdrawal were ordered, the officers now predict that it would take "several years" even to reduce guerrilla activities to their pre-1970 level.

Adapted from article by Roger-Xavier Lanter for French newsweekly, *L'Express* (July 10, 1972)

PFLOAG on FICTITIOUS INDEPENDENCE

(This text describes the deepening crisis in Bahrain and the maneuvers of the emir and his foreign mentors. It has been adapted from a document of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG), released in March, 1972. The full text has been published in *Ninth June*, a bulletin printed by the Supporters of the PFLOAG, Box 72 Station H, Montreal Quebec, Canada. We urge readers to send financial contributions to that address as an act of solidarity with PFLOAG's struggle).

We were not able yet to know the bullets which led to the deaths and injuries of tens of others among the workers and students or whether these bullets are of British or American origin. The incident took place after the British withdrawals and Bahrain's "declaration of independence" eight months ago. It followed by three months the notorious al-Gufeira agreement.**

Most recently, the provisional General Secretariat of the Worker's Federation of Bahrain, three days after the ninth anniversary of the events of March 9, 1965, called upon Bahrain's workers to initiate a general strike and to participate in street processions in order to support the legitimate demands of technical workers for the formation of a union, higher wages, and lower food prices.

Independence has only made the puppet regime and its branches become more huge and fierce. With advice from British experts they used the street processions as a golden opportunity to arrest and imprison union leaders. On the following day, the regime ordered the army and the mercenary police to fire on the demonstrators. Tens of defenseless citizens who had come out into the streets with the idea that independence means freedom of expression were injured.

**--December 1971 agreement allowing the United States Navy to assume control of the former British base on Bahrain. This agreement has never been submitted to the U.S. Congress for ratification.

These events occurred on the anniversary for commemorating the martyrs who fell on the battle-ground of honor while defending the rights of the people during and after March, 1965. The reactionary regime, with its tribal mentality, wanted to avenge itself upon the masses who have exposed it and revealed the truth on more than one occasion in the past seven years.

With the new wave of bloodshed by British intelligence and their stooges in Bahrain, they have made a full circle from 1965 to 1971 of deviousness and terrorism, having used the fake charade of independence, and promises of freedom. On March 13, 1972, they once again surprised us with a blood-bath.

The regime has used all types of cosmetics to try to cover its ugly face. Britain and the inventors of its strategy in the Gulf have tried to produce changes in the relationship between the regime and the masses, trying to subjugate the masses with terrorism, the whip, and the dinar. But the masses, endowed with revolutionary consciousness and long experience with the al-Khalifa family and British colonialism, are fully aware of these tricks and are looking for ways to expose them.

Throughout the past seven years, the regime has only been able to rely upon the lowest layer of the intelligentsia, who have become one of its tools for attacking the masses. In spite of all methods used by British colonialism and its intelligence agents, the gap between the masses and the rulers grew wider and wider.

During the past seven years, the colonialist authorities have tried the following new tactics:

They discovered that the wave of terror and repression inflicted upon the masses in March, 1965 could not continue if colonialism were to survive in the Gulf area. They spread the rumor that those responsible for atrocities were intelligence agents who had not known how to behave with the people and that these agents had been dismissed. Bob and Bin and

Abdel Hussein were thrown aside and replaced by Henderson, Paul. Higgs, and others* They allowed some "nationalists" to publish a newspaper and gave them much financial assistance. They tried to recruit many young people into the government corporations and to replace old directors with new ones. They gave some graduates a wage raise from 65 to 85 dinars and offered them responsible positions.

In 1967 they released many political prisoners and started to talk about the non-existence of political prisoners (They did not mention those arrested between 1965 and 1967). Yet all these reforms to deceive the masses. The Pakistani ambassador's announcement about Bahrain stirred up the masses again** The chauvinist game did not win any support. The masses' reply was "We know that our real enemies are the ones who are now colonizing us. Why talk about the Arabism of Bahrain? What about the present regime in Iran and its ties with colonialism?"

Meanwhile workers in the electricity, medical, and public works departments, along with other workers, started to condemn the government's policies and to attack the greedy merchants as well. They began to demand unions that would speak on their behalf and defend them against oppression by their employers.

While the stooges of the regime were dancing and beating the drums, workers were herded to interrogations and were imprisoned without trial. The police vehicles incircled the electricity department in huge numbers until the intelligence services decided that it was necessary to build a police station in this neighborhood if they were to have any chance of defeating the workers.

During the past two years, colonialist authorities have tried to persuade the masses that British withdrawal means that power is being handed over to nationalist elements, that Bahrain has won independence and that consolidation of this independence is the duty of every patriot.

*An apparent reference to British efforts to give the regime a new face by removing some individuals associated with the March 1965 slaughter.

**--Unfortunately, we are not familiar with the specific incident referred to here. Many Pakistanis live in Bahrain.

After the abortive federation conference, during which agents of the regime tried to implant a regional trend in this country the regime discovered that Bahrain is a special case and is different from other parts of the Gulf. So it has to win "independence," establish its state, and protect itself against colonialist greed. These fake appeals have only refreshed the dreams of the regime's lackeys who want to re-arrange their positions according to present-day circumstances. All this is Greek to the oppressed masses who understand these honeyed words as being only a justification for betrayal.

"The sun of British colonialism has departed from Bahrain," the puppets tell us, and talk has started about a constitution and elections and freedoms, all under the same ruler who crushed the masses in 1965.

Hired pens have written in the newspapers of Bahrain that these dreams will be realized by Issa al-Khalifa* and that the masses will be allowed to participate.

But the masses are making their own demands. Labor committees have drawn up a constitution for a worker's federation and collected thousands of signatures. From June last year until March, 1972, the Ministry of Labor has denied permission to create a worker's federation. During this period, the ministry has used threats and false promises. The intelligence services have arrested and interrogated the worker's leaders over and over. It has threatened them with death if they continue political activity.

*The present emir of Bahrain



More than once, saboteurs have been sent into labor movement so that intelligence can make false accusations and hunt for the bravest workers. Increased consciousness has foiled these subversive measures. The worker's leaders have realized the need to build a firm base and have spread their activities to the rural areas. They have formed labor committees in every neighborhood and village.

During the past two years, the colonialists in Bahrain have opened a wide gate for American and European capital. The mouthpieces of a "free economy" have tried to justify their flagrant treason by stressing the need of an open door for capital and peace and stability for these foreign companies.

Khalifa bin Salam, prime minister, told the workers that their strikes will vanish like sand because foreign companies will be afraid to invest their capital in Bahrain. This sheik is the same one who announced in 1967 "we want Britain to keep her base in Bahrain so that we gain from it. If we ask for more rent, Britain will withdraw this base to some other Gulf emirate that would cherish the presence of foreign base on its lands."

Land Reform in Democratic Yemen

The former British colony of Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea was characterized by an economic structure that typified the deformation of a peasant society by imperialism. While three-quarters of the population lived under tribal or feudal conditions in the country-side, the other quarter were concentrated in the city of Aden, depending mainly upon port activities and foreign trade. Indeed, a large portion of the city's population were Pakistanis, Iranians, Somalis, or Arabs who had migrated there under British colonial rule. One index of the "town/country" contradiction is that, before national independence, the peasantry, constituting an overwhelming majority of the population, generated only eight percent of the gross national product. Half of the colony's food supply had to be imported, and the average yearly income among the peasantry was less than \$100.

Since the end of British rule in 1967, a number of dramatic steps have altered the

Immediately after the withdrawal of British forces, the sheik could not bold back his own greed. He started negotiations with the American master for renting al-Gufeira base. This clever merchant was able to convince the Americans that Bahrain is better than Qatar and Sharjah and so the base will remain in al-Gufeira

The leaves that cloaked the regime in Bahrain have blown away and it is clear that the regime despises the masses and it a tool of colonialism and Arab and Iranian reaction. Beyond doubt, the battle until the mass movement here became linked with the mass movements in Oman and elsewhere in the Gulf. National demands that leave the economy untouched cannot be realized under the regime of this rotten family that became rich by attacking peasants and

looting their lands.* The genuine national movement comes from the masses of workers and their classical allies. The people of Bahrain cannot be tricked by the charades of false independence and empty constitutions. The colonialist plans that seem to be working in Qatar and Kuwait cannot win in this blazing island of Bahrain.

*reference to past history of the family of the emir of Bahrain.

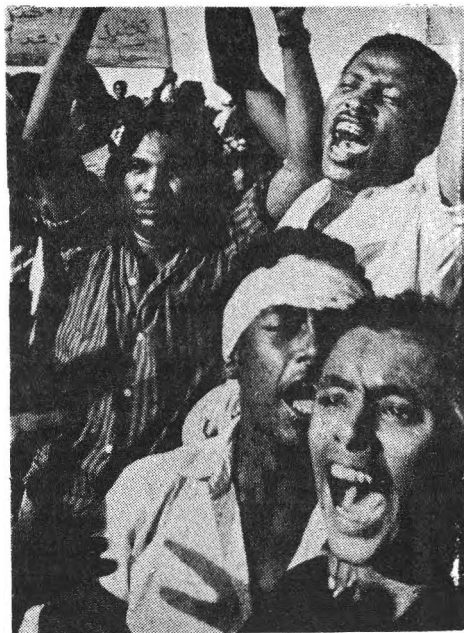
lives of the peasantry. During the war for independence, many of the feudal lords, who openly supported the continuation of British rule, were forced to flee from the liberated areas. The archaic landlord/serf relationships were quickly destroyed by the National Liberation Front, which developed both peasant councils and a peasant militia.

At the same time, the victory of the independence struggle had meant the withdrawal of sums of foreign and local capital that were equivalent to nearly one-third of the gross national product. Most of the immigrant merchants and shopkeepers returned to their countries of origin. By 1969, Aden's port traffic, which had supplied seventy-five percent of the gross national product, dropped sharply. The small trade union movement in the city largely patterned after British trade unions, was deeply suspicious of the peasant-based N.L.F., which had assured itself state power by liquidating the "Arab socialist" wing of the independence movement.

