

RESISTANCE in the Middle East

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SHIN BET
GREEK RESISTANCE
ERITREAN LIBERATION
THE ARAB CINEMA
ISRAELI ECONOMY
GULF STRUGGLE
SUDANESE WOMEN

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COMMENTARY: *Conspirators Gather*

With the present establishment of a cease-fire in Indochina, Washington's policy makers are turning closer attention to the Middle East. On January 30, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Henry Kissinger has assembled a special staff to examine the poten-

tial effect of Middle East events upon the United States' "energy crisis." In recent years, the oil industry has conducted a persistent propaganda effort to convince Americans that, as demand for petroleum products grows, an increasing percentage of the nation's oil supply will come from the "unstable" Middle East. Because they fear that oil-producing nations' demands for higher royalties or possible attempts at nationalization would curtail present super-profits, the petroleum barons zealously evoke a scenario of "political blackmail," escalating monetary crises, and "weakened national security."

Under pressure from oil men and bankers, Washington is busily erecting a new conspiracy to force a "peace" upon the Middle East. Recently, King Hussein has worked overtime for his masters, initiating a complex set of diplomatic maneuvers on the "Arab front."

In early December, Hussein personally visited King Faisal of Saudi Arabia in order to secure his aid in breaking the boycott of Jordan by nationalist regimes. The two monarchs issued a joint communique inviting all Arab nations to "support Jordan in maintaining its line of defense against the Zionist enemy." At the same time, Faisal promised an additional 24 million dinars in financial aid to Jordan, while Hussein offered to mediate a territorial dispute between Faisal and the sheik of Abu Dhabi on the Arab Gulf.

The joint declaration was followed by a conference of Arab defense ministers in Kuwait for the ostensible purpose of "developing a joint strategy for the liberation of Palestine and other occupied territories." Despite the martial rhetoric, this conference was a calculated maneuver to drum up support for the infamous UN resolution number 242, which excludes the Palestinian resistance from any "peace" negotiations with the Israeli government.

Shortly thereafter, in January, Hussein issued his proposal that Moslem holy places in Jerusalem be granted an extraterritorial status similar to that of the Vatican, while Israel would be allowed to retain other portions of occupied Jerusalem and security outposts on the West Bank. This proposal elicited favorable responses from many Israeli officials, including Abba Eban.

In January, a second conference of defense ministers was convened in Cairo. This time, the Jordanian representatives agreed to "reactivation of the eastern front," but insisted that any Palestinian forces re-entering Jordan be obliged to accept orders from the "front's" military commander, Egyptian general Ahmed Ismail. Representatives of every Arab nation except Iraq expressed willingness to accept these terms. Thus, it is clear that the "reactivated eastern front" is unlikely to become a military reality;

it is only a scarecrow that could be used to seek minor concessions from the United States and Israel if negotiations take place.

On February 6, Hussein arrived in Washington. At a gala dinner in the East Room of the White House, Richard Nixon toasted the Hashemite assassin as "a courageous leader who stood for moderation and responsibility during crises when it appeared that extremism was a way to popularity."

Hussein returned the compliment, saying that he "shared with the people of the United States their pride in you (Nixon). Your victories have been ours."

The exchange of cordialities between the two international outlaws was accompanied by an announcement that the Defense Department will soon deliver 30 jet fighters to the Jordanian air force. Moreover, "non-military" aid from the U.S. will be augmented in order to bolster Jordan's shaky economy.

Hussein is expected to spend at least several weeks in the U.S. and may even remain when Golda Meir arrives in March. At the same time, Kissinger's newly created special task force will be pursuing ways of setting up negotiations between Egypt and Israel.

The escalating rumors of "new initiatives" and the ominous silence of nationalist regimes pose a new threat to the Mid-East revolution. While Washington and its feudal agents in Amman or Jeddah may talk "peace," the scope of American military aid to Israel and the forces of Arab reaction must be translated as "Peace or else!"

In the short run, the Washington-Tel Aviv-Amman-Jeddah axis will intensify its maneuvers. However, a "peace" designed by the most rabid enemies of the oppressed can offer no viable solutions to the Palestine Question or Israel's occupation of Egyptian and Syrian territory. This kind of "peace"--designed to protect the oil oligarchy's profits against revolutionary storms--could only be enforced by escalated repression.

The inherent inability of imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction to resolve the burning questions of the Middle East thrusts a new imperative before those who solidarize with the cause of the masses. Since there can be no "peace" in the Middle East until the forces of liberation are victorious, the present "peace offensive" would be most appropriately met by an energetic counter-attack from the foes of imperialism.



Letters To The Editor



To the editors:

The struggle in the Arab World in general---and specifically in Palestine---is characterized by the fact that we are confronted at the same time with the "classical" imperialist contradictions as well as with the contradictions which result from the confrontation of various national bourgeoisies. The appearance of national conflicts in the colonial world---as a result of the "divide and rule" policy---is a well-known phenomenon and has often done good service in the diversion of anti-imperialist struggles (Kurds, Southern Sudan, Biafra).

In the special case of Zionist immigration to Palestine, the factor of the development of the Jewish Question must be added. These contradictions act in a dialectical way, intermingle, and are superimposed upon one another. This problem comes to light in all its sharpness in the fight of the Palestinian Resistance, which can by no means be reduced to a "simple" anti-imperialist struggle.

In its form, the mobilization of the Palestinian masses is self-evidently directed primarily in the form of a national fight against the state of Israel. But this aspect also principally enables the reactionary and the bourgeois "progressive" regimes in the Arab World to connect this form of mass mobilization with the slogan of "national unity," thus camouflaging class contrasts. By this method, they succeed in averting attention from their inability to solve the national conflict, as well as the anti-imperialist problem, by neutralizing the masses politically.

Thus, for the Palestinian Resistance, there exists not only the problem of mobilization of the masses of this area for its support---which implies the overthrowing of the existing regimes---but also the dialectical connection of this mobilization with its objectives, which is the only way to make this overthrow possible.

It is important to show that a source of the weakness of the Arab and Palestinian left lies in the absence of a proletarian internationalist perspective in the solution of the national question. This deficiency shows itself in an extreme form in a remark of the political bureau of the DPFLP

---The liberation of Palestine and the destruction of Zionism is not to be reached through a revolution of the Israeli proletariat. The contrary is the case. The victory of the proletariat in Israel can only be reached through the struggle of the Palestinians and the Arabs....---

The resulting strategy--i.e., the struggle of the Palestinians and the Arabs--is the strategy of bourgeois nationalism and implies already the beginning of the next defeat. The pure military strategy against Israel, especially in the present strategic situation in the Middle East, can only be wrecked. Besides, it is totally inappropriate and incapable of solving the Palestine Question.

Dear friends (Resistance staff):

I have received your Fall issue (#7). I found the articles concerning Munich and its aftermath most informative. I also noticed several letters to the editor (something you didn't have before, I believe), which added a great deal to the magazine's value. I especially give you support for including some articles on Democratic Yemen.

Have you come up with a new name for Resistance yet? I think you should devote some articles to Israel's growing ties with the South Vietnamese government, as well as North Vietnam's, the NLF's, and China's position on the Middle East.

Fraternally,

J.G.

Brooklyn, New York

To the Editor:

There are a number of undetermined avenues that the Arabic people could take in order to survive the military and economic situations which have existed in the Middle East for many years. It is difficult at this stage of history to come up with a definite ideological solution to their problem which, in fact has eaten up their energy through war, division and economic exploitation.

It is clear to me and to all who are concerned that the Arab people are like a soccer ball being kicked by the Americans to the Russians, then bouncing back to Europe and ending up in the third world which shares the same problems.

It is important for the Arabs to recognize a new factor which has been added in favor of the Israeli military aggressor through the defeat of the American imperialism in Vietnam. This factor introduces to the Middle East battlefield a new American commitment to Israel. History has taught us a tragic lesson and has opened for us the only avenue.

Revolutionary popular war over a protracted period would unite people of the same history and the same national feeling; of course that was true with the Vietnam revolution and the Algerian revolution which existed in their land and gave them examples of their own. Unity through war would defeat the enemy of the people and win world peace.

N.H.
Los Angeles

Through actions like those on the airport of Lod, in Munich, etc., the basic character of the conflict cannot be changed in any way. These actions are part of the catastrophic strategy which is not capable of communicating even a minimum of revolutionary perspective.

Thus, in conclusion, we can say that the fight against imperialism and Arab reaction cannot be divided mechanically into a main contradiction (Zionism or Israel) and a minor contradiction (Imperialism, Arab reaction), with separate strategies and tactics.

M.L.,

Vienna, Austria

EDITORS REPLY

Although you identify "divide and rule" as a keystone of imperialist strategies in the Middle East, you fail to advance beyond this perception to a responsible analysis of specific divisions that exist within the Middle East.

By minimizing differences between feudal and bourgeois nationalist regimes, you imply that the fight to acquire or defend national independence is historically irrelevant. It is very easy to recognize the reactionary essence of feudal regimes that are wholly subservient to imperialism (Jordan, Saudi-Arabia, Iran, for example); however, the role of national independence movements and nationalist regimes demands a higher level of understanding.

Although the national bourgeoisie has its own motives for participating in or leading a struggle for political independence from imperialism, this goal also serves the interests of the masses. Clearly, the workers' and peasants' long-term struggle against economic exploitation would not be aided by continued subjection to colonial occupiers or feudalists of the Hussein-Faisal stripe. Thus, acquisition of national independence--even under bourgeois leadership--represents a partial victory against imperialism that revolutionaries should neither over-estimate nor underestimate.

Because of your failure to examine the anti-colonial and anti-feudal struggles that have occurred in the Middle East, you do not seriously examine the specific situation of the Palestinian masses. Whereas the Egyptians or Syrians for example, have at least won a degree of political independence (a political independence that continues to be menaced by imperialist strategies and interests), the Palestinians still face not only protracted national oppression, but expulsion from their national homeland--- as well as what you would probably call "classic" economic oppression. Because the Zionist movement and the state of Israel have been prominent factors in the super-oppression of the Palestinian masses, the latter are forced to confront these adversaries as well as the omnipresent imperialist adversary.

While not denying that the Jewish Question has been introduced into the Middle East, the Palestinian Resistance organizations are painfully aware that it was introduced by means of Zionist colonization. Presenting a tragically deceptive "answer" to the Jewish Question, the Zionist movement has only been able to erect and maintain a "Jewish state" by deny-

ing the rights and even the existence of the Palestinian nation. At no point should it be forgotten that, less than thirty years ago, the people of Palestine, despite British military occupation, had their own recognizable national identity. Does one pretend that this identity has been erased by the military victories of the Haganah and Tzahal or the continuing expulsion of Palestinian peasants and workers by a "Jewish state"?

Yet you deny the right of Palestinians to under take a "national fight against the state of Israel." You advise them to pay greater attention to the "overthrowing of the existing regimes." Would you also advise the Eritrean Liberation Front to focus upon overthrowing the Sudanese government and to de-emphasize its "national fight" against Haile Selassie's feudal regime (which receives generous Israeli support)?

You cite a statement by the DPFLP as an indication of the "absence of a proletarian internationalist perspective" among the Arab and Palestinian left. This statement, if you have quoted correctly, makes the fundamental point that the Israeli proletariat can never hope to free itself from its own capitalist oppressors until it becomes capable of linking its economic struggle with the struggle of the Palestinian masses. The DPFLP statement correctly points out that the specific situation of the Israeli proletariat (i.e., its existence within Zionist society) requires that its fight for socialism not be divorced from the struggle against Zionism.

While we support and seek to publicize the struggles of the Israeli working class and progressive organizations in Israel, we cannot pretend that Zionism has lost its hold upon significant layers of the Israeli population. It is unfortunately true that, at present, political consciousness within Israel has not yet advanced to the point where large numbers will refuse to bear arms against Arabs on behalf of Moshe Dayan and Wall Street. You are applying a chauvinist double standard that permits condemnation of the fidayin of Munich but ignores the mass terrorism perpetrated by Israel's jets and tanks. (One should not forget that some of these jets and tanks are piloted by self-styled "socialists" of the Mapam type who pretend that Zionist colonization of Palestine is "progressive" and that Arab resistance to this colonization is "reactionary".)

The most advanced layers of the Palestinian Resistance comprehend that neither imperialism nor Zionism can be defeated without struggle against feudal regimes or bourgeois regimes that are only "summer soldiers" in the present conflict. However, the ability of these layers to convey their message to the Arab masses and, in particular, to the Palestinian masses depends to some degree upon the quality of support that proletarian internationalists elsewhere in the world can give to the struggle for self-determination.

Your inversions of logic--demands for "internationalism" from Arabs not accompanied by demands for a firm opposition to imperialism and Zionism from inhabitants of Israel or the imperialist nations--can only lead to a theoretical and practical dead-end. Pursuit of this catastrophic course prolongs not only the exploitation of the Arab masses, but of the Israeli population itself, whose class interests you attempted to speak for.

Red Sea Colony

"IT IS PERHAPS FOOLISH FOR US STILL TO BE THERE. IF WE WERE BRITISH WE WOULD HAVE LEFT LONG AGO. BUT WE HAVE NO SANG-FROID. WE CAN'T HELP BEING SENTIMENTAL ABOUT THE PLACE AND A LITTLE AFRAID OF THE HOLOCAUST THAT IS TO COME."

(from Jean Massias, press secretary to the French High Commissioner for the Territory of Afars and Issas, Newsweek, January 22, 1973)

The "Territoire des Afars et des Issas" is the last old-style colonial outpost on the Horn of Africa. Formerly called French Somaliland, it is still garrisoned by a force of four thousand, most of whom are members of the barbaric French Foreign Legion. In this small territory, roughly 2/3 of the 130,000 inhabitants are "citizens of France," but political power rests solidly in the hands of a colonial high commissioner appointed in Paris, and retaining control of security, trade, communications, and finance.

Situated at the mouth of the Red Sea, the territory is "defended" by extensive air and naval forces. Le Monde (December 22, 1972) has suggested that its role in the Indian Ocean-Red Sea region may become comparable to that once played by Gibraltar in the Mediterranean. In recent months, new hangars have been built and airstrips have been lengthened in order to accommodate the most advanced jet fighters. In December, eight F-100 Super-Sabres were permanently transferred to the French base at Djibouti, along with several helicopter detachments. At the same time, the number of coastal patrol ships has increased dramatically.

The sudden military build-up nearly coincides with the January visit of French president Pompidou, but it would be misleading to assume a direct causal relationship. On the one hand, it is true that France wishes to beef up the "rear-guard" of its forces in Madagascar and Chad, which are within easy flying distance of Djibouti. On the other hand, one must consider the general imperialist mobilization in the Indian-Ocean-Red Sea region, with the United States, Britain, Israel, and South Africa as co-participants. The Djibouti base, by virtue of its location, provides another spot that could be used in emergencies in order to give aid and comfort to Haile Selassie, to the Arab Gulf sheikdoms, or to the Portuguese in Mozambique.

The territory's political status represents a flagrant denial of self-determination to its inhabitants, who belong to two broad ethnic groups that the French have traditionally sought to pit against each other. Even though the majority of the population is Moslem, the Afars are related to tribes in Ethiopia and the Republic of Somalia. The merchant class and the petty bourgeoisie is predominantly Arab.

In 1958, France sponsored a referendum on national independence, with the majority of the Issas voting against colonial rule. Caught by surprise, the French authorities initiated a campaign of repression against the Issas, while granting preferential treatment to the Afars. Mahmoud Harbi, a leader of the growing independence movement, was forced to

flee to the newly independent Republic of Somalia, where he established a Liberation Front for French Somalia. Shortly thereafter, Harbi died mysteriously on an air voyage from Cairo to Geneva.

Although the Liberation Front was never able to develop extensive military operations, the desire for national independence has continued to grow among the masses. In 1966, when de Gaulle was planning a visit to Haile Selassie, rumors circulated that de Gaulle was prepared to cede the entire territory to Ethiopia in exchange for continued control of the military base at Djibouti. These rumors arose partially because of Djibouti's growing importance as an outlet for Ethiopian goods.

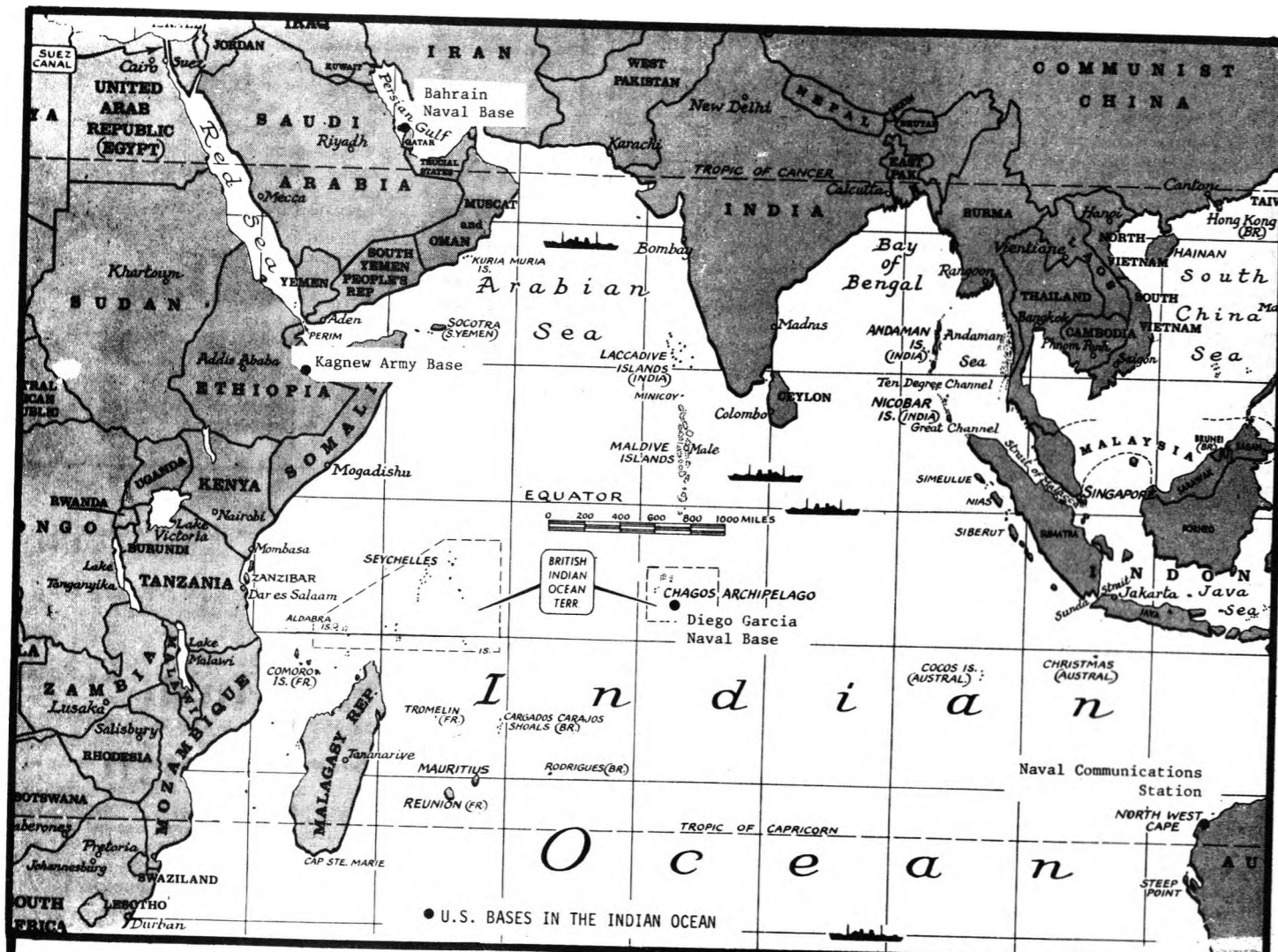
In August, 1966, de Gaulle arranged a "surprise" visit to Djibouti. On the day of his arrival, mass demonstrations occurred, with thousands gathering to protest against the visit. De Gaulle personally ordered the police and the Foreign Legion to "restore peace" to Djibouti. In the ensuing battle, hundreds of demonstrators were wounded by French grenades and rifle fire.

In 1967, another referendum was held, with many members of the Issa tribes being stripped of the right to vote. Not surprisingly, the status quo --continued French rule--received a majority vote.

On January 15, French president Pompidou paid his first official visit to Djibouti, before proceeding to Addis Ababa for conferences with Haile Selassie. This time, the independence movement, now reorganized as the African Peoples' League, organized a highly successful boycott of Pompidou's public appearances. Pompidou's visit to the feudal tyrant Haile Selassie reinforces the difficulties that the independence movement will face. Franco-Ethiopian relations have a long history, dating back to the construction of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti rail line by a French company in 1894, and bolstered by increasing French investment in Ethiopia.

Because the Afars tribes are related to Ethiopian tribes, Haile Selassie has periodically indicated that the territory should be annexed by Ethiopia, if the French should decide to leave. In particular, the Ethiopian regime fears that the independence movement would seek close ties with the Republic of Somalia, whose leaders have occasionally denounced Haile Selassie as an agent of imperialism.

As imperialism continues its machinations to isolate the Democratic Republic of Yemen and to destroy liberation movements in the region, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLQAG) and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), it is possible that events in the "Territoire des Affars et Issas" could play a major role. Continued French maintenance of a large base at Djibouti and its corollary, the denial of national independence to the area's inhabitants--can only be defined as part of imperialism's efforts by hook and by crook to continue its pillaging of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.



THE NEW IMPERIAL NAVY - east of suez

Most of what follows in this article is taken from the November 1972 issue of the North American Congress on Latin America entitled "The New Imperial Navy".

In recent years, the Pentagon has made clear its plans to expand the Navy into its principal and even primary instrument of global military strategy. And the U.S. government is increasingly relying on naval forces as an active instrument of intimidation. For the third straight year, the Pentagon allotted the Navy the biggest share of its monies--an estimated \$26.4 billion, compared with \$24.6 billion for the Air Force and \$21.2 billion for the Army. \$1.7 billion is budgeted for work on the big Trident nuclear submarines, whose eventual cost will exceed \$1 billion per submarine. And \$657 million is budgeted for work on the giant nuclear carrier CVN-70, which Navy boss Admiral R. Zumwalt says can "demonstrate by our presence both our capability and our determination to protect our commerce and our sources of strategic materials from any interruption."