In July, 1969, the N.L.F. government announced its intention to nationalize all foreign holdings, provoking a further withdrawal of foreign and local capital and a sudden wave of unemployment. Thus, the implementation of land reforms, called for by the Zinjibar Congress of the N.L.F. in 1968, was menaced by the vacuum which had resulted from the collapse of the colonial economy.

The November, 1969 law of land reform would face additional economic obstacles created by the Democratic Republic's lack of trade relations with most Arab nations and by a temporary withdrawal of Soviet aid. Yet the N.L.F.'s decision to carry out a mass mobilization of the peasantry would provide decisive advantages. Extending the peasant councils which had existed since the days of the independence struggle, the N.L.F. carried out a series of rapid confiscations of large plots and purged all rich and middle peasants from official posts in the rural areas. For the first time in the region's history, a survey of lands was carried out by the village councils, as well as a census of landless peasants and agricultural laborers.

In November, 1970 an even more advanced land reform law was submitted to the village councils for their approval. The new law would place even stricter limits upon acreage per person and would call for distribution of surplus land to the landless peasants and field laborers. Its implementation was handled by mass meetings at the village level--- which were open to all interested persons except the former holders of large plots of land.



June, 1967:

Aden port workers stage militant protest against Israeli onslaught upon the Arab masses

To date, 87,000 feddans of land in Democratic Yemen have been redistributed among the peasantry. There are seventeen farming cooperatives with a membership of 1,000 apiece. Intense efforts to increase production and to build irrigation systems are likely to decrease the historic "town/country" contradiction that imperialism had exacerbated. Such steps are creating the material basis for an independent socialist economy that does not yet have any counterparts elsewhere in the Middle East.

Although the Democratic Republic of Yemen is severely menaced by the danger of imperialist attack and is hampered by its isolation within the Arab World, its land reforms are to be interpreted as a basic part of realizing the goals of the N.L.F. which were expressed in the Zinjibar Congress of 1968 as :

" to give all power to the people, more precisely by creating people's councils for the oppressed working class in each valley, village, and city, by excluding the bourgeoisie from our elections; by creating agricultural communes directly controlled by the peasants, industries which will be the property of the workers and will be run by the workers."

Sources--Rene Lefort, "South Yemen The Arab New Left Faces The Test" Le Monde Diplomatic, February 2, 1971
---M.Hatem Ali, "Land Reforms in Southern Yemen," World Marxist Review, February, 1972.

DAMASCUS

Whereas the Zionist seizure of Palestine has found cinematic support through such lavish productions as Preminger's Exodus, one is amazed by the paucity of films that deal with the tribulations of the Palestinian people and their struggle against imperialism. Clearly, Hollywood will never fill the vacuum, and American audiences will continue to be confronted by "Exodus" imitations or by such tripe as Billy Graham's He Walked Upon This Land (a crude, but revealing synthesis of Bible Belt fundamentalism and homilies to the Western-backed "miracle in the desert"). Jean Luc Godard's film on

film festival

the Palestinian Resistance has never been shown in the United States, as far as we know.

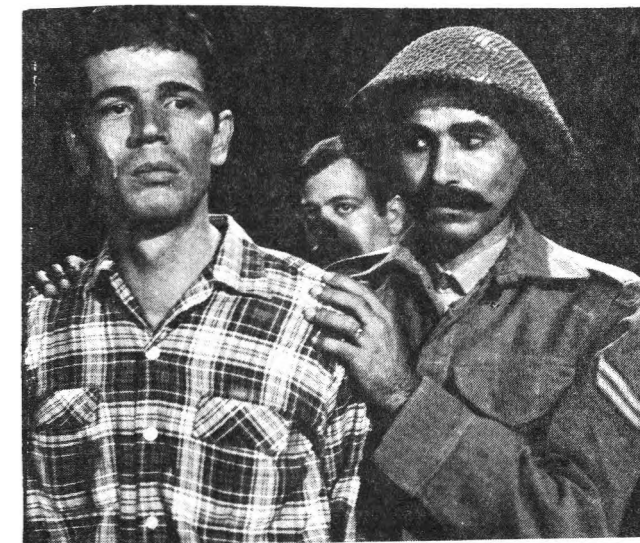
The April 2-9 festival of Arab cinema, held in Damascus, is seen as the first serious attempt to place the Palestine question before the eyes of film-goers in the Arab World. Whereas Arab cinema is often thought to be synonymous with the long, romantic spectacles starring popular singers such as Farid el Atrash, the majority of the films shown in Damascus were documentaries or compositions with strong political content.

The documentaries included Mustafa Abu Ali's "By the Soul and the Blood," prepared for Al-Fatah, Kassem Hamal's "The Shore is Cold" (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), and "Why the Resistance?" directed by Christian Ghazi for the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

At the same time, the theme of the Palestinian struggle found expression in "The Dupes," a long film by the exiled Egyptian director Tewfik Salah. Based upon a novel by Ghassan Kanafani of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, "The Dupes bears the distinction of being one of the first Arab films ever to attack King Hussein. In one scene, as the protagonist stands in front of a portrait of the king, he says "In front of us, we have the Zionists; behind us, we have traitors." In the fiction category, "The Dupes" was rivalled by such items as "Singing on a Voyage" by the Egyptian director Ali Abdel Khalek. The film recounts the actual and past experiences (through flashbacks) of five Egyptian soldiers during the June, 1967 war. By means of the flashbacks, the director seeks to evoke the causes of Egypt's defeat.

The first prize was won by this film and Khaled es Sedik's "The Cruel Sea," which is a fictional portrayal of the lives of pearl-fishers in the Arab Gulf. "The Cruel Sea" won great praise for its attack upon forced matrimony, although some members of the jury issued statements criticizing the "political ambivalence" of the film, which was the official entry of the government of Kuwait.

One of the most acclaimed entries from Syria, the host of the festival, was the allegory "The Knife," based upon a novel by Ghassan Kanafani. This film, directed by Khaled Hamadeh, tells the story of a peasant woman from Gaza who has been raped and then forced to marry a man whom she does not love. Audiences quickly identified the heroine with Palestine and the "husband by force" with Zionism.



"Les Dupes", de Tewfik Salah.
Le destin d'un peuple

Characteristically, Jordan's contribution to the festival was "The Viper," a mild comedy satirizing the merchant bourgeoisie of Amman. Lebanon sought to compete with "Salam after Death" an Americanized detective film set in Beirut.

The Damascus Festival, with its high proportion of political films, both documentary and fictional, is seen by some writers as a turning point in the history of Arab cinema. The "politicization" of the screen lacking any clear precedents before 1967, cannot fail to have an impact in the Middle East. Afrique-Asie has described the festival in these terms: "The Damascus festival has shown that, from the Atlantic to the Gulf, Arab cinema has been steadily emerging from mediocrity (Egypt and Lebanon) or from nothingness (other countries). The problems of the cinema today are both cultural and political. Bit by bit, directors are escaping from the double snare of folk-lore melodramas and fascination with Western models. Their struggle has not been won, of course, but today's excitement has a name---the Dawn."

(Adapted from the account of the Damascus festival in Afrique-Asie, 3, May 2-14, 1972).

Hunger & Population

In recent years, swarms of "experts in a wide range of academic fields have become busily engaged in prophesying doom and destruction "if the population problem is not solved in one way or another." In order to advance their terrifying predictions, the "experts" are reviving the obsolete theories of Reverend Thomas Malthus, an early nineteenth century thinker who asserted that food supplies grow arithmetically, whereas population increases geometrically. Malthus' gloomy prophecies, based upon a fear of mass upheavals such as the French Revolution of 1789, were soon disproved by such scientists as Darwin, who demonstrated that human reproduction is not geometric. Similarly, Marx and even the bourgeois economists of his time, who witnessed the advance of the industrial revolution, showed that human productive capacities were far greater than Malthus' artificially low estimates.

Malthus had advanced the fantastic recommendation that the poor take responsibility for reducing their own numbers. He felt that, if the poor were taught to understand his "arithmetic/geometric" laws, they would then resign themselves to their own oppression:

"... And it is evident that every man in the lower classes of society who became acquainted with these truths would be disposed to bear the distresses in which he might be involved with more patience; would feel less discontent and irritation at the government and higher classes of society, on account of his poverty; would be on all occasions less disposed to insubordination and turbulence; and if he received assistance, either from any public institution or from the hand of private charity, he would receive it with more thankfulness, and justly appreciate its value."

(T.Malthus, Essay on the Principle of Population, 1816)

Today, Malthus' discredited theories are echoed by the words and deeds of multi-million dollar "family planning" agencies, all with imperialist financial backing. For fiscal year 1972-73, the Agency for International Development (AID), the fund giving arm of the U.S. State Department,



Iran & Turkey

has boosted its population control budget to \$125 million--representing a twelve-fold increase over the \$10 million appropriation made in 1968/69. At the same time, AID expenditures for health and education decreased by 49 million, over a four year period, in the Third World. Perhaps AID views the 'population explosion' as so critical a problem that increased mortality as well as decreased fertility might better serve its interests. AID and other agencies now operate population control programs throughout Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, portraying their work as a way of "protecting democracy." Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, president of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), which cooperated closely with AID and is partially AID-funded, has claimed that population growth in the world is inherently inimical to bourgeois democracy:

"Reckless population growth without parallel economic growth... makes for a constant lowering of the standard of living. Such a decline, with its concomitant mounting poverty and hunger, leads to political unrest. Today that kind of unrest inevitably delivers a population to some kind of ism, whether it be communism, fascism, or Pan-Arabism, and weans them away from democracy."