Chief on that list of "strategic materials" is oil, and the center of attention in the Pentagon planners' heads is the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean area.

For centuries, the Mediterranean was a "Western Lake," and the Indian Ocean and Arab Gulf were under the secure control of Western navies. These strategic waterways were first used by European adventurers to explore and then conquer vast areas of the Third World, and later used by European merchants to transport the vast plunder--slaves and spices, cotton and rubber, tin and oil--appropriated from the area by the West. In order to assure unhampered access to this immense wealth -- which helped finance the industrialization of Western Eu-

rope -- England and its allies maintained a significant naval presence throughout the area and had troops available at all times for the defense of client monarchies and sheikdoms. British mastery of these waters has also been of great benefit to the United States, as American merchants have long participated in the plunder of the region under the protection of the Royal Navy. It is not surprising therefore that Prime Minister Harold Wilson's announcement that Great Britain would terminate its military presence "East of Suez," and reduce its naval presence in the Mediterranean, caused considerable alarm in the United States--which had always looked to its ally to perform the necessary mission in the region. One American strategist, James D. Atkinson of Georgetown University, observed that, "For almost a century, the vast Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex was an area of relative stability. This was so because...British forces were on hand throughout these sea spaces to respond quickly for any needed police action." With Britain no longer willing to perform this police function, the United States immediately began making plans for an increased military presence in this strategic area.

American anxiety over the British withdrawal from the Mediterranean/Indian Ocean area has turned into a near-obsession with the Soviet buildup in the region. The reason is easy to see: the United States and its allies have vital economic, political and strategic interests in the Middle East that would be gravely jeopardized if it were to fall under the domination of a hostile power. Although an accounting of these interests is beyond the scope of this essay, the major ones are identified below.

First and foremost among Western interests in the Middle East is oil. According to the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Arabian Gulf provides half of Western Europe's oil supply, 90 percent of Japan's, and nearly 100 percent of the oil consumed by U.S. forces in Europe and Asia. All told, oil reserves in the Middle East and North Africa constitute 76 percent of the non-Communist world's global aggregate. Although recent oil discoveries in the North Sea, Nigeria, Alaska and the South China Sea may someday reduce the West's dependence on Middle East supplies--an unlikely possibility as these finds, despite their publicity, are of marginal magnitude--in the foreseeable future the U.S. will require continued access to Arabian Gulf oilfields and free use of the waterways over which most of the oil is carried. In order to guarantee that Western Europe and Japan will remain in the imperialist camp, the United States must demonstrate its intention to protect "Free World" access to the Gulf and adjacent waters. Furthermore, while the United States does not presently import much oil from the Middle East, American petroleum experts report that domestic use is expanding at a much faster rate than discoveries of reserves in the Western hemisphere, and that by the end of the present decade, it will need considerable imports from the Middle East to forestall an impending energy crisis." Some experts predict that the U.S. will have to import 20 to 25 percent of its oil supply from the Gulf by 1985. In a discussion of this trend, Admiral Zumwalt told the senate that by 1985, "the quantities of oil imported by sea will be vast--in the order of 12 million barrels a day. That will require from several hundred to over 1,000 tankers...fully com-

mitted to deliveries of oil to the United States. The potential for coercion of the U.S., with or without allies, inherent in this situation is ominous...." Indeed, the Georgetown Center warned in 1969 that "the strategic interests of the non-Communist world would be in grave jeopardy if freedom of movement in and out of the Gulf were curtailed or denied," and that "any situation which put a major power hostile to the West astride these oil supplies would be intolerable."

Second, trade with the Asian and African nations bordering the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean is a major factor in the prosperity of Western Europe and Japan, and must be continued if these countries are to remain within the capitalist system. And until they can "defend" themselves, the U.S. intends to maintain control of these waterways.

Finally, there is the question of the area's strategic significance in the overall balance of power equation. By building up its naval forces in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean, and by developing close ties with nationalist Arab states, the Soviet Union has succeeded in "leapfrogging" the solid line of anti-communist garrison states erected by the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations to contain Communist expansion in Europe and Asia, and thus threaten the continued viability of the NATO alliance.



A new "scare" campaign has been mounted by U.S. Cold War lobbyists and their friends in the Congress and the mass media to build up the Navy and eliminate the "naval gap". The following prophesy, made by Frank R. Barnett of the National Strategy Information Center, is characteristic of such tactics:

Every student of geopolitics knows that the Middle East is the hinge of three continents; economists realize the same area contains nearly 65 percent of the world's current reserves of oil; and virtually all informed laymen see that Israel is now closely beleaguered by authoritarian Arab governments.... But it is not only Israel's fate that is darkly shadowed by the spread of Russian communism into "warm water"; the viability of NATO the future of Africa, and the security of the United States are likewise menaced by Soviet ambitions and expanding capabilities in this strategic region. If the voices of the New Left, the Black Panthers and their odd bedfellows prevail, both Vietnam and the Middle East will be abandones. In which case,

the eastern Mediterranean and Indian Oceans become Soviet bathtubs and the new nations of Africa and Asia prey for the hunting parties of Communist political commandos.

(from W. Joshua, Soviet Penetration into the Middle East, New York, 1971)

Although the Pentagon has been very vociferous in its warnings of increased Soviet naval activity in the Mediterranean/Indian Ocean area, it has been largely silent when discussing the build-up of its own forces in the region. The anti-Soviet scare campaign has been used, in fact, to camouflage the expansion of its military apparatus into the Indian Ocean. Many of these moves have gone entirely unreported, while the significance of others has been intentionally disguised. Thus the signing of agreements with Spain, Portugal and Bahrain to maintain bases on their territory has been described as administrative measures in order to prevent their submission to the Senate as treaties--which would have required full-dress debates. Despite such obfuscation, it is possible to begin charting the magnitude of the U.S. buildup in the Mediterranean/Indian Ocean. A brief summary of major developments is presented below.

Indian Ocean: After the fighting between India and Pakistan which led to the creation of Bangladesh, the U.S. announced that it would begin regular naval patrols in the Indian Ocean to "show the flag" and demonstrate its intention to protect vital interests in the area. (Missile-armed nuclear submarines had already been active in the region for a long time.) In order to facilitate the anticipated increase in naval activity, the Pentagon expanded its communications facilities at North West Cape, Australia, and began construction of an entirely new base on Diego Garcia atoll in the British Indian Ocean Territory. The Diego Garcia installation, the U.S.'s first in the Indian Ocean proper, will house a communications station, an airstrip, and naval docking facilities. Other moves in the area include the opening of negotiations with Singapore for the use of abandoned British naval bases there, and the initiation of contacts with South Africa for the exchange of intelligence data on Soviet maritime activity in the Indian Ocean. The United States also furnished helicopters and other arms aid to Ceylon when that country was rocked by a revolutionary upheaval in 1971, and permitted some arms to be shipped to West Pakistan in 1971 despite an official ban on such exports.

Arabian Gulf: The United States has long based a small naval squadron, the U.S. Middle East Force (MEF), at Bahrain in the Arabian Gulf. Until 1971, it obtained the right to use the Bahrain facility from Great Britain, which has ruled the island sheikdom as a protectorate since 1898; when Bahrain became independent on August 15, 1971, it became necessary to negotiate a new agreement for occupation of the base, and this was accomplished on December 23rd of that year. When the Bahrain agreement was signed, the State Department classified it as an executive order and it was thus not submitted to the Senate as a treaty. Several members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led by Clifford Case of New Jersey, subsequently charged that the Administration had violated the Constitutional provisions calling for Senate ap-

proval of all treaties, and successfully held up approval of funds for the Bahrain facility. Despite this harassment, the Pentagon is going ahead with plans to upgrade the Middle East Force: at least one of its two aging destroyers will be replaced by a new vessel--perhaps a missile-armed Spruance-class destroyer--while the MEF's flagship will be replaced by a modern amphibious transport ship, the 14,000 ton LaSalle. The United States has also shipped substantial quantities of modern weapons, including patrol boats and other vessels, to the Shah of Iran, who has seized several islands in the Gulf and increased his navy's activity in the area.

Mediterranean: United States moves in the Mediterranean have been described as administrative measures or minor readjustments of existing infrastructure, but the fact is that the U.S. has embarked on a substantial expansion of its facilities in the region. On August 6, 1970, the U.S. concluded a new agreement with Spain authorizing the retention of basing rights there. As in the case of the Bahrain agreement, this was not submitted to the Senate as a treaty, despite the fact that the 1970 agreement constituted a significant alteration of the prior understanding with the Spanish government. Similar deception was used to disguise the nature of agreements with Portugal for use of bases in territories under its control. The U.S. has also expanded its naval facilities at Sigonella in Sicily, and increased its payments to NATO in order to insure continued Western access to the British bases on Malta. Meanwhile, new naval bases have been acquired in Sardinia and at Piraeus in Greece. The Sardinia base (located at Maddalena Island, on Sardinia's northern coast) will be used to service the U.S. submarine fleet in the Mediterranean, while Piraeus (the port of Athens) will become the home port of a major Sixth Fleet task force consisting of at least six destroyers and an aircraft carrier (ultimately 6,600 servicemen and 3,000 dependents will be homeported in Greece). The terms of agreement with Rome for the use of the Sardinia base have not yet been announced, partly due to strong political opposition to U.S. presence there. The Athens agreement is still being negotiated, although the Navy is acting as if it had already been signed and approval for it given by the Senate here. These new basing arrangements are designed to improve the fighting capability of the Sixth Fleet by increasing the time spent by warships "on station" in the Mediterranean (previously, Sixth Fleet vessels had to return to Norfolk Virginia for servicing and repairs) and by improving morale (sailors will no longer be separated from spouses for six months at a time). Other moves in the Mediterranean have included increased shipments of modern aircraft and boats to principal clients in the area--Greece, Turkey, Israel and Jordan-- and the replacement of obsolete Sixth Fleet ships with modern new ones. As new amphibious assault ships, missile-armed hydrofoil patrol boats, and other new types of warships become available, they will be rushed to the Mediterranean to upgrade the capability of the fleet and the Marine amphibious force assigned to the region.

ERITREAN NATIONAL LIBERATION

The following analysis has been contributed by ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION. Readers desiring additional information on the struggle of the Eritrean people may write to: EFL, P.O. Box 1247, N.Y., N.Y., 10027 or to: EFL, P.O. Box 163, Boston, Massachusetts, 02138.

Imperialist America, Zionist Israel and feudalist Ethiopia are collaborating in the oppression of the Eritrean people who, for the last twelve years, have been engaging in armed struggle against these collaborating oppressive forces to gain their national liberation. Although facing such a colossus of aggressive forces, the heroic Eritrean people, under the leadership of the Eritrean Liberation Front, succeeded in liberating two thirds of their country.

The Eritrean people have suffered under a succession of foreign oppressors since 1890. With the collaboration of the British and the helping hand of emperor Menelik of Ethiopia, then King of Shoa, Italy colonized Eritrea in 1890 and the Eritrean people suffered colonial oppression similar to that of their brothers and sisters in colonized Africa and the rest of the Third World. At the height of World War II, the British defeated the Italians in Eritrea with Eritrean manpower. Although they had claimed that their interest was to defeat the Italians as part of their allied war effort and not to take over Eritrea, they betrayed the Eritrean people and occupied Eritrea as a colony until 1952.

The conspiratorial imperialist design of the United States, Ethiopia and Israel started in 1952 when the United Nations, under the domination of the United States, decreed to make Eritrea an autonomous state to be federated with the feudalist empire of Ethiopia. The United Nations had further decreed that the head of the Ethio-Eritrean federal state would be emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Without their participation and consent therefore, the Eritrean people were forced to come under the dictatorship of the feudal chief of Ethiopia in the name of a bogus federation. Haile Selassie had his expressed designs to take over Eritrea in order to gain access to the sea and control its rich mineral and oil wealth.

The United States, which master-minded the federal resolution, also had its imperialistic designs in Eritrea. Because of its strategic geographic location, the United States viewed Eritrea as a base for its military operations in Africa, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and Eastern Asia. Furthermore, the United States had a firm interest to exploit the rich phosphate, copper, iron and oil deposits in Eritrea. With the "federal government" firmly under Haile Selassie's control, the United States then proceeded to establish itself militarily in Eritrea. This was easily accomplished in 1953 through an agreement with Haile Selassie allowing it to build military bases in the Eritrean towns of Asmara, Gura, Massawa and Keren. It further received unlimited concessions to exploit the mineral deposits of the country through treacherous economic treaties with the monarch.



ERITREA--LIBERATED REGION

Similarly, Israel had vital military and economic interests in Eritrea. Here again, Eritrea's strategic geographic location attracted Zionist attention for it provided an ideal base for Israel's imperialist war against the Arab world and its attempt to control the entrance to the Red Sea (the strait of Bab el Mandeb). Its immediate economic interest was in assuring the continuous inflow of food products, especially meat, of which it was desperately deficient. In 1952, Israel set its initial economic foot in Eritrea by securing a franchise from Haile Selassie to establish the INCODE meat packing monopoly in Asmara. Further, it established its military grip, under the umbrella of the United States, by signing an agreement with Haile Selassie allowing it the use of Eritrean territory for "emergency military operations".

The economic and political bases for the collaboration of the three imperialistic forces in the oppression of the Eritrean people were thus deep rooted and well set. The total liberation of Eritrea would mean not only an end to their imperialistic interests in Eritrea but would also represent a serious blow to their overall military and economic strategy in Africa and Asia. Thus, in order to fully subjugate the Eritrean people and bring them under their direct control, the three imperialistic aggressors decided from the outset to fully collaborate rather than compete in Eritrea. With such a design therefore, Haile Selassie's army invaded Eritrea in a series of military moves premeditated to avoid world attention, and fully occupied the country by 1960. The meagre economic and political liberties that existed within the framework of the United Nations-mandated "autonomy" were similarly choked by slow degrees until in 1962, Haile Selassie finally "announced" his full annexation of Eritrea into his empire as a province.

The Eritrean people initially protested such a slow process of economic and political strangulation through peaceful means. They continually presented their case to the United Nations, since it was this body that decreed, though without their participation, the autonomous and federal status of Eritrea. But they soon realized that it was the very country that proposed the "Federal Resolution" that was the main force behind their oppression and the the United Nations was only a legitimizing instrument. Furthermore, the Eritrean people tried to resist Haile Selassie's moves to overrun their country and suppress their economic development through peaceful public demonstrations, but they soon learned through bitter experience that Haile Selassie and his imperialistic sponsors only tightened their reins of control. In 1958, Eritrean workers throughout the country staged a massive demonstration that paralyzed the foreign controlled economy for four days, and Haile Selassie, with the advice and operational guidance of his masters, ordered its suppression by force of arms. This brutal act led to the massacre of more than 550 Eritrean workers. This barbaric massacre of defenseless workers clearly spelled to the Eritrean people that the only way to combat such brute violence and gain their complete national liberation was through armed force. They thus began an urban guerilla movement in the same year, and in September of 1961, started a full scale armed insurrection in the Eritrean countryside against the collaborating oppressors.

The Eritrean people's national liberation struggle soon encompassed the entire countryside. By 1965 the number of liberation fighters rose to about ten thousand, and by 1967, the whole Western plains of Barka and Senhit and the northern plateaus of Sahil were fully liberated. Operating from bases inside their liberated land, Eritrean liberation fighters gained increasing victories against the occupation forces of the enemy. In 1968, the leadership of the struggle passed fully into the hands of liberation fighters within the field; further, the struggle reached a higher stage of ideological development. Its objective became not only to gain Eritrean national liberation from imperialist domination, but also to bring about a socialist transformation of Eritrean society within a Pan-African framework. This positive development, the widening progressive international support for the Eritrean liberation struggle, and the increasing victories of the Eritrean liberation fighters shook the puppet emperor and his masters who had continuously tried to isolate the struggle from the world public and to distort its just revolutionary cause. In 1970, the frenzied monarch declared a state of emergency in Eritrea and placed it under direct military rule.

While the gallant liberation fighters were gaining military victories over the enemy on the ground, however, the enemy committed the most inhuman crime over the Eritrean people by bombing and napalming entire villages and communities and razing them down to ashes. More than 120 villages have been totally destroyed and their inhabitants and live stock completely wiped out. Defoliants have been indiscriminately sprayed over entire regions. Throughout the country, the enemy has herded people into concentration camps and then dropped bombs on them. It was in such a fashion that the enemy maimed more than 1,000 people in one afternoon in the city of Keren in 1970.

As a result of the enemy's genocidal bombing campaigns against Eritrean peasants, around 100,000 old men, women and children have been forced to flee to the Sudan and are living in deplorable refugee camps. The "Libyan Times" of May 28, 1971, reported the condition of these refugees: "A report, written after an extensive 1,700 kms. trip inside war-torn Eritrea by al-Hakika correspondent Mohamed Ahmed We-rayeth, depicted the misery into which 97,000 refugees have been subjected to because of Ethiopia's cruel means that forced them to flee their own homes inside their own country. Eritrean refugees, now living in primitive bamboo-sustained tents in Marafit and Gadaref in Eastern Sudan, are dying en masse at the average of 30 persons per day from hunger, disease and bad shelter." It is this inhumanity that Haile Selassie and his masters have continuously tried to hide from the world public for fear of exposing their crimes and basic designs and facing widespread international condemnation.

However, the increasing victories of the Eritrean Liberation fighters and the collaborating aggressors subsequent savage reprisals on the defenseless civilian population have attracted world attention and exposed the nature of the imperialist, Zionist and feudal alliance. The barbaric atrocities that this imperialist alliance has committed and is still committing on the Eritrean people in hopes of silencing them shows the extent of its desperation. The oppressive collaborators are painfully aware of the long-run inevitability of their defeat; so are the Eritrean people fully aware that final victory is theirs.

It should be recognized, however, that because of the depth of their imperialistic interests and their growing desperation, the collaborating fascists could very well continue to intensify their genocidal acts and turn Eritrea into an African Vietnam before their final defeat. To prevent such a possibility, the progressive world should fully understand the designs, involvements, and crimes of these imperialistic allies and come to the support of the heroic Eritrean people in their just struggle for national liberation.

GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY FOR HIS FRIENDS

The Wall Street Journal is being a little blunter than usual these days. In an article on political repercussions of the "energy crisis," (January 30, 1973), it prepares readers for a possible show of force in the Middle East in this way:

"Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, the navy boss, already sees a budget opening through which he hopes to pilot a fleet of shiny new destroyers. Claiming the U.S. will need a thousand large civilian tankers by 1980, he concludes 'their safe passage will depend in large measure on our ability to deter interruptions of this flow.'"

The article goes on to report that Zumwalt sees the destroyer fleet as an instrument of diplomacy. He is quoted as saying "To the citizen of a less technologically oriented society, nothing is quite like a ship-shape destroyer making a call."

EGYPT: struggle escalates

EGYPTIAN STUDENTS POINT THE WAY

The Egyptian student strikes of 1968 and 1972 and their repressive aftermath have recently been repeated at the University of Alexandria, where the earlier strikes had won many supporters. On December 5, 1972, a one-day strike was called to protest removal of posters criticizing the policies of the Sadat government. Within several days, Egyptian police arrested forty-five Palestinian students, including the head of the Federation of Palestinian Students. In part, the strike wave can be related to December 10, when some members of the National Assembly had denounced Sadat's "no war, no peace" policy, his over-taxation of the poor, and his maintenance of strict censorship. As the strike went beyond its original one-day limit in Alexandria, Said Mareiyeh, the secretary-general of the Arab Socialist Union, offered to negotiate with student leaders. At the same time, Aziz Sidky offered to provide more funds for the university system. However, these offers were refused and the strike continued to spread.

Meanwhile, the government began to mobilize its repressive apparatus, relying particularly upon groups of right-wing students that have been organized during recent months. Mohammed Othman Ismail, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Union, had mobilized a group that received training in Libya during the summer. This group was responsible for the attack that hospitalized Ahmed Baka, a student at the Cairo School of Engineering who was a member of the Students' Supreme National Committee that had been created during the strikes that occurred in the winter of 1972. The same right-wing group has disrupted meetings by chanting religious slogans and has sought to provoke strife between Copts and Moslems in Egypt.

Subsequent to the National Assembly session, Sadat delivered a nationally televised address in which he promised to permit "freer discussion" inside Egypt (Al-Ahram, December 30, 1972). At the same moment, however, government prosecutors had given the police permission to arrest "trouble-makers" among the student population and other groups.

Following the initial arrests, four to five hundred students gathered

at Cairo University's Gamal Abdel Nasser amphitheatre and occupied it. The news spread from this spot, which had been important in the 1968 student strike, and slogans of "Free our comrades!" were widely heard. When it was announced that those arrested would be subjected to a prolonged trial in order to investigate their "crimes," the decision was made to carry the struggle into the streets, despite government threats and encirclement by police squadrons.

Five thousand Cairo University students left the campus and undertook pitched battles with the po-

lice, attempting to reach the National Assembly building and other government offices. Although few were able to break through the heavy police lines, fighting continued throughout the day.

During the course of the strike, the Egyptian student movement was able to develop extensive sets of demands whose political character attests the existence of a militant opposition to the pro-imperialist drift of the Sadat regime. Some of the demands directly related to foreign policy and continuation of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism:

--Opposition to the Rogers Plan and Sadat's "surrender movement";

--Preparation of the Egyptian masses for protracted peoples' war as the only way to liberation;

--Placing of the national economy on a war basis, including cancellation of economic privileges of the upper classes and equalization of wages;

--Suppression of all government restrictions upon the Palestinian Revolution, extensive material support to the Palestinian revolution, and permission for Egyptians to volunteer as fidayin;

--Liquidation of imperialist interests, particularly those of oil companies, and elimination of diplomatic ties with nations that support Israel, such as West Germany;

--Alliance with liberation movements in the Arab World and elsewhere.