The new Malthusians, such as Guttmacher, who equate increased numbers with increased social turmoil, conveniently fail to understand that, in the Third World, poverty is primarily the consequence of foreign capitalists' thirst for cheap raw materials, new consumer markets and pools of low-paid labor. Today, frenzied efforts by the United States and other "advanced" countries to curtail the number of "undesirables," particularly in the Third World, is underlined by the new IPPF slogan--"Every child a wanted child"--which implies that the impoverished should avoid reproduction lest they be blamed for capitalist society's denial of needed services to their children.

When today's overpopulation panic is examined rationally, one is amazed by the fallacies that provide its basis and will ultimately doom the population control agencies' efforts to failure. Beneath the "scientific" halo surrounding the "experts'" fearful predictions, it is not difficult to discover the desperation of an insane oligarchy that is trying to save itself by reducing the numbers of impoverished people who will eventually rebel against exploitation.

If one of the purposes of the overpopulation panic is to ensure the flow of profits under capitalism by keeping standards of living from falling below the "danger line," then the "experts'" projects are clearly doomed to fail. In Puerto Rico, where massive population control programs were initiated in the late 1930's and emigration to the U.S. was systematically encouraged, the past ten years have seen a dramatic regeneration of the national independence struggle. Although population control dollars have poured into Thailand for many years, the liberation forces now control nearly one-fifth of the country's territory. Twenty years of imperialist-backed sterilization and vasectomy programs in India and Pakistan



Famine stalks the earth

Too many people!

have not deterred mass outbreaks against exploitation. In Latin America, which has been the target of a disproportionately high quantity of population control dollars, liberation struggles are intensifying. Similarly, in the Middle East, efforts to control the numbers of "undesirables" do not suffice to halt the spectre of revolution.

The tragic effects of these insane attempts are primarily felt by individual women and their families, through experimental genocide, or "field testing" being direc-

ted against thousands upon thousands of women. The "family planning" agencies consistently strive to convince the poor, particularly in the Third World, that the contraceptive pill, or the intra-uterine loop, or the ovarian ligation will miraculously end poverty. In this way, the poor and other layers of the population are diverted from recognizing that poverty springs from economic, social, and political conditions, and not from numbers of people. The propaganda of the agencies attributes crime, war, rising taxes, and a host of other problems to the individual family and not to capitalism.

The absence of a direct correlation between poverty and population size is well illustrated by the fact that the United States, which consumes more than half of the world's raw materials, lists a population density of 57 people per square mile. In contrast, Iran lists an exceedingly low density--only 44 people per square mile--but it is a major target of American-backed population control programs. In Europe, such imperialist nations as Britain or West Germany list population densities of 589 people per square mile and 622 people per square mile. Even though Iran's neighbor Turkey, presents a density of 80 people per square mile--it has been selected as a target for "zero population growth". That massive unemployment might be caused by imperialist exploitation and not too many babies does not seem to be a consideration of the 'population experts'.

In recent years, the operations budgets of American-backed population control agencies in Iran and Turkey have tripled. At the same time, U.S. foreign aid contributions to health, education, and welfare in the two countries have been mercilessly slashed, (Third World figures previously mentioned). In essence, imperialism continues to pillage Iran and Turkey as it has for years, but, now, it seeks to conceal its tracks with the great "family planning" smokescreen.

Programs in Iran

In 1966, the Iranian parliament decreed that "family planning" should be incorporated into the educational system on a nation-wide scale. Textbooks were revised so that population control propaganda could be inserted. In the recent "Fifth Economic Development Plan," the population control budget has been raised to \$26.3 million, in contrast to a \$6.7 million appropriation under the preceding plan. According to the Shah's regime:

"A fall in fertility will enable a higher rate of growth in per capita income or will lessen the burden of development."*

Yet it should be recalled that, in most underdeveloped nations, high population growth rates do not retard expansion of gross national product. Some capitalist demographic "experts" argue that the opposite occurs--- that economic crises have coincided with birth rate declines.

"Family planning services" are provided not only by such entities as the Red Lion and Sun Society, Red Cross affiliates, but by the government-owned National Iranian Oil Company.

The rapid expansion of "family planning" in Iran is dramatically offset by the fact that there is only one full-scale school for public health. Average caloric intake is only 2,500 calories per day, in contrast to the American-European average of 5,000 calories. While the absence of effective public health programs is underlined by an infant mortality rate of 15 percent, the class interests of the Iranian oligarchy and foreign investors are manifested by the growing campaign to cut the number of "supernumeraries."

*Supernumeraries is the term used in the past by some demographers to refer to the unemployed and under-employed in the Third World are seen as a potentially explosive force, the capitalist system also depends upon maintenance of an "acceptable" number of supernumeraries in order to keep wage levels as low as possible.

Despite its chronic public health problems, Iran has pushed its medical schools to undertake "made in U.S.A." population study programs. For example, Pahlavi University in Shiraz offers an array of courses in demography and contraceptive practice to medical students. Nurses and primary school teachers are encouraged to take training courses in "family planning" through the university medical school, with the anticipation that many graduates will be assigned to peasant communities and nomadic tribes.

While it is certainly false that a large population is the key to prosperity, it is clear that the Iranian regime and its foreign advisors err in defining "development" as a result of reduced numbers. They *GNP is a measure of total yearly consumption. GNP figures do not tell anything about "which class" is consuming and how much it is consuming.

only need to refer to such highly populated capitalist "models" as Britain, West Germany, or Japan.

During the earlier "White Revolution," the Shah instituted a number of "revolutionary" bodies, such as the literacy, health, and development corps in order to carry forth his pretenses of reducing "social inequalities" in Iran. Today, these agencies have been conscripted to implement the population control aims of the IPPF and other entities.

Training centers for "family planning" functionaries have been established at the Firouzgar, Isfahan, and Dreyfus clinics. Population control is publicized by an official symbol--the white "Persepolis flower" enclosing a four-person family (Ironically, the Shah boasts a family of 7. The three training centers are officially affiliated with IPPF, whose national leader is Queen Farah, the Shah's wife. The clinics provide crash courses to medical personnel and "interested laymen," offering instructions in insertion of the loop and use of other contraceptives. The Queen Farah hospital, in cooperation with clinics and other hospitals, claims great success with "post-partum programs" that are designed to reach 500,000 new "acceptors of family planning" this year.

Although the Iranian government has liquidated thousands of students, workers, and peasants who have expressed their opposition to the "King of the Aryans," the regime has won widespread foreign praise



for its "humanitarian" encouragement of population control. While the regime has persistently prevented inquiries into its suppression of opposition by such organizations as the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, it was one of the most active lobbyists in support of the family planning resolution adopted by the international Conference on Human Rights held in Teheran in 1968. Is this type of inconsistency in accord with IPPF leaders' belief that population control can prevent Third World nations from being "weaned away from democracy"?

Programs in Turkey---

In neighboring Turkey, "family planning" programs are similar, although they are even more heavily financed by American agencies, including AID. Because of a strict anti-birth control tradition and because of periods of political unrest, the Turkish government has been less blatant than Iran in supporting a national population control apparatus. Yet its practices are as frantic as those of the Shah's regime. Today, the Turkish government pays \$1.10 to each doctor who inserts an intra-uterine loop and \$55 to each mid-wife.

The problem of illiteracy has also proved an obstacle to the Turkish programs (33% of the female population is literate). AID has sought to bridge the "information gap" by sponsoring traveling puppet shows that publicize family limitation.

The most widely used of these shows is entitled "Karagoz Plans His Family." The roughish puppet, Karagoz, portrayed as a vain, violent libertine, lies and boasts of his exploits and his large family. Finally, his intellectual friend, Hajivat Beats him. When Karagoz breaks down and confides to Hajivat that he is utterly miserable and penniless, with one child arriving after another, Hajivat introduces him to the secret of "family planning." "You can limit your family. There is help. You will be richer and happier."

In the past two years, more than a hundred Karagoz plays have been presented on Turkey's radio stations. At the same time, the government utilizes a tragic film, "Eliff's Sorrow," portraying the plight of an overly large family. The U.S.-based Population Council, heavily funded by the Rockefeller family, provides specially adapted Walt Disney films for both Turkey and Iran.

Clinics with "family planning" facilities have been set up in 67 Turkish provinces and the government also relies upon mobile units that are designed to reach isolated villages. The government is now considering the use of special snow tractors that could "provide services" to villages that are isolated by long winters. The Family Planning Association of Turkey, an IPPF affiliate, has 25 provincial branches. By 1969, 130,000 women were currently using the intra-uterine loop under the FPA's programs.**

As in Iran, university medical students are encouraged to take courses oriented toward population control and to do "field work," particularly in rural areas. Hacettepe University maintains an Institute of Population Studies that offers a two-year course in population dynamics. Furthermore, the Turkish Parliament has considered bills that would make "family planning" courses a mandatory component of obstetrics or public health programs offered to medical students.

Although the government's population control expenditures are far lower than Iran's one notes the same pattern of geometric increase. Outlays have risen from \$585,))) in 1965 to \$1.87 million in 1970. AID, the Population Council, and the Ford Foundation are the principal foreign sources of money. For them, "progress in family planning" in Turkey offers a will-of-the-wisp hope of containing the slowly rising anger of the peasantry and the urban poor.

conclusion

"Family planning," particularly in Third World nations, can no longer be examined in a vacuum. Just as the most powerful American businessmen and their political or "philanthropic" agents who lead such bodies as AID or the IPPF have developed complex strategies for maintaining control over the economies and political lives of "less developed countries," they are striving to create strategies for keeping the world's population within "acceptable" limits. Why? Because their multinational system of exploitation inevitably produces crises that threaten the whole system. They have swallowed the Malthusian notion that more people are a guarantee of more crises.

**Positive aspects of birth control must be recognized. Sexual equality can be assured only if women have control over their own bodies--thus their own lives. The question posed here is, who is controlling and why?