Other demands made by the striking students can be categorized as "class demands" or "democratic demands." In the former category, demands included:

--Higher standard of living for the poor, with reasonable wages for all production workers;

--Support for workers' strikes, such as the recent one at the Helwan steel works

--Support for workers' strikes, such as the one at the Helwan steel works or the recent dockers' strike in Alexandria;

--An appeal to workers to unify their trade union demands with the broad political struggle, condemnation of any government actions against honest trade union leaders;

--Denunciation of evacuation of poor peasants from their lands, provision of honest, regular work for all agricultural workers;



FAISAL and SADAT

--Condemnation of the regulation that excludes illiterate peasants (90 % of the peasantry) from being elected to directory boards of agricultural cooperatives;

--Immediate action against bribery and theft in publicly-owned enterprises.

Some of the "democratic demands" that have arisen during the students' struggle include:

Some of the "democratic demands" that have arisen during the students' struggle include:

--An end to all forms of government censorship;

--Rejection of all types of "yellow" journalists such as Mohammed Hassanin Heykal, editor of al-Ahram;

--Protection of the people's right to assemble, to demonstrate, or to go on strike;

--Removal of all restrictions on trade unions and cooperative societies;

--Disbanding of the political police.

As it became clear that the strike would continue despite police interventions and the activities of right wing gangs, the government decided to close Egypt's universities in order to deprive the student movement of one of its bases for action. At this point, the universities remain closed, with little indication that they will soon be re-opened.

The struggle of Egypt's university students and the vigor of their movement comes at a time of growing consciousness of the increased privileges that the Egyptian bourgeoisie and foreign investors have reaped since Nasser's death in 1970. Although there is growing criticism of Nasser for his acceptance of the Rogers Peace Plan, there is widespread understanding of Sadat's efforts to reverse gains made by the 1954 establishment of a nationalist government. Increasing unrest among the peasantry and among the working class, together with the ongoing struggle of Egyptian students, may soon lead to a major crisis whose impact will be felt not only in Egypt, but throughout the Arab World.

SADAT MOVES AGAINST HIS OWN PARTY

On February 4, 1973, the London Times released a report from Egypt stating that sixty-four members of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only political party, had been purged, along with a group of more than fifty students. The sixty-four included well-known authors, actors, and lawyers who are left critics of Sadat. It was also reported that large numbers of journalists affiliated with nearly every daily newspaper or weekly magazine in Egypt had been removed from their posts. Prior to the purges, Egypt's Press Syndicate had issued a statement demanding the lifting of government censorship.

Before the purges and firings, the disciplinary committee of the Arab Socialist Union had been in permanent session in order to study cases of "political deviation." The communique accompanying this measure accused the victims of "taking advantage of the democratic atmosphere that has prevailed in Egypt since 1971."

RESISTANCE IN IRAN...

Two members of an Iranian resistance group were executed in front of a firing squad on Thursday 11 January 1972, according to an official Iranian government communiqué. They were Mohammed Mofidi and Bagher Abassi, who were found guilty, in a secret trial, of the crimes of assassination, illegal hoarding of arms and explosives, and of plotting against the state. There was at least the second execution of political dissidents in a week.

According to the communiqué, the two were members of a group known as Fighters for the People. They were accused of having shot last Aug. 13, in front of his house, the chief of corrections in Iran, Gen. Said Taheri. The group was supposedly affiliated with the clandestine Iranian Liberation Movement, which itself has connections with the Palestinian resistance.

Mofidi and Abassi also supposedly confessed to having placed timed bombs in a number of locations in Teheran. These included the Iran-America Friendship Society and the British Council. It was also reported that both Mofidi's legs were broken while he was being questioned by SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. At least three thousand political prisoners await judgment in Iran's prisons, and there have been executions of political dissidents nearly once a week in the past year.

Le Monde, 1/12/73



WHERE IRAN'S OIL DOLLARS GO

A recent issue of the military newsmagazine Aviation Week (11/13/72) reported that "Iran plans to order more than 400 helicopters, the majority of them from Bell Helicopter Co." Bell is a division of the notorious U.S. conglomerate Textron. Included among the reported purchases were "more than" 200 improved Bell AH-1J Sea Cobra armed helicopters, "approximately the same number" of Bell 214-A Huey-Plus all-purpose helicopters, and "an undisclosed number" of Bell Jet Rangers. The Shah personally selected the helicopters. Later it was disclosed that the actual purchase will come to 580 helicopters, at a cost of over \$720 million.

Women's Movement in Sudan

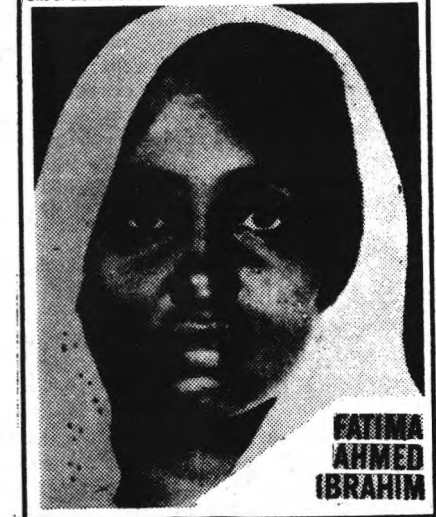
In Sudan, Dhofar, Palestine and Eritrea, women have been struggling for basic human and civil rights, long denied them. As early as the change from primitive communism (matriarchy) to a property-based society, the subservient position of women has persisted. Since the rise of 19th Century colonialism and modern-day imperialism, women have been doubly oppressed through a clearly expressed imperialist policy of reinforcing traditional shackles, and exploiting women as "wage-slaves". As the oppressed question more and more deeply the economic and social subject of their countries to foreign interests, possibilities for widespread social change begin to emerge. Today's women, particularly in the Third World are opening up arenas where full emancipation can ultimately be achieved. Women who have been doubly denied the fruits of their labor are quick to identify the source of their oppression. By their participation in the national liberation struggle (Vietnam, Angola, Algeria, Dhofar) women's emancipation through increased social and economic benefits becomes more real, although not necessarily automatic. Despite the difficult restraints which feudal tradition and imperialist oppression imposes, revolutionary women continue to champion the cause of the oppressed.

The following is an adaptation of an article by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban on the struggle of Sudanese women. The original article appeared in Triple Jeopardy in November, 1972.

The position of the Arab woman, maintained by Islamic societal values of absolute male dominance, is usually considered to be one of the worst in the world in terms of female suppression. But little information concerning contemporary struggles of Arab women is available, and the reality of the modern woman living in Islamic countries is often obscured by the popular myths of polygamy and the harem. In fact, such Western stereotypes are based on romanticized literary accounts of the lives of bourgeois women during the period of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and these are hardly a characteristic group of women.

First of all, Islam is not the monolith of values and social structure that it is often considered to be--Islam was overlaid on a variety of cultures. There is much variation between countries like Morocco or Tunisia and Egypt or Sudan, and a place like Pakistan. Enormous political differences in the Arab world separate reactionary countries like Saudi Arabia from places where revolutionary struggles have been fought in the past and continue to be waged, such as Algeria, Dhofar in the Arab Gulf, Palestine, and Eritrea. While Saudi Arabian women are shielded behind veils and in houses from outside corrupting influences, Dhofari women to the south fight alongside their male comrades for liberation from reactionary oil-rich sultans who are supported by British imperialist oil interests. While Gaddafi of Libya was calling for a return to the days of the Islamic sacred state, Leila Khaled became world famous for her courageous hijack attempt in the Palestinian effort to obtain an independent secular state. And

One of the founders of the women's movement in Sudan.



In Sudan the well-to-do Muslim woman living in Khartoum leads a very different life from the peasant Muslim woman who cultivates the field and carries water long distances for use in the compound.

Conditions of Women in Northern Sudan

The Democratic Republic of the Sudan is an Afro-Arab state, described in this way because of its mixed population. The northern Arab Sudan became Islamicized about 400 years ago through successive waves of immigrants from Arabia across the Red Sea. These people settled and mixed with indigenous peoples, and the process of spreading Islam (a process that still continues) began. Relative to other parts of the Arab world, this area is quite traditional in religious matters.

Women, generally sneaking, are under the absolute authority of men and are not usually involved in decision-making. The degree of complete domination varies by class and from the rural to the urban areas. Rural peasant women and lower-class women, because of necessity, are contributors to the economy and are working to help support the family or group. Their range of experience is greater and they are more respected by men because of their contributions; they are relatively more liberated than the middle class, city-dwelling women. Theoretically, however, a man considers it a disgrace for his woman or a female relative to have to work. Ironically, as people move from the rural areas to settle and prosper in the cities, women seem to lose the few liberties they have. In Algeria, it has been shown that women put on the veil as they move into the cities rather than the reverse. The concept of women as property increases as men themselves prosper; poorer men need the help and labor of their women.

It is not socially acceptable for Arab women in the city of Khartoum to be employed, and typical female jobs like domestic housework are positions normally filled by "out" groups of southern Sudanese men and women or Ethiopian women. A woman who is forced to work by economic necessity will find that the community is gossiping about her moral behavior.

The practice of "pharonic" circumcision is widespread and is performed as a kind of insurance that the young girl will not be involved in sexual encounters before marriage. The horribly painful practice of female circumcision is very slowly being replaced with clitoridectomy (the removal of only the clitoris).

According to Islam, divorce is the unilateral privilege of the man. He may without good cause verbally divorce a woman in the presence of witnesses while a woman seeking a divorce must go to court and prove extreme negligence, desertion, or adultery (which requires two witnesses). But women are not reluctant to go to court, and, with recent reforms since the mildly progressive regime has been in power, women are becoming stronger and less shy about bringing their problems into court. In matters of inheritance, women receive half what a man gets, but the women know the laws of inheritance almost as well as their own children's names, and they make sure they get all that they are entitled to. In court the testimony of one man must be matched by that from two women, and the customary blood-wealth payments for the death of an individual allow twice as much to be paid for a man as for a woman.

The Women's Movement in Sudan

The first organized group of women emerged from the Communist Party. The party was formed in 1946, and in the same year so was the Sudanese Women's League; it was the first party to open its membership to both sexes and the establish the emancipation of women as one of its goals. The Woman's League, like the party at large, began with a group of educated people, but spread throughout northern Sudan to encompass working people and peasants.

In 1951 three Communist women were among the seven founding members of the Sudanese Women's Union --the successor to the Woman's League with broader membership. Four years later the Union began to publish the progressive magazine The Woman's Voice. The magazine took militant political stands (i.e., in opposition to colonialism and later against the neo-colonialist designs of the British and Americans) as well as publishing articles which attempted to educate its female readership away from certain harmful traditions like female circumcision and the practice of facial scarification done according to ethnic background.

The Union at the same time took up the fight of equal pay for equal work for the small one percent of working women and fought to extend a seven-day maternity leave to forty days with pay. They also attacked the Islamic divorce laws which so heavily favor men, and they began to campaign against polygamy, which some refer to as "legalized prostitution."

This progressive group of women stirred the public so that a rival group of reactionary women hastily organized a society which functioned as the Sudanese equivalent of the Ladies Tea Association. Fatma Ahmed Ibrahim, one of the founders of the Women's Union and certainly its symbolic head, reacted to the reactionary women's group by saying



that "independence is not women's festivals or teas or promises from a reactionary government; independence is a really free Sudanese society, both economically and politically, a socialist society, the society of a truly emancipated Sudanese woman."