The multinational implications of the "population panic" are demonstrated not only by actual programs being carried out in Latin America, Southeast Asia, or the Middle East, but by the words of Robert McNamara, the former U.S. Secretary of Defense who now heads the World Bank:

"Our activity rises out of the concern of the bank for the way in which rapid growth of population has become a major obstacle to social and economic development in many of our member states. Family planning programs are less costly than conventional development projects and the pattern of expenditures involved is normally very different. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that successful programs of this kind will yield very high economic returns."

In sharp contrast to McNamara, who directed the Johnson Administration's murderous bombing of Vietnam, Fidel Castro has said:

"But the Cuban Revolution is not against birth control. The size of the family is the individual decision of the husband and wife as part of their human rights. It is the duty of the State to furnish them with the adequate means for having as many or as few children as they want. Propaganda in one direction or the other is completely unnecessary. The Revolution is not scared by population increases and it is not worried by a temporary drop in the birth rate... There are some countries that pretend that birth control is the solution, but the only ones who are saying this are the capitalists, the exploiters, because no one who understands what humanity can achieve through science and technology sets out to impose limits upon the number of people that can live on the face of this earth."

.....

Material on Iran and Turkey was taken from an article in the HMSHA Health Reports, November 1971, Vol. 86, No. 11 p. 1011-1023. The article entitled "A Comparison of Family Planning in Iran and Turkey" was written by N.R.E. Fendall, M.D. (London) D.P.H. Dr. Fendall was formerly regional director of Africa and the Middle East of the Population Council which is supported by John D. Rockefeller III and Lamont Dupont Copeland, among many others.

◆ Executions in Turkey

The three leftists condemned to death on October 9, 1971 for "attempts to overthrow by force the constitutional order of Turkey" were hanged before dawn on Saturday, May 6. The three leaders of the "people's Liberation Army"--Deniz Gerniz, Yusuf Aslan, and Huseyin Inan-- refused religious rites after having written to their families. These were the first executions under law to take place since the installation on March 12, 1971 of a government directly controlled by the army.

The tragic end of the three guerrillas cannot fail to strike the imagination of their young compatriots. All were under twenty-five years of age. They had awaited their fate, hour by hour, for 12 8 days in the death cells. Dressed in white robes, with their hands tied behind their backs, they moved directly toward the scaffolds, with their heads held high. With the nooses around their necks they themselves kicked over the planks on which they had to stand.

Until the last moment, they did not give up their convictions. A month and a half ago, they had refused the authorities' offer of a life sentence in exchange for a "declaration of repentance." At the foot of the scaffold, Gerniz yelled: "Long live the Turkish independence.. Down with imperialism .. Long live Marxism-Leninism." Aslan said to his guards: "I will die honorably; you will die many times with dishonor. I served the people and you are paid by the United States." Inan shouted "Long live the workers and the peasants."

The lawyers of the three victims had argued that the deeds of their clients--which had not resulted in anyone's death--were consequences of the socio-economic conditions that prevail in Turkey, of the deep crisis that affects a society in which the means of halting poverty are practically non-existent. Exploitation inside Turkey, they had argued, is intimately connected to the dependence of Turkey upon foreign capital, particularly American investment.

Faithful to the tradition of Ataturk, the young guerrillas had hoped to win national independence. Although the nature of the trial was eminently political, the military tribunal refused to weigh considerations of this type.

According to the lawyers, the accused had decided to initiate urban guerrilla warfare because the State blocked all political progress and economic or social advances, encouraged violence by rightist groups and the police (which, between July, 1968 and April, 1971, had taken the lives of more than 20 university students), and systematically disobeyed the Turkish Constitution, which the guerrillas had termed "progressive." One of the arguments used by army leaders to justify their seizure of power in March 1971 was that the constitution was being violated by the political parties. Of course, the chief military prosecutor maintained during the trial that the accused wished to overthrow the State and create a Marxist-Leninist regime...

The defenders of the three accused also pleaded the invalidity of the law declaring a state of siege, which had not been ratified by a constitutional court. They challenged the legality of the nomination of military judges by the chief of staff of the armed forces, as well as the retroactive application of military law to events that had occurred before the state of siege was declared.

They argued against the irregularities and inconsistencies of the trial, as well as the tortures that had been inflicted upon the accused. It made no difference. The military tribunal declared that its proceedings were faultless.

Interventions on behalf of the three condemned men were prolific, both within Turkey and abroad. Ismet Inonu, head of the People's Republican Party, personally made urgent appeals to Cevdet Sunay, the head of state. Like several other European heads of state, the Austrian chancellor, Bruno Kresky, sent an appeal to president Sunay several hours before the execution. However the State did not yield.

It is probable that, by executing the three leftists, the authorities may make heroes of them. Although there is internal disagreement on the methods used by the guerrillas, the Union of Turkish Students in France has declared:

"The application of the sentences will always remain for us, the young, as an event of the present because it directly involves the future of our country, its democracy, and of the concept of democracy."



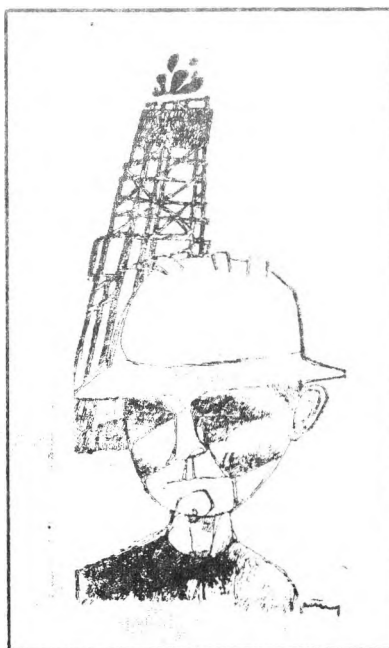
Adapted from a dispatch by Eric Rouleau, LE MONDE, May 9, 1971

IRAQ & I. P. C.

On June 1, the Iraqi government announced that it would nationalize holdings of the Iraq Petroleum Company, a complex that has dominated oil production in Iraq since the 1920's. The famous Kirkuk and Mosul oil fields had been the first large holdings discovered in the Arab World. During World War I, these rich fields were the prize coveted by both Germany and the Allies, who later occupied Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine so that Iraq oil could easily be brought to the European market. The I.P.C. itself was a consortium that included British Petroleum (BP), the Rothschild-dominated Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, and American Companies such as Mobil and Texaco. In later years, its operations expanded not only into other areas of Iraq, but into the Persian Gulf sheikdoms.

Nationalization of the I.P.C. has been a possibility in Iraq ever since 1956, when mass rebellions overthrew the feudal regime of King Feisal (cousin of King Hussein of Jordan). In 1963, when the nationalist regime of Colonel Karim Kassem announced that it was going to carry out limited nationalizations of foreign oil holdings, Kassem was quickly overthrown by a coup sponsored by the C.I.A. The new government immediately assured Washington that no nationalizations would occur, and then executed thousands of communists and other progressives.

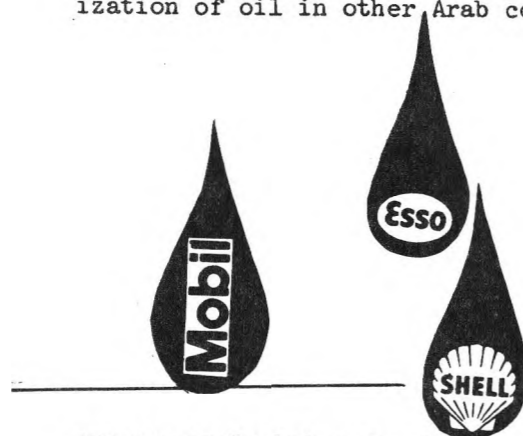
In recent years, the character of oil operations in Iraq has changed dramatically, reflecting the growing concern of the oil companies. Iraq's share of total Middle East production has fallen sharply, despite



At the same time, Syria announced that it would also nationalize its section of the I.P.C. pipeline running from Iraq to the Lebanese coast.

The precise terms of the present nationalizations are yet unclear. While Syria has promised to compensate the I.P.C. for the nationalized pipeline, Iraq itself has promised that the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, a former partner in the I.P.C. would be allowed to continue "business as usual". There is speculation, in fact, that the C.F.P. could develop re-selling agreements with the other oil giants that have been forced out of Iraq. On the positive side, however, Iraq has already signed agreements that would allow the Soviet Union to purchase nearly 1/4 of the I.P.C.'s yearly output. The U.S.S.R. will also be providing additional technical aid that, in the long run, may permit Iraq to run the fields without relying upon western experts.

The nationalization has already had an important impact elsewhere in the Arab World. At the 8th Annual Arab Petroleum Congress meeting in Algiers, resolutions supporting the Iraqi nationalization were passed, and numerous demands were raised for nationalization of oil in other Arab countries.



response to Soviet refusals to provide increased military aid to Egypt and made allusions to a "continuation of our fight against Israel". In spite of these pronouncements, Israeli officials and U. S. strategists appeared delighted.

Subsequent statements from Egypt have tended to categorize Sadat's move as a re-affirmation of a "non-alignment policy" attributed to the late Gamal Abdel Nasser. For example, on July 22, Information Minister il-Zayyat described "independence from power blocs" as the cornerstone of Egypt's policies since the 1952 overthrow of King Farouk. On the same day, the Cairo press headlined a declaration by Planning Min-

ister Abdullah that Egypt would now provide guarantees to foreign investors in order to attract their capital. Concurrently, Joseph N. Greene, chief of the American mission in Egypt, scheduled an "extraordinary" meeting with Half Ismil, Sadat's national security advisor. (New York Times, July 23).