The Women's Union and The Woman's Voice rose and fell in accordance with political events in the country as a whole. During the reactionary military regime of the American-backed General Abboud (1958-64), the Union was officially banned and the government's own lackey women's organization was pushed up front. In October, 1964 a popular revolution throughout the country overthrew the reactionary Abboud regime. For the first time Sudanese women came out into the streets and demonstrated, fought, and died alongside their brothers during the days of the revolution. Fatma Ibrahim herself led the first demonstration of several hundred; when the soldiers raised their guns to fire on the demonstrators, Fatma stepped forward, dropped her traditional woman's white outer garment, the tob, and shouted "I will be the first." No shots were fired that day. One woman was killed in the October events, and she was a Woman's Union member, five other women were injured, three of whom were Union or CP members.

Women were shown not to be weak or timid, and with men and women working together to bring down the regime, absolute ideas about sexual segregation were brought into question. Officially the revolution brought women the vote. The success of the revolution was unfortunately short-lived, and its aftermath brought moderation and not more progressive gains.

In the years 1965-69, the Women's Union continued to be active in the usual ways of education, and acting as a political pressure group. Fatma Ibrahim became the first woman elected to the then-functioning Sudanese Parliament.

In May 1969, a seemingly progressive military regime came to power with the support of large numbers of progressives including the Sudanese Communist Party, the Women's Union, and other democratic organizations. The story is too complicated to tell here, but within two years the regime was turned right around through coup and counter-coup and became militantly anti-Communist with dizzying speed. In the fierce anti-Communist campaign which ensued, Fatma's husband, the most prominent Trade

Union leader in the country and winner of the Lenin Prize, was hanged. Thirteen other Communist and progressive leaders were executed and thousands imprisoned, including some women leaders. Suad Ibrahim, a prominent Women's Union leader, is still detained without trial in Khartoum jails and has staged several hunger strikes to obtain basic privileges like having visitors. Women from the families of jailed progressives demonstrated at the Khartoum Palace for economic support from the government while their husbands and brothers were confined. The government has since provided this.

In the early progressive days of the present regime, some reforms to assist the condition of women were enacted, and to a degree they have been helpful. Bat etaha, the right of a husband to bring back by force of the police a wife who has fled his house, has been abolished. Likewise a divorced woman has the right to obtain up to one-half of an ex-husband's salary for her support and that of her children. These reforms, enlightened though they are, have not yet had their full impact on women because they are not things which women have had to fight for and gain themselves. They were handed down and not obtained through democratic struggle of women and are therefore less meaningful. But they are nonetheless welcome, and with time and education Sudanese women will derive full benefit from these reforms.

Meanwhile women will continue to complain to each other about their condition and to hope for better days for their daughters. Those days will come only when women stand up and demand them. Women's liberation can come only from the just struggles of women everywhere. The aims of the Sudanese women's movement remain the same as at the time of its founding: 1) the emancipation of women through the attainment of equal rights and equal duties and the full liberation of every woman from the enslavement under which she lives; 2) the struggle for international female emancipation and peace through socialism. Women of the world want freedom, and they know their destinies lie only in their own hands.

APPEAL FROM SUDAN



After the events of July 1971, when Gaffar al-Nimeiri was overthrown by a communist backed coup and then returned to power with dizzying speed, the General executed a number of prominent communists in an effort to eradicate the party whose rank and file membership is the largest in the Arab World. About 2,000 suspected communists are detained without charges or trial. Women have taken leadership of the fight for civil liberties. Ni'mat Ahmed Malik, while under detention, held a 3 day hunger strike, protesting her own arrest and the recent murder of her husband, Abdel Khalig Mahjoub, who was the Secretary-General of the Sudanese Communist Party.

Dear Sir,

I sent an earlier letter dated 31st July 1972 demanding, among other things, my immediate release. Then I enclosed the same letter with another in which I asked for details about the fate of the first to which you had not replied, and I sent a third asking for details of the preceding two letters and informing you of my intention to hold a day's hunger strike. I made the strike but I haven't been told even about whether these letters were received. I did not demand my release from fear or boredom as a result of being restricted, for this is a small thing to suffer for this dear country when there are hundreds of detainees locked up in your prisons and concentration camps all over the Sudan, denied even the simplest human rights and enduring bad treatment and malnutrition. Su'ad Ibrahim Ahmed is in Omdurman prison and her child is denied the most basic right a child--to be looked after by his mother, such a denial is contrary to all our values, customs and traditions.

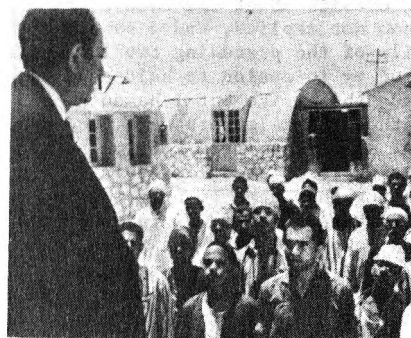
Thus it was neither boredom nor weakness which impelled me to make these demands, but, in addition to my right of personal liberty, I demand that you should give to me and my children what you have denied without any scrap of justice and in negation to all custom and tradition--our right to see the records of the examination and trial of my husband, the fighter and martyr Abdel Khalig Mahgoub. We and everybody know that they were not legal trials and that you have concealed the papers of the trials because there were no papers and there were no trials. You and your hired broadcaster came to tell us and the world the whole prosecution against Abdel Khalig Mahgoub, showing your lack of conscience in your lying and ridiculous allegations. But this was not of any importance to us for everyone inside and outside the country knows that Abdel Khalig Mahgoub lived and died as a courageous communist. For the whole of his life he was a noble fighter in the struggle to develop his country and to secure its complete independence through the realization of true scientific socialism--and he would not have dishonoured it with such arrests and tortures as yours, repressions as only people like Abdel Khalig Mahgoub and his comrades could withstand. He placed the advantage of his people over all personal advantage. So he remained a homeless exile up to his death when, strong in his defiance, he continued until his last moment to shout for the independence of the Sudan and the right of the poor people to live freely and honourably.

Your concealment of these papers is itself the best evidence of your inability to slander a life which was full of consistent bravery and experience. His savage execution has shown you the futility of your dream that this would be the end of the revolutionary movement in the country: it has only strengthened the movement and these are the revolutionaries who fill your prisons and concentration camps and who are overcoming you by their solidarity and resistance to all your fabrications. The continuing strength and vigour of the revolutionary movement in the country under the leadership of the Sudanese Communist Party proves the truth of the martyr, Abdel Khalig Mahgoub's saying: "individuals perish, but ideas remain."

Signed:
Ni'mat Ahmed Malik
Omdurman, House 477/3/3
22nd August 1972

THE ARAB WORLD

film & reality



(An adaptation of interview printed in *Afrique-Asie* October 16-29, 1972)

Perhaps more than any other director in the Arab world, Tewfik Salah is associated with the struggle to create the *cinema shabab* (new cinema)---a vehicle of cultural liberation that defines its enemies as Hollywood and barbarized adaptations of folkloric themes. Born in Egypt in 1927, Tewfik Salah has produced only six long films since 1955, when he entered the profession. Nearly all have evoked the wrath of censors, for Tewfik Salah defines his films as: "a materialist contemplation of the tragic destiny of the Arabs today."

Two of his recent films won wide acclaim at the May 1972 Damascus Film Festival (See *Resistance* #6). Whereas "The Dupes" is a semi-fictional exploration of the plight of the Palestinian nation based upon a novel by the Palestinian martyr Ghassan Kanafani, former editor of *Al-Haddaf*, "The Rebels" is an allegorical investigation of Nasserism.

Tewfik Salah describes "The Rebels" in these terms: "I wrote 'The Rebels' in 1965 and filmed it in 1966. The story unfolds in a sanatorium located in the desert. In the sanatorium, there are two types of patients: those who can pay and who receive water, those who cannot pay and who do not receive water. Beside the sanatorium, there is a military camp where the soldiers possess water for themselves alone. The wealthy patients are not too concerned since they have reservoirs. Bit by bit, as the film unfolds, one discovers that the sanatorium is really a concentration camp. Eventually, a child dies and all the patients, paying and non-paying, rise up in rebellion. A doctor who is a paying patient organizes a hunger strike that ends with the patients taking control of the sanatorium.

The doctor becomes the leader. Without any rational theory to guide him, he operates empirically. Differentiations, based upon social origins, arise among his supporters. Nevertheless, the patients agree to build a wall in case of an attack by the police. But the new leaders begin to commit errors comparable to those of the *ancien regime*: again, some people die.

When the police come, there is a battle. The film then turns to a series of allusions to the situation of Egypt under Nasser, especially by shots of newspapers from the period. The "revolutionary" system is overthrown, and the leaders move to another sanatorium. The old administration returns and turns out to be even more cruel than it was before the putsch. The film ends with a sequence of a meeting during which the "patients" demand that power flow only from themselves, that power truly belong to the people.

When his interviewers asked what response the film had received, Tewfik Salah responded: "When I had finished the film on December 30, 1966, I showed it to group of 100 people. Some said, 'Next week, you will be either a film director or a political prisoner.'

The censors did not want to undertake the responsibility of proscribing the film, but they did not dare let it circulate. They examined the dialogue to show that I had not followed the original script but they couldn't find anything. After a month, a cabinet minister said to me 'Two months ago you received the Gamal Abdel Nasser medal, and, today, you have made a film against Nasser.'

I played dumb and said 'Me? I haven't done a film against Nasser.'

The minister said, 'But how? Couldn't the doctor in your film be Nasser?' 'Absolutely not,' I replied, but I did not manage to convince him.

I kept on trying to explain that I had not tried to portray a revolution, but rather that a rebellion not guided by theory is always likely to fail...and that, therefore, the film had nothing to do with Nasser's regime.

But they were not deceived. Finally, the minister asked me to remove certain scenes, especially the one in which the doctor explained in a letter to his nurse that the rebellion had failed because of the absence of a correct theory. He also asked me to write an introduction saying that the film referred to events prior to 1952. The minister also asked that I show that the 19-52 revolution had resolved everything.

I didn't really want to, but I tried a new ploy: the new version of the film would end with a scene in which a journalist is teaching peasants how to read and write. He says, 'In the future, the sanatoriums will belong to us and we will have wealth.'

In Arabic, the word for 'wealth' (*tarwa*) is close to the word for 'revolution' (*thawra*). Then I replaced the former with the latter, and the government did not notice. They said that they were satisfied with the film, but informed me that, for the time being, the film would not be shown since conditions were not yet appropriate.

Meanwhile, the war of June 1967 broke out, producing an incredible defeat for us. My film now took on a prophetic dimension!

I could no longer deny that the doctor in "The Rebels" was Gamal Abdel Nasser! To the point that

after his defeat, he proposed to resign, just as the doctor in the film did! The cabinet minister contacted me again and said, 'I'll scratch your back if you'll scratch mine.' He suggested that I cut out twenty-five minutes of the film, and I agreed. The film lost some of its impact, but I still think that "The Rebels" despite the changes, has an important meaning for the Third World as a warning."

When the interviewer asked Tewfik Salah how he distinguished between right-wing and left-wing criticism of Nasser, the director responded:

"Listen, whether they like it or not, I am a Marxist (and I do not necessarily mean pro-Soviet.) It is the only method for correctly analysing problems and crises within the Arab world today."

As to the response of the Egyptian public to "The Rebels," Salah said:

"In its initial planning, the film, because of its length, was to be divided into two parts to be separated by an intermission. The first part was more dynamic, while the rhythm of the second part was slower and also more tragic. After all the omissions that the censors had asked for, the equilibrium of the film was disrupted, and the intermission no longer made sense.

"The slowness of the second part irritated many spectators who had generally appreciated the rest of the film. You have to realize that the film was not shown publicly until 1968, after the defeat. Egyptians were very bitter then. They did not like the conclusion of the movie because it too closely resembled the defeat that they had just suffered. The nationalist reaction was even stronger: they did not wish to hear a word about defeats and did not wish to think about them."

When the interviewer asked why he had only done six long films during his entire life, Salah answered:

"Certainly, there has been no shortage of opportunities. There is a general agreement that I have some talent, but nearly everyone bemoans what they refer to as my intransigence. I've never wanted to do films that do not correspond to my own concerns, to the real requirements of Egypt today.

"I've often been insulted. Some have even called me a Zionist! ---me, the husband of a Palestinian woman and one of the few Arab directors to do a long film on the Palestinian cause. The demagoguery of Arab reactionaries is incredible!

"My purpose is to help people understand the situations around them. Therefore, I seek forms that are open to modern ideas but are also accessible to the masses whom I seek to reach. I haven't always succeeded in this goal: the Egyptian public has not a strong background in drama. Time-shifts for example have to be carefully managed for, sometimes, they are not understood readily.

"In some cases, I have knowingly enclosed myself in melodrama (as in "The Heroes' Revolt") in order to reach people. It is a hard job to create a new cinema in Egypt--it is necessary to transform public tastes and directors' outlooks at the same time."

The Lenin School



The Lenin School has 800 pupils. In some ways, the descriptions may seem commonplace or unimportant. But in Oman, where there is a war going on, it is a feat that deserves to be recounted. It is part of the armed struggles of the peoples of the Arab Gulf against Anglo-American imperialism and its puppets, Saudi Arabia, Iran and the emirates.

In the liberated areas, notably in Dhofar, despite aerial bombardments and enormous difficulties, life goes on. The people's desire to build a new society awakened the desire to learn and the need for instruction. Thus, in the beginning, two institutions were created. In the first, called the Revolutionary Camp, military, political and cultural instruction were offered.

The other, the Center of the Martyrs, provided basic education for the widows and children of those who fell in the struggle.

At the same time, a literacy campaign was launched. The first students were war orphans and children whose parents had had to leave the liberated areas. But, because of increased needs, this soon proved to be inadequate, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) decided, on April 1, 1970, to build the Lenin School.

The beginning was not easy. There were neither permanent programs nor permanent teachers, only volunteers. First, the school was established in Western Oman. Then, because of heavy bombings, it was transferred to Keida, in the sixth district, along South Yemen's eastern border.

At that point, one of the women fighters, who had a university education, undertook the reorganization of the school. Because nothing was available, it was necessary to begin by using texts and programs from other Arab countries, notably Lebanon, Egypt and Syria. But, soon, these materials proved inappropriate for the task, since they were dominated by reactionary imperialist ideology. Some works printed in Lebanon went so far as to proclaim the superiority of the white race!

Once again, it was necessary to start over, and the PFLOAG militants had to establish a program based upon the immediate needs of the people in the liberated areas.

The Lenin School soon functioned successfully for both boys and girls. In May 1971, there were 500 pupils, with those at higher levels beginning to teach the younger ones. Programs included physics,

chemistry, biology, mathematics, algebra, history and geography.

It is true that difficulties continued to occur, primarily because of the contradiction between the deep under-development of the country and the need to teach modern concepts. As for teaching materials, the shortage remained serious, and on this question, the leaders of PFLOAG never received responses from the Arab governments that they had approached for assistance. Thus, instruction remained excessively empirical, and, for example, students could not begin to study algebra until they were nearly 15 years old.

However, the number of pupils continued to grow, and today there are 800. It was necessary to open another school, the School of the Ninth of June, which specializes in elementary education. (In June 1971, the third national congress of the PFLOAG had extensively discussed the question of education.)

In the beginning, classes were held in tents or under canvas shelters. Today, all classes are held in tents. The students receive three meals a day, with meat and milk. Corporal punishment is forbidden; it has been replaced by the practice of criticism and self-criticism. The young Dhofaris who enter the schools are admitted regardless of their families' situations. All students receive military instruction as soon as they are old enough.

All this can seem very insignificant to well-fed observers from more advanced countries. But the PFLOAG, which has organized its militants into four large units, explains that the two schools cost as much money as to field one of these units. One can make the comparison and weigh the matter on its own merits.

At the same time, permanent efforts are made to emancipate women. They participate in all activities, including armed struggle. For centuries, the women of Oman and the Gulf, oppressed by backward customs, by reactionary practices and feudal morality, were the most exploited persons in the region. Today, they have transcended the state that had been assigned them and are beginning to participate in the patriotic struggle, even in villages that are not yet liberated. In 1970, the Association of Omani women was created in Oman under the leadership of a young woman, Awatef Arraimi.

But the association was quickly proscribed by the feudal authorities and had to become clandestine, facing the constant menace of the police apparatus.

Under these conditions, and while military action is still developing, the revolutionary leaders do not understate their difficulties.

Moreover, the schools lack laboratory instruments, films, documentation...and especially worthwhile books in Arabic.

Shouldn't progressive Arabs consider it their duty to aid the cultural battle in Oman and Gulf states, a battle without which armed struggle will not be enough to create a new, free, and just society?

AFRIQUE-ASIE, January 8-21, 1973

SAUDI-ARABIAN ALLIANCE



Feverish visits and movements by puppets in Saudi Arabia and Iran are on the increase these days. In fact, all throughout reactionary circles in the Arabian Gulf area, pacts are being made under varying slogans to coordinate operations.

Omer Saqqaf, the Saudi Foreign Minister, came recently from a visit made to Iran to link Saudi Arabia and Iran in the field of "preserving the security and stability in the Gulf area." And Kuwait made a proposal under a different formula for a local pact. Occasional cooperation and meeting between heads of state in the area explore possibilities of collusion. Hussein bin Tallal does not even hide his extensive activity in the field of wiping out differences between Saudi Arabia and Iran, between Saudi Arabia and the Emirate States, between Qaboos and Feisal. And the U.S. affirms that it supports the steps of Saudi Arabia and Iran for coordination and cooperation between them.

It is to be recalled that Saqqaf last week (9 Dec. 1972) visited Teheran with a delegation of senior officials in the Saudi External Affairs ministry. Saqqaf announced before departure that his visit to Iran enters the frame of periodical visits between the two countries and that it aims at consolidating the bonds of friendship and establishing further cooperation and closer coordination between the two countries. Hence we must ask why this activity has been on the increase? The forces of imperialism and reaction thought that they were giving fictitious independence (from England) to Bahrain, Qatar, and other Emirates. They thought that after implementing "independence", they (the U.S.) could calmly succeed in penetrating the area, and that the people's wrath and the movement of the masses would lose its strength and set the national movement back.

But what happened was the opposite, as the armed revolution under the leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf preserved the liberated areas and the masses resisted with steadfastness and patriotism in spite of a dreadful economic blockade. In other regions, the forces of the revolution worked hard to implement the resolutions of the Ahlaish Congress and developed their methods and political activity and tactics and raised the voice of the revolution openly in areas where this voice was not heard before and where the only voices heard were those of the reactionaries Al-Nahyan, Al-Qassemi and Al-Maktoum. They were also able to struggle in Bahrain and work constantly for implementing all the resolutions of the Bahlaish Congress.

At the Arab and international level, the revolution managed to realize new victories and to increase the number of allies and to secure understanding of the issues of the revolution. To start new launchings in places where the plans of imperialism and reaction had been drawn and put into effect.

These new pacts and the contradictions in the plans of colonialism clearly prove the spread of the activities of the revolution at all levels and the development of different forms of the struggle. These plots and new pacts, while they require preparations and precautions, on the other hand prove the correctness of the situation and the reality of the escalation of the revolutionary struggle.

These new situations will be couple with spreading activities by the revolution and the People's front at all levels, internally, and at Arab and international levels. We have succeeded up to now in uniting the ranks of the three organizations in the regions of Oman, and by this we created a firm ground in these regions. We will also work constantly to realize the militant unity of the people's front throughout the area of Oman and the Arabian Gulf. We will also march forward towards developing our relations with the national Arab countries and the forces of the Arab revolution headed by the armed Palestine revolution. We will also work more and more to unite our relations with the Socialist countries and with our real allies in the world and make our comrades and friends stand clearly on these facts. Our revolution and front march quickly on the path of the struggle and military pacts will not deter us or suppress our advance and the victory of the revolution will be decisive.

ISLANDERS RESIST SHAH

The masses of Greater Tunb raised a message to the President of the Federation, Zaid, in which they asked him to define a clear stand towards the question of the islands and requested him to make available training and weapons in order to recover the islands. They also asked him to define a clear attitude towards Iran and to place the question of the islands on top.

The Federation of Emirates and Zaid repeatedly tried to show the world that all issues of the masses can be solved by Zaid's pocket and always tried to belittle the nationalism of our masses in North Oman and their determination and their will for freedom. But this simple message with deep meaning expresses and demonstrates in a clear manner what is wanted by our people and their determination to struggle in order to safeguard their national rights. This message also points out that the masses of our people in North Oman have started to find the only solutions capable of protecting the homeland and their national soil--the way of arms.

Iran is moving in a shameless, awkward, and open manner in a bid to realize its aims, swallowing

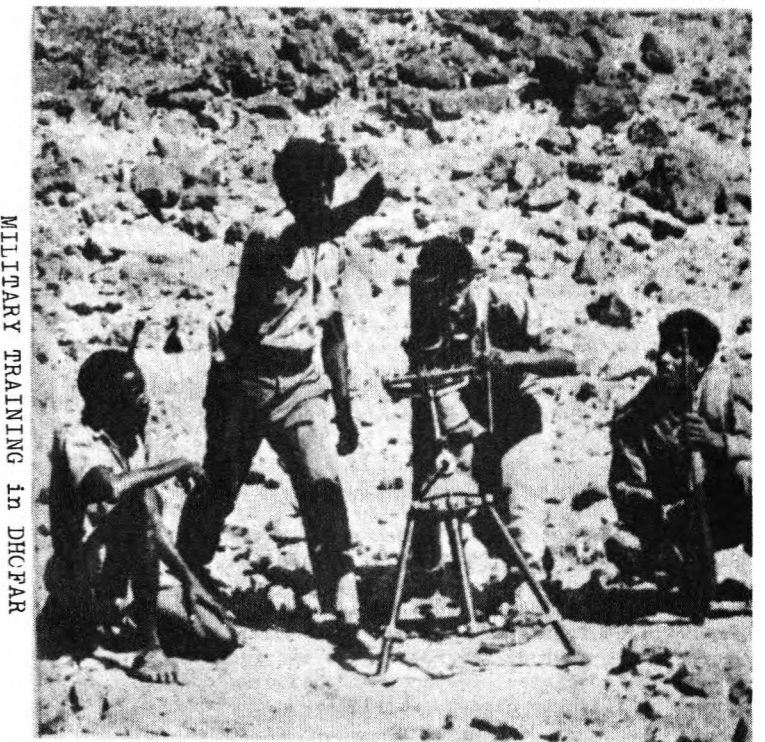
part of the homeland and threatening other parts. It is moving within the context of a new imperialist plan known as the Indian Ocean plan. Iran is regarded as the main panel in this strategy.