While it is yet too early to be sure, no one can brush away the ominous aspects surrounding Sadat's move. If there is a grain of truth underlying speculations that Sadat will pursue talks with Israel, then what will be the effects of such a move upon the course of the Mid-East Revolution? Are Sadat's moves supported by a significant portion of the Arab Socialist Union or by the Egyptian masses?

Egypt's 1970 adoption of the "made-in-U.S.A." Roger's Peace Plan marked a decisive turning point in its relationship with the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East. The Rogers Plan, which refuses to allow the Palestinian people any form of representation in the "search for solutions," had as its complement King Hussein's efforts to liquidate the Palestinian Resistance in Jordan. Nasser's decision to accept the Rogers Plan, like the Soviet decision to accept it, abandoned the Palestinian people, to Hussein's genocidal onslaughts.

Since Nasser's death, rightist elements of the Arab Socialist Union have worked steadily to undo reforms made during Nasser's lifetime. Purges within the A.S.U., denationalization of large private estates, and restoration of "inheritance rights" are but some of Sadat's concessions. For the first time since the early 1950's, members of the virulently anti-communist Muslim Brotherhood were granted "civil liberties," including the liberty of publishing calls for a Jihad against communism.

Such measures, however, have met militant opposition. In July last year, workers at the Helwan steel complex staged a highly disciplined strike. Sadat flew to the site, promised to accept the workers' demands, but then jailed the leaders once the strike had ended. Again, in February (see Resistance #5), university students staged a mass strike, which included such demands as the one that they be allowed to volunteer to fight alongside the Palestinian fidayin. Sadat succeeded in blunting the student strike, and later told western journalists that, "like the French student revolt of 1968, it had been provoked by Zionist agents." (Manchester Guardian, February 3, 1972).

There is a strong likelihood that Sadat's internal policies may produce even more militant protests in the future. Now his left opponents can count upon no material aid from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has failed to do more than express "verbal concern" at Sadat's removal of its strongest supporters within the Arab Socialist Union. This policy, corresponding to its "verbal concern" over Col. Nimeiry's persecution of the Communist Party of Sudan or al-Bakr's persecution of the Iraqi Communist Party, is a continuation of Soviet leaders' long-term failure to assist growth of the Left in the Arab World.

The Israeli response can be analyzed with some certainty here. Just as Israel becomes more intransigent over keeping the West Bank and other portions of occupied Palestine, its appetite for Sinai has intensified, not diminished, since 1967. In both cases, the economic motive grows in importance. It is to be noted for example that there is now a bill before the Israeli Knesset that would enforce retention of the Sinai oilfields, "regardless of eventual arrangements that may be made concerning other parts of Sinai."

Negotiations with Israel under conditions of the Rogers Plan can only produce a stalemate or a defeat for Egypt, since Israel's territorial demands find little opposition in Washington. Even if Sadat set out to pursue what the New York Times had called "the next logical step," it is certain that this step's results would ultimately lead to mass anger in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab World.

Sadat's reduction of Soviet forces in Egypt and his easily identifiable efforts to placate American imperialism have confused many. His recent moves seem to mark the end of "Egyptian non-alignment." The battle between imperialism and the masses in the Middle East no longer permits this type of "non-alignment." Egypt's workers, peasants, and students will form their own judgement concerning Anwar el-Sadat and will proceed accordingly.

its large reserves. The shift away from Iraqi production and toward increased production in other areas, such as the Arab Gulf or Libya reflected a desire to reduce production in an area that was on the "danger list". The process accelerated after 1967, as Iraq requested and received Soviet aid for development of government-owned oil fields in the Rumaila area.

The al-Bakr government was displeased with the oil Company's policy and it made attempts to persuade the IPC to re-expand operations to previous levels. Finally, on June 1, the government made its announcement, which was greeted by mass demonstrations in Baghdad.

A New York Times editorial on July 20 said:

"President Sadat acted boldly to extricate his country from Soviet domination. Is it too much to hope that he will take the next logical step and move to settle his differences with Israel, either directly or through, 'close proximity' talks under the auspices of the United Nations?"

Egyptian prime minister Anwar el-Sadat, on July 18, astonished many with his announcement that Egypt would send home nearly 4000 Soviet advisers and military experts. He defined this action as a re-

fence of expulsion

"Hundreds of people- mainly youth, and young families with their children, participated on Saturday, 1st of April in a demonstration rally against settling in the Gaza Strip and expulsion of the bedouins there.

"The demonstration rally convened on Ash-alim Hill near old Kerem-Shalom, not far from the border line between Israel and the Gaza Strip."

"The demonstrators arrived either in cars or in trucks, from various places in Israel. A convoy of dozens of cars and trucks went out of Tel Aviv."

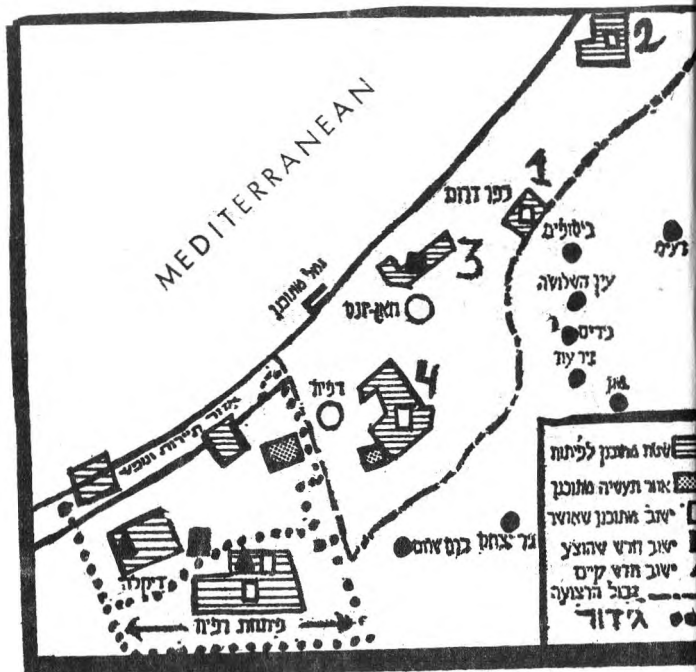
Military and police vehicles preceeded the convoy, trailed after it and encircled the demonstrators, in order to create a stifling atmosphere. Present were the police commander of the Negev, M. Buchner and the chief of the southern command, Major General Mandi. The demonstrators constituted a wide spectrum of political circles: Communists, Ha'olam Haze, Siah, Matzpen| Movement for Peace and Security, members of Kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatza'ir and others. They held up posters, some of which read: "Peace yes-annexation no."

"Israeli army expels. Galili annexes".
 "Settling-unsettles peace" "Fencing in of 60,000 dunams of land will not bring peace" "Did we expel people and also inherit them?" etc.

"Zo Haderekh," April 6, 1972

A leaflet distributed by the Communist Party of Israel read:

- * What happened in the Rafiah area is not an exception, but a policy.
- * What happened in the Gaza Strip has its origin in the crime of occupation.
- * Do not keep silent in view of the robbery in the Rafiah area.
- * Add your voice to the protest against the expulsion and settling in the Gaza Strip and the other occupied territories.
- * The struggle against settling is connected with the struggle against chauvinism and against fascist phenomena.



annexationist action plan in Gaza strip and North Sinai-This map appeared in the Israeli press.

- Key: Lines _____ Planned Israeli development areas
 Dots _____ Planned Israeli industrial zones
 white rec. _____ Planned Israeli colonialist settlement, already confirmed
 black triangle _____ Already existing Israeli colonialist settlement
 Dotted line _____ Fences
 Segmented line _____ Boundary of Gaza Strip
 Open black rec. _____ Planned Israeli port
 *Lined rectangle protruding into Mediterranean is a Planned Israeli recreation centre.



The fence of dispossession in Rafiah

CHEMICAL WARFARE

Victor Cygielman, Jerusalem correspondent of the internationally read French magazine, the Nouvel Observateur, revealed in June, how villagers in the region of Nablus had been severely punished for refusing to allow Israeli military authorities requisition their land. On the 17th of April, a piper cub plane, "dusted" the villagers' wheat fields which were later burned. Cygielman estimated that 6,000 dunams (1,500 acres) were damaged.

Moshe Dayan told his cabinet that the decision to spray the crops with chemicals had been a "wrong one". Davar, the Israeli Labor Party daily revealed how military vehicles had previously done damage to the fields. Peasant complaints addressed to the President of the Knesset, Golda Meir and to local military authorities went unheeded. Golda Meir explained that incidences such as these were "regrettable deviations."

*According to Le Monde's Jerusalem correspondent, in Akraba, as well as many other villages on the West Bank, peasants have been pressured to vacate desired land areas, in accord with the Israeli authorities' purpose of opening the way for more settlement of Jewish immigrants.

Adapted from July 5, Le Monde and July 10, Jerusalem Post.

In all ten towns where the elections had been staged, a total of 14,725 out of an electorate of 16,347 took part in the voting. This represents about 10 % of the grown-up inhabitants of those towns. For instance, in Nablus which has a population of nearly 90,000 only 4,810 cast their votes. The elections were held according to the Jordanian election law, which gives voting rights to male landlords and businessmen only who pay above a certain amount of property taxes. The Israeli as well as the international press pointed out correctly, that it was not pure accident that the Israeli government ordered the elections be held according to the reactionary Jordanian law which prevents a true representation of the population.

The elections were held in an atmosphere of terror and intimidation and on the background of the pre-election events in Nablus, the largest town of the area. There the occupants, after msot of the candidates to the municipal elections resigned and therefore the elections themselves were endangered, threatened, to bring economic disaster upon the town and to take punitive actions against people refraining from presenting their candidature or going to the polls. The former (and now reelected) Mayor of Nablus, Hadj Ma'azouz Al-Masri, who opposed the holding of elections, but presented his candidature after plain threats of the military governor and after his cousin Hikmet Al-Madri had been arrested on a framed-up charge of cooperation with "El-Fatah" guerillas, later told correspondent: that he put up his candidature under pressure and duress from the side of the military governor.

("Zo Haderekh- April 6, 1972- excerpts)

ELECTIONS on THE West Bank

The results of the elections which the occupants forced upon ten towns and townlets in the occupied West Bank of Jordan on March 28, 1972, show that the former mayors and councillors were re-elected. The results of the elections also prove, that the trial to provide a "new leadership" in the West Bank under auspices of the occupants and its annexationist aims, failed thoroughly. Also utterly failed, the intentions of the Israeli occupation authorities to present the elections as if they had been held according to the free will of the inhabitants of the West Bank. The contrary was proved, namely that the elections had been forced upon them by pressure and terror. This was even recognized by the Israeli press and many political circles in Israel.

MCGOVERN

"...it is a foolish priority that this nation spends hundreds of millions of dollars...in Southeast Asia rather than in reinforcing Israel's capacity to wage desert warfare in the Negev and the Sinai...If we make a commitment to Israel as firm as our commitment has been to Saigon, I do not think that Israel will have to endure another generation of warfare...our sale of these weapons should not be made contingent upon Israeli agreement to American diplomatic demands."

(Congressional Record, June 8, 1972.)

1. Introduction

A compulsory draft exists in Israel, whereby every young Jewish male and female of 18 years old is drafted, as well as every young Arab male belonging to the Druze religious sect, in accordance with the attempt to separate the Druze in Israel from their Arab nationality and consider them Druze nationals. The execution of this law takes place in an atmosphere that is almost sacred, under such slogans as: "The Entire People is an Army," "They want to Eliminate Us," and "We are Fighting to Defend our Very Existence."

Until June, 1967, the influx to the draft was very high, and no one was exempted unless he had religious motivations. However, after it became clear to many inhabitants of Israel that the war of June, 1967, was not a "defensive" one, but one whose objective was an occupation in line with general Zionist plans, a number of doubts began to appear among many Israeli youths. This was especially clear from a letter signed by a number of high school students in Jerusalem and another letter from a Tel Aviv high school student which were sent to the Israeli government wherein the undersigned expressed their unwillingness to serve in the "colonies," or in other words, in the areas occupied by the Israeli government since June, 1967.

By the middle of 1971, these doubts about military service in the Israeli army had evolved to the extent that there were some cases of actual rebellion against compulsory service.

The groups who, according to Israeli law, were eligible for the draft and who refused it can be divided into three groups.

- (a) Students who immigrated from Europe and America and who refused the draft because of socialist, ideological motivations.
- (b) Workers who are the children of the oriental Jewish communities, and who were drafted and served in the Israeli army but refused to continue to serve and returned their draft cards to the military authorities because of the discrimination against the oriental Jewish communities;
- (c) The Druze, whose refusal of the draft had its motivation in resistance to the

attempts to separate them from their Arab nationality and from the discrimination inflicted on them as on the Arab community in Israel.

2. Refusal on Ideological Grounds

The newspaper of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen) reported: "The thing that scared the Israeli government more than anything else has become a reality- refusal from within Israel of the policy of occupation, annexation and war- in short, a rejection of Zionism. Four students declared 'we refuse service in an army of occupation'." On September 12, a demonstration marched before the offices of the Ministry of the Interior in Tel Aviv under such slogans as: "Free Rubin Lansman," "Whoever Refuses to Oppress Should Not Be Oppressed," and "A People Who Oppresses Another People Cannot Be a Free People." A number of petitions were also presented to the Ministry of the Interior which were signed by Israelis (less than 1,000 people, according to Matzpen as well as Americans, Australians, and British.

However, Gyora Neuman, one of the four draft resisters, is still in military prison, and this is the third time that the court has sentenced him to 35 days. Matzpen published an interview with Neuman conducted by a foreign correspondent in which the following appeared:*

Q: Why do you resist the draft?

A: I have the following reasons: during the last four years, we have been living in a very special reality- this is putting it very mildly- more bluntly, it is a reality of occupation. The state, by using military laws, not only dominates areas of land that are larger than its own territory, but also an immense number of inhabitants in these territories. It operates in these areas as an occupier in the

of the word. It is simply oppressing another people and this is, of course, logical and natural. I simply don't believe in the existence of a liberal occupation. For this reason, I refuse to serve in the army that executed this policy in the name of the state, because occupation- any oppression are contradictory to my

*A version of this interview from Matzpen- Feb. 28, 1972 had appeared in Resistance #3, but the translator did not include the portion concerning Israeli self-determination.

beliefs and conscience and I don't want to be a part of those actions.

Q: Don't you believe that the Israeli Defense Army is also defending the nationals of the state?

A: I don't believe that the army can defend its own nationals while it oppresses another people and threatens population centers in other countries not only because this cannot, in my opinion, be considered defense, but also because this constitutes a reality which can have future catastrophic implications.

Q: Don't you, as a socialist, believe that Israeli nationalism has the right of self-determination and possesses the means to secure this right?

A: Presenting the issue today as one of defending the right of self determination of the Jews in Israel is a very crooked plot whose motive is the defense of Zionism by using terms that are socialist. Our case now is with Zionism, which is a national movement based on discrimination, and which has a colonial nature, that practically deprives another people of the right of self determination.

Q: Are there any individuals or groups that work with you?

A: First, I am a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization, known under the name of Matzpen, and the organization supports my fight and the right of youth in general to reject the draft, and it has already taken initiatives to support me and my comrades. Demonstrations took place in front of the ministry of security in Tel Aviv, pamphlets have been distributed, and petitions have been signed to the Ministry of Defense, both inside and outside the country. By the way, there was a demonstration in London, and petitions bearing thousands of names from Britain, France, United States, and Australia were sent. However, none of them were given any publicity, even small, in the Israeli press.

Q: Gyora, if you were Prime Minister of Israel, how would you have dealt with the phenomenon that is called Gyora Neuman?

A: With all good intentions of answering your question, I prefer to be Gyora Neuman than to be Prime Minister of Israel.

*Also the girl, Irit Yacouvi, who refused the draft, was put in military prison.

3. Refusal because of Discrimination against Oriental Jews

Yediot Aharnot reported that:

"...seven youths from Jerusalem-some of whom have a criminal record and all of whom are poor- returned their draft cards

yesterday, and some of them also returned orders to become part of the reserves and declared that they will not comply with the orders."

In a letter addressed to the president of the government and the minister of defense, the youths say:

"We cannot continue our work due to the fact that we are being chased by the police and the government administration. There is something that is not clear to us: If you want us to fight for the state why doesn't the state take concern for our economic demands and find a place for us in this society?"

The signatures of the letter are Hanoukha Mizrahi, Abraham Sharabi, Darur Mizrahi, Jabura Effenheims, Youab Mizrahi, Aharon Cohen, and Shlomo Mizrahi.

Yediot Aharnot reported that "five others have returned their draft cards for the reserves in protest of their difficult lives and other youths plan on returning their cards today..."

The magazine Haolam Hazeh conducted an interview with a group of these youths. One of them, Gyora, said in his presentation of their reasons for refusing the draft:

"...what enrages me the most is that in the suburbs of Jerusalem, such as Lifta, Ain Karem, and Gai bin Hinom, they are blasting the roofs of the houses to prevent people from living in them, and what do they do after that? They transform those areas into affluent neighborhoods for American millionaires, like they did in Yamin Menashi. They are profiting millions and leaving us to live in the streets.

Hanoukha Mizrahi says:

"... two months ago, I was in Rahabia [a wealthy Jerusalem neighborhood] and suddenly the police came and arrested me for seven days. Why? It is strange for them that I walk in Rahabia. 'What is there for you in Rahabia, they asked me, This is not your neighborhood.'" Jerusalem is my city; I was born in it, and suddenly they come to tell me that it is forbidden for me to walk in some of its neighborhoods. My past and my darker color are destroying my life." Hanoukha continues: "We do not have any place to sleep, so why go to serve in the reserve forces? To guard the private museum of Mos Dayan?... We hope they will listen to us now, and that they will not give us the chance to use what we have learned in the army... However, in an area in which the law of the jungle prevails, such as this state- in an area in which one can also

take something only with violence- we will not hesitate also to behave like everyone else. We will not eat shit and say that it is honey!"

Haolam Hazeh says:

"From the first moment of the news broadcast about this action, a large number of youths presented requests in which they wanted to add their cards to the seven which had been returned, and on the basis of their great discontent and the encouragement they received last week from hundreds of youths who feel the injustice as they do, the youths speak in a strong language, some of which is that the return of the draft cards is not the last thing they might do."

Maariv states:

...some of these youths who returned their draft cards will be presented to a military tribunal after Golda Meir sends the returned cards to the headquarters of the Israeli chiefs of staff."

4. The Druze and Compulsory Draft and Expropriation of Land

The magazine Al Ghad reported on the Druze community in an article entitled "Boiling among the Druze: The New Generation of Druze Refuse the Policy of Oppression and Stealing of Lands As They Also Refuse the Alleged Druze Nationalism Plot." Part of what was reported in the article said:

"What has happened in the last two months and still continues to happen in the Druze villages is a boiling that will not be easily suppressed. It is a reaction to the injustices perpetrated by the government against them since the existence of the state-political injustices, national oppression, which has happened to all the Arabs in Israel and did not exclude the Druze, that is an integral part of this nation...Approximately two months ago, scores of letters coming from elders and various sectors of the Druze reached us from various villages. Following is what appeared in one of the letters." These words should have been spelled out long ago. The crux of the subject that led me to direct myself to you is first to draw your attention to the situation under which we are living. Second, to get help from you. Unity is strength. Compulsory draft...we are counting the days and months not to receive, but to pay our sons as a tax to this policy that forced the draft upon us. It is known to you and to us that the authorities have been able to pressure scores

of them and get out of them agreements on the draft laws, using various means. It is also known to us and the authorities that more than 1500 Druze in Israel have signed petitions against this law. However, the policy accepted the opinion of the minority and neglected the majority. The compulsory draft destroys the future of our sons".

Then the reporters of Al-Ghad met with the Druze youths. The discharged soldier, Jamal Jamal said:

"We as a minority in this state, should not fall under the auspices of this law of compulsory draft. I support Sheikh Faroud on this issue. I am categorically against the draft. How can I meet my Arab brother with a gun in my hand? I support the students who escaped the draft, and put full responsibility on the authorities if any one of them is hurt, since in this winter weather, they are now sleeping outside their houses."

Salah Thabit said:

"I do not know how the Israeli rulers want me to serve in the Israeli army! They want me to serve in their colonization of the adjacent countries? How do I point my weapon in the face of the person who is fighting for his freedom and his homeland?"

These are only a few examples of the dangerous phenomenon that is occurring, even if it is in the initial stages. If it has anything to say, it only implies that the Zionist movement based on occupation, annexation, and exploitation of the Arab people and the Jewish people themselves has started to face disintegration from within and to lose the justification for its existence.

GALILEE: for Jews Only!

Jerusalem. Aug.8 (AP)- Premier Golda Meir today rejected a personal appeal from the spiritual leader of the Greek Catholic community in Israel to permit the return of dispossessed Christian Arabs to Ikrit and Berem, their villages on the Lebanese border.

The Archbishop said that Mrs. Meir had informed him that Israel would continue to prevent the villagers from reoccupying the homes from which they were expelled in 1948 during Israel's war of independence. Four years later, Israeli soldiers destroyed the houses, presumably to prevent guerrillas from using them.

The Government on July 23 ruled against permitting re-establishment of villages for the reason that the villages were within range of infiltration areas on the Lebanese border. Israeli's also might stir similar demands by other Arabs ejected from their homes in the 1948 war. Much of the land around Berem and Ikrit now belongs to Jewish settlements.

The New York Times



south africa israel-ties

The Union of South Africa's newly appointed Consul General to Tel Aviv is particularly well qualified to strengthen political ties between Zionism and the Apartheid system. Charles B.H. Fincham is a veteran of a 30-year stint in the South African foreign service who has recently served in Angola. Fincham told interviewers "There is a great deal of interest in Israel in South Africa, and I think also great admiration among my countrymen." Alluding to the 7,000 South African Jews living in Israel and to South Africa's own Jewish population Fincham predicted a sharp increase in South African tourism to Israel. He also observed that South Africa was keenly interested in Israel's "advanced technology," particularly in such fields as atomic energy.

Adapted from Jerusalem Post.
April 21, 1972



ON UNDERSTANDING LOE

In May, three Japanese youths acting in solidarity with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), staged an attack upon Israel's Lydda Airport that resulted in the death or wounding of many bystanders, the majority of whom were Puerto Ricans making a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The deed was immediately utilized by the Zionist regime and the American press as a pretext for slandering the Palestinian cause.

From Israeli bureaucrats and the pampered barons of journalism, we can expect no honest treatment of acts of violence committed on behalf of the world's oppressed. Their cries of "Terrorism!" are offered as flimsy concealment for mass slaughters committed in the name of imperialism, as in Indochina or in Israel's wars against people's of the Arab World.* When one considers that the Palestinian Resistance lacks such tools of terror as napalm, Phantom jets, or missiles, that are basic items of Israel's arsenal, it is much easier to identify the true terrorists.

Moreover, it is pertinent to recall that it is Israel and not the Palestinian Resistance that maintains a "liberal occupation" based upon daily acts of terrorism, such as destruction of houses, peasants' crops, repression of even the mildest opposition, and expulsion of an oppressed people from its homeland.

Some sectors of the Left have labelled the Lydda Airport as a "desperation act" reflecting a hypothetical waning of the Palestinian struggle. This line of interpretation carelessly obliterates distinctions among fidayin organizations. Since its inception in 1968, the Popular Front has advocated a strategy that defines sky-jackings or the airport attack as effective means of struggle. The attack itself cannot in any way be regarded as part of an overall fidayin strategy, or as part of a general response to present conditions. Rather, it must be seen as part of a specific organization's strategy, whose pros and cons have been debated within the Resistance for several years.

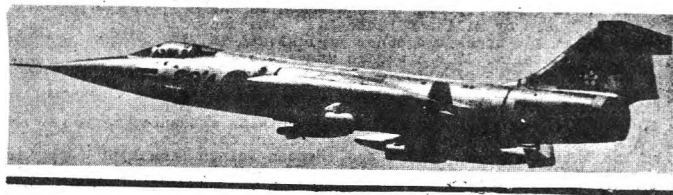
*See p.25 for Israel's raids into Lebanon.

In some cases, "Left" denunciations of the airport attack have reflected the results of Zionist pressure or the more generalized pressure of bourgeois ideology. Conversely, simple-minded endorsements of the airport attack have served to retard and not advance understanding of theoretical and tactical efforts being made by Resistance organizations. We consider understanding of the PFLP stance as fundamental to discussion of the issues, but, in the same spirit, we encourage readers to consult documents from other Resistance tendencies, such as the Democratic Popular Front's "Terrorism and Revolutionary Violence."***

We firmly maintain that the strategy embodied in the Lydda raid cannot serve as a substitute for mobilization of the Palestinian masses or mobilization of mass support of the international scale.

During the present period, the Resistance is facing the task of patiently building stronger forms of mass support as a result of the massive attacks launched by the reactionary regimes in Amman and Beirut. For this period, its supporters in other countries, particularly the imperialist United States, face a parallel task---to move beyond previous levels of solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance and the Mid-East Revolution.

Our work begins with the effort to study and understand perspectives of Resistance organizations.



P.F.L.P. Replies to *Afrique-Asie*, June, 1972

"You (the interviewer) are correct in saying that the opinions of progressives and revolutionaries are particularly important to us. I know that some comrades are asking similar questions (about the airport bombing). It is not a matter of justifying or defending ourselves. But we must try to clarify matters for our friends so that they can understand our motivations and objectives.

***-This pamphlet can be ordered from Resistance for \$35 plus 10cents postage Discounts for bulk orders.

First, each revolutionary movement has the right to determine its methods of action while weighing the objective realities of the situation of combat.

What happened with us after the executioner of Amman, during that black September of 1970, tried to liquidate the Resistance? On one hand, the great powers have kept furnishing arms selectively to one side and the other, in predetermined dosages and, no doubt, with an agreement that Israel would be permitted to keep a certain level of arms superiority. If some Arab heads of state demand a "solution" The great powers are concerned with European security but they don't even know that our people exists.

On the other hand, the Arab regimes use the complicity of the great powers as a pretext for total immobility. They say every day that they are determined to fight heroic battles but they continue their secret negotiations with imperialism and its puppets. Even worse, these regimes refuse to give effective aid to the Palestinian resistance in spite of all their own promises and affirmations. At the same time, of course, we have to consider Hussein's secret negotiations with Israel in order to reach a separate peace.

Some people are surprised that our commandos at Lydda were Japanese. They say we should have sent fidayin. No one can claim that our Palestinian comrades have not given sufficient proof of their willingness to sacrifice themselves. We did not lack Palestinians for such a mission. But this action belongs to the framework of our internationalist program. Yesterday, it was the Japanese, just as there were Frenchmen who fought beside the Algerians, Yugoslavians beside the Spaniards, Chinese beside the Koreans. Tomorrow, other internationalist militants will show their support.

Our struggle is conceived as one to be carried out in any place where Israel's interests can be attacked. The Lydda attack fits this perspective. Anything that can disrupt or paralyze Israel's economic life should be given consideration if we want our struggle to be victorious. It is not a question of classical guerrilla warfare. Nor even of a national liberation war such as our Indochinese comrades are fighting. The objective realities of our struggle are different. Has the Western press ever mentioned the

thousands of Palestinians massacred by Israel? And what would have happened if the Sabena jet had blown up with its hundred passengers, most of whom were foreigners? The press would have said it was our fault...and not the fault of Moshe Dayan who relied upon trickery in order to kill our comrades and prove that Israel was invincible. Well, Israel is no longer invincible..."

Lebanon: search & destroy



On June 21-23, Israeli jets, helicopters, tanks, troops, and gunboats launched major assaults upon Lebanon, both along the coast and in the mountainous border area that Israeli officers refer to as "Fatahland". This area, which has long been defined by sectors of the Zionist movement as belonging within the "historic" borders of "Eretz Israel" has served as a base for fidayin operations for several years.

Along the border, Israeli forces napalmed villages, destroyed houses and bunkers, and inflicted casualties upon both the fidayin and the civilian population. On June 21, the Israeli attack upon the village of Hasbaya caused 300 civilian deaths. Typically, the bourgeois media that were filled with outcries against "Arab terrorism" in the wake of the Lydda airport raid by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) have buried this latest incidence of Israeli genocide against Arab civilians.

Parallel attacks upon other villages, such as Ramieh or Dier el Assair also resulted in numerous civilian casualties. The Israeli slaughters in this coveted agricultural region have caused many civilians to flee the area. Israeli patrols continue to cross the border into "Fatahland" after the heavy offensive of June 21-23.

"Since 1968, there have been 186 (Israeli) violations of Lebanese airspace, 26 violations of its territorial waters, 54 raids across its borders, 163 houses destroyed by explosive charges, 188 houses damaged by other means, 442 civilians killed, 45 civilians and 4 soldiers kidnapped."

*Ania Francos, "Le Gangsterisme israelien," *Jeune Afrique* July 8, 1972

Israel's offensive, aside from its reflection of Zionist territorial aims, cannot be dissociated from a major event that occurred during the first week of June. On June 1, the government of Iraq



nationalized the American-British-French consortium, the Iraq Petroleum Company. Almost simultaneously, Syria announced that it would nationalize the I.P.C. pipelines on its territory. Although the character of the nationalizations is yet unclear, a *New York Times* economic analysis by William Smith (June 3, 1972) warned:

"The seizures of the Iraqi Petroleum Company by the Iraqi and Syrian governments has the potential to become the greatest crisis in oil since the nationalizations of the Iranian oil industry by Premier Mohammed Mossadegh in the early 1950's."

Has Israel again been enlisted as the gendarme of U.S. oil interests?

Against the backdrop of Israel's aim to force the southern Lebanese population to flee and its possible efforts to deliver a "made in U.S.A." warning to the Arab World, there is the reactionary role played by the Lebanese government, which has refused to allow its citizens any material defence against Israeli offensives. Lebanon has a long-established reputation as one of the largest commercial and financial outposts in the Middle East for American Big Business.

In 1969, after intense fighting, the Palestinian fidayin won from the Lebanese government an agreement that would allow them bases for commando operations, and for educating and mobilizing the masses. Yielding to Israeli threats and pressure from right-wing leaders such as Raymond Edde or Pierre Gemayel, the present Lebanese government has operated as an accomplice of Israel by trying to suppress the rights that the fidayin had won.

what Next?

by Sherif Rashid, Beirut correspondent, *Afrique-Asie*, July 10-23.

Under the false pretext of raids committed on Israeli territory by Palestinian commandoes coming from Lebanon, Israel has attacked border villages, sowing death and destruction.

Since June 21, there are daily attacks: air raids, tank attacks and artillery barrages. Destruction is massive, and the border population, stripped of its means of self-defence by Lebanese authorities, is forced to flee. In every village that I have visited, there is anger... an anger that carries no overtones of passive resignation. A feeling of revolt has become widespread. In Hasbaya, one of the most frequently attacked villages, the peasants are cursing and they are especially calling for means to defend themselves effectively against Zionist aggression. The villagers who have not left their homes have not shown any inhibitions in denouncing officials who have come to investigate the border situation:

"If they consider the South an integral part of Lebanon then they should defend it. They should arm us. They should let us defend ourselves and, if it is necessary, let us die with dignity. Not like cattle. If they can't do this, then they shouldn't come here..."

In Deir-el Ashair, no more than ten inhabitants remain. These die-hards said to me:

"The government has forsaken us. Even the Syrian forces not far from here withdraw a few hours before the enemy attack..."

In Ramie, the inhabitants suffered the most degrading insults. Herded into the central square, they were forced to kneel by the Israelis and were separately interrogated. The Israelis proceeded to throw tomatoes at those who awaited interrogation. One elderly peasant said to me:

"If I'd only had a rifle or a grenade. Of course, I couldn't have escaped from enemies armed to the teeth, but at least I could have shown that the Lebanese do know how to die honorably. I would have drowned those Zionist's laughter with an explosion..."

These are only a few episodes among many. The real crisis is going on elsewhere.

It is no secret that the Israelis have intensified their attacks upon the border villages in order to provoke a confrontation between the Lebanese army and the fidiayin. In order to push their objective, allies within the ranks of the Lebanese government to annul the Cairo agreements of November 3, 1969 and to attempt a repetition of the September 1970 massacre that occurred in Amman, the Israelis have stepped up their pressure. This is the basis of their strategy in Lebanon.

The population of Southern Lebanon is not deceived by the pretext invoked by the Israeli forces. In Hasbaya, for example, the fedayin had evacuated, but this did not prevent Israel from attacking. In the ruins of the village, a woman called out to journalists:

"We have lost on two scales. First, the fedayin are no longer here to defend us, and, next, the enemy attack us..." She continued, "Have we lost all our dignity? Why hasn't the Lebanese army shown any national pride? Why haven't they launched a mortar attack on a kibbutz?"

But, from Lebanon, there have been no mortar attacks on Israeli kibbutzes or air-raids or mobilizations. There has been no concrete action by Arab nations to help Palestinian and Lebanese victims. Leaders have been satisfied to use the traditional empty appeals to the U.N. Security Council, which has again condemned Israel aggression as if Israel were willing to yield to international pressures that it has always ignored in the past. Then leaders turn to the Palestine Resistance to "persuade" it to de-escalate or to cease the military struggle against the enemy. A few days later, on June 30, an official statement by Lebanese authorities announced a "total and decisive agreement" between the government and "all the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization

What is really happening? Is it true that this "agreement" foreshadows a "freeze" of all Palestinian activities in southern Lebanon and a partial withdrawal of the fedayin from the border area?

A Palestinian militant told us: "To imagine that Palestinian revolutionaries will accept a 'freeze' or a paralysis of their work is to renounce a fundamental principle of armed struggle---the definition of Arab territory as the natural and principal base for our fight to reconquer our national territory."

That we "consider the particular circumstances of Lebanon" is one thing, but using Israeli aggression as a pretext for muzzling us is another. The Israelis will always find excuses for attacking Arab countries. For us, the essential thing is to stick to our determination to pursue armed struggle."

He continued: "Our leaders have informed us that the November 3, 1969 Cairo agreements are still in effect-- that we still have the same freedom of movement. But if it turns out in the coming days or weeks that restrictions have been imposed upon us, we will deal forcefully with that situation."

I asked what he thought of the reactions of other Arab countries. "There is only one solution according to our rank and file: that the Syrian, Egyptians and Jordanian fronts be opened.

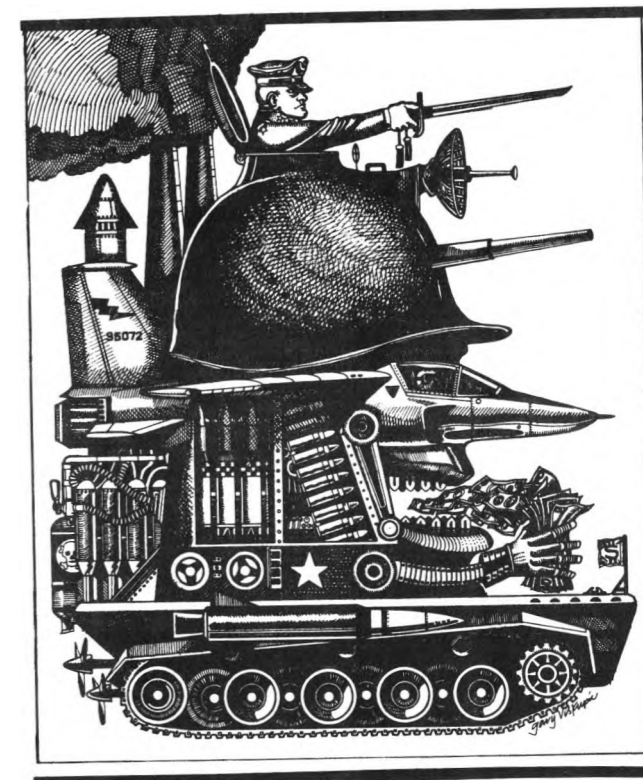
The only way to weaken the enemy is to disperse his forces and to fight on several fronts. We do not minimize the importance of the 'internal front'---inside the IS-

raeli-held territory-- but our forces also need external bases. They cannot be closed off. That's Israeli strategy and that's the strategy we have to defeat."

The problem is that Israel's strategy finds supporters in Lebanon, just as it did in Jordan before the September, 1970 massacres. When Raymond Edde and other Lebanese politicians ask for suspension of the Cairo agreements, are they not preparing a liquidation of the fedayin in Lebanon? Since they follow a line demanding withdrawal of the fedayin, are they not provoking a chain of events that would necessarily produce clashes between the fedayin and the army, which is a major objective of Israeli strategies?

The crisis is far from being resolved. Israel has not fulfilled its objectives through its aggressions against southern Lebanon. These objectives cannot be met unless the Palestinian Resistance is liquidated in Lebanon.

The question is whether Arab public opinion will allow Arab governments to sit with their arms folded when the next phase of the process arises.



Kanafani is Assassinated

On July 8, Ghassan Kanafani, the editor of Al Haddaf, weekly publication of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.) was killed by a 10 pound bomb that had been placed in his car. Born in Acre, Kanafani had been driven out of his home at the age of 12, during the 1948 war. Later, he won renown throughout the Arab world as a novelist and critic (one of his well-known critical works was Literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine, which did much to generate interest in the works of Arab poets who have lived under Zionist rule since 1948, such as Mahmoud Darwish or Sami-al Qasim). Recently, several Kanafani novels have been adapted to the screen, with film versions gaining acclaim at the Damascus Film Festival this year.

The P.F.L.P. and other Arab organizations immediately understood the meaning of the assassination. Agents of Imperialism had already made similar bomb attempts at other times in Beirut and, on July 31, a new bomb attack occurred at the al-Fatah offices.

Kanafani's funeral inspired what Time's correspondent (July 24) referred to as "the largest display of fidayin strength and support seen in Beirut for at least two years." The crowd, according to some estimates, numbered 200,000. In a half-mile long procession, it marched through Beirut, shouting such slogans as "Avenge the martyrs! and "No to peaceful solutions!"

The militancy and size of the protest forced Time's correspondent to speculate that the Lebanese government may be "too weak to discipline the guerrillas."

For the Fall issue, November, 1972, articles in Resistance will include:

✿ Ethiopia... Israel's Colony in Africa
✿ Iran's New Deal with the Oil Cartel
✿ The Liberation of Southern Yemen: from Independence Struggle to Socialist Revolution

Resistance is produced by a group of Middle-Easterners and Americans. We would appreciate comments, suggestions, articles, cartoons and financial contributions. Checks should be made out to Middle East Publications. Our address is:

middle east publications
p.o. box 134

West Newton Mass. 02165