Undoubtedly, many of the Arab national forces are bewildered, and undoubtedly many of them speak about another Palestine to take place in the Gulf. No doubt there are many who look with sorrow and fear what is happening in the Gulf, but, up to now, have not picked the correct road.

The message, which contains many lines, points out the road and gives the example to be taken by Arab forces. This is the road of the long and strenuous armed struggle. It means to emanate from the reality of the masses and their ability to adopt a long-term combative policy, planning for long years ahead: but not forgetting the main objective of the tasks of the national democratic revolution which calls for safeguarding the territories of the homeland and realising the objectives of the masses.

We pay tribute to the struggle of our masses in North Oman and pay tribute to the demonstrators who came out at Ras al-Khaimah, we also pay tribute to the students of Dubai and all those who affirmed with determination the combative line and the determination of the masses in front of the Iranian Shah-in-Shah tide. We greet the struggle and demands of the inhabitants of Major Tunb and record our admiration for their courage and national clarity and chant with them: "Long live the struggle of the masses and Long Live the Demands of the inhabitants of Greater Tunb"

The two preceding articles have been adapted from items appearing in *Saut-el Thawra*, a weekly English-language publication of the PFLOAG. Requests for issues of *Saut-el Thawra* can be sent to P.O. Box 5037, Ma'alla, Aden, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.



GREECE: & the Colonels

This past April 21st, Papadopoulos and his goon squad celebrated the fifth anniversary of their reign of terror. Dictatorship is not new in modern Greek history. In the 30's, the Greek people suffered the fascist dictatorship of Metaxa which first nurtured the young Papadopoulos and his cronies. The mass resistance of World War II (2 million civilians and over 50,000 armed guerrillas) led to the hope that a social revolution would end the cycle of military dictatorships and set a revolutionary example for the resistance movements in France and Italy.

Anglo-American intrigues, coupled with the gross mistakes of the Stalinist leadership of EAM-ELAS (National Liberation Front) led to two military defeats and the iron rule of Costas Karamanlis. But in less than a decade the Greek people were again on the move. In 1958 the United Democratic Left (EDA) polled 25% of the vote, making it the largest opposition party in Parliament. This was a sensational victory in view of the electoral rigging, police intimidation, and general anti-communist hysteria. The election put the Greek ruling class on guard. They began to use every weapon in their arsenal to intimidate the masses, including the blatant assassination of Deputy Gregory Lambrakis. The popular momentum would not be stopped. Karamanlis fell from power and George Papandreu who had been the instrument for disarming EAM-ELAS was called to be prime minister.

Rather than cooling the Greek masses with his old style liberalism, Papandreu's rule only gave vent to greater socialist fervor. Increasingly, he and his more progressive son, Andreas, made bolder demands on the U.S., even to hinting at withdrawal from NATO. Such demands led to Papandreu's dismissal in 1964 and three frantic years of patch-work illegal governments. The often-postponed general elections were finally set for May 1970. The mass movement had now become so powerful that the CIA ordered its contact man in the Secret Police (KYP) George Papadopoulos, to take over. Heading a minuscule band of American trained colonels, but using the latest NATO weapons and contingency plans, the neo-fascists moved with their tanks to smash the rebellion of the Greek workers, farmers and students.

The dictatorship is the worst in modern times. Papadopoulos is no populist Mussolini. He must use the most vicious physical torture and the crudest ideology to hold power. His regime openly caters to the Golden Greeks of international shipping and to the Mediterranean plots of the American imperialists. Yet the unpopular dictatorship has not caused the expected mass resistance. We feel the reasons for this can be summed up in five general observations:

1)The Greek armed forces, especially the secret police, equipped and financed by Washington, are an effective modern mercenary army. They use the latest intelligence and counter-insurgency methods known to the Pentagon. The peculiar situation in Greece where most of the population and industry is in the two cities of Athens and Salonika connected by a single highway simplifies security problems.

2)The popular movements of the 50's and 60's centered exclusively on electoral politics. It was organizationally and programmatically unprepared to oppose a military take-over. Revolutionaries are not made instantly like Nescafe! Revolutionaries have to mature in protracted struggle.

3)Those with power have been docile. Two examples: the king did not use his loyal troops on the first day; and the socialist bloc has not put on economic pressure (20% of Greek trade is with the bloc), much less provide military training and financial backing to revolutionaries.

4)The former political leaders of all ideological tendencies still believe the junta can be toppled through appeals to European and American politicians. This is doubly foolish since the social democrats they try to influence can hardly sustain themselves in power, much less aid someone else.

5)Groups and individuals have not been able to put together viable clandestine organizations in spite of brave efforts, ingenuity and determination. The revolutionaries' groups remain divided, unable to agree on compatible and effective programs and actions within and outside Greece.

The prospect for socialism in Greece remains bright despite of all these difficulties. The colonels have solved no problems and they have created many new ones. The basic contradictions of Greek society have intensified.

Just who does support the junta? Only people like Jackie and Aristotle Onassis whose corporations are financed by the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank.

Only people like Tom Pappas who has taken Greece as his economic fief in return for raising money for Tricky Dick Nixon and his Star-Spangled Spiro. The colonels have even had to jail generals who fought against EAM-ELAS and served the Americans in Korea. Their desperation makes them dangerous. Already, they have tried to foster a coup in Italy. At present, they seek to put their man Grivas in power in Cyprus. They are prepared to use Greece as a sanctuary for any American move in the Middle East.

We Greeks have a bitter legacy of past mistakes which weigh heavily on our actions. We cannot build socialism on the old forms of the '40s, 50's and 60's, although our admiration for the rank and file militants is undiminished and beyond words. We can only seek a total break with the decadent past and the development of independent revolutionary movement shaped by the events and conditions of the '70s. The only answer for us is the answer the French workers sought in 1968, the answer the Arab commandos struggle for daily, the answer the people of Vietnam have fought thirty years to achieve.

The present commentary has been adapted from the Front Line, a newsletter devoted to problems of the Greek Revolution. Please address inquiries and financial contributions to: PENA, Box 5128, Clinton, New Jersey.

inside ISRAEL ISRAELI ECONOMY: Contradictions & Outlook



1. ZIONISM, CAPITALISM, AND ISRAEL-----
One need only glance through Theodore Herzl's The Jewish State to realize its bourgeois orientation. Its first edition was dedicated to the Rothschilds, other early backers of Zionism, be they Jewish (like Kalisher, Rothschild, or Hirsch) or non-Jewish (such as Palmerston, Shaftesbury, and, later, Rhodes, Chamberlain, or Balfour) had the indelible stamp of bourgeois interests.

Most of the early "Jewish" capitalist ventures in Palestine were financed in Europe, particularly in London. For example, both the monopolistic Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Potash Company (which held sole rights to extraction of minerals from the Dead Sea) were largely underwritten by British shareholders. As early as 1935, German Zionist settlers established a stock market--which is now the booming Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The Jewish Agency was strongly interested in attracting capitalist immigrants and their funds. During the thirties, it had a working agreement with the Nazi regime facilitating the transfer of wealthier Jews' capital from Germany to Palestine, and this agreement lasted until 1939.

In view of this background, one could only expect Israeli society to be capitalist. A "Law for Encouragement of Capital Investments" was enacted very early in the history of the state, and was amended in 1959 in order to attract greater foreign private investment. Foreign investors were granted full convertibility on their investments, and all profits could be repatriated.

Previously, in 1958, corporate tax structure had been revised in a manner grossly favorable to private companies. Taxes on profits and dividends were significantly reduced, while conditions on corporate depreciation charges were "liberalized."

A curious relationship also arose between private and "public" enterprises--specifically a situation of interlocking directorates with the same people also holding high positions in government or government-linked institutions such as the Histadrut. Through the years, one finds that the directors of the larger banks, insurance companies, and industrial corporations "sat" on a variety of boards of directors and government committees.

The stock market facilitates concentration of control--if 10 percent of a corporation's stock is in the hands of one bank, while the other 90 percent is spread among 15,000 individuals, the bank calls the tune. In the past year alone, volume of trading on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange has risen by more than 1000 percent. The value of securities, weighted by companies' market capitalization, rose at an annual rate of 82 percent in 1972. While "public" banks (Leumi, Hapoalim) played an important role in earlier years, this could not be expected to last in a capitalist framework, even if the "public" banks truly benefited a chosen minority. 92 percent of foreigners' deposits of foreign currency were handled by private banks in 1970, and the latter have outgrown "public" banks at a healthy rate.

The government itself is paving the way for broader private control. Its "Development Plan for the National Economy, 1971-75" happily forecasts foreign investment of \$585 million for 1971-75, and this estimate will most certainly be exceeded. Increases in private investment are attributed to government-sponsored economic conferences that took place in Jerusalem in 1968 and 1969.

A recent issue (12/5/72) of the Jerusalem Post reports on the visit of John R. Bunting, chairman of the First Pennsylvania Corporation, which is one of the twenty largest banks in the United States. First Pennsylvania has purchased 41 percent of the First International Bank of Israel (FIBI) with an option to increase its holding to 51 percent in five years. The Post reported that Bunting was "most interested" in Israel's potential as a base of international expansion of First Pennsylvania's banking operations. It also mentioned that he "felt that some (Israeli) banking regulations may be excessive"

The same issue of the Post, among other investment news, stated that a London-based investment group had taken over Pan-Lon, Israel's largest private construction firm. The group's representative was quoted as saying that "feasibility studies show it (the company's future) to be a very good investment. If it were not, the Bank of England would not allow us to transfer funds here..."

One major segment of the booming foreign (mostly American) investment in Israel has been in military industries, which employ 10 percent of the industrial work-force. This insidious and highly

profitable phenomenon is backed by such war-mongering firms as Westinghouse, General Telephone and Electronics, and Motorola. It is designed for maximizing the Israeli economy's dependency on continued warfare throughout the world. Much of the investment in this sector is aimed at meeting counter-insurgency needs, including such marvels as gamma-ray weapons or the Arava anti-guerrilla

II. CONTRADICTIONS IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

The capitalist nature of the Zionist "solution" and escalating imperialist exploitation are only bound to expose and exacerbate contradictions in Israeli society. The nature of the primary contradiction is as follows: workers (Arab and Jewish) produce, but what they produce is privately appropriated--very privately. In fact, much of it goes to private groups abroad. When workers are robbed of what they have made, with constant attempts at robbing them even more, the result is class unrest, manifested in various forms.

"Major ports have been crippled for weeks...endless queues are endemic at clinics and airports..." the New York Times reported (Oct. 29, 1972). "Theaters and flour mills have shut down. Thus last week Israel continued in the throes of a rash of strikes and slowdowns called by doctors, customs officials, teachers and truckmen." The article continued: "Among all industrialized nations, Israel ranks first in the number of strikes by public employees." Abraham Friedman, the head of the Department of Business Administration at Hebrew University, was quoted as saying: "The workers have lost all their inhibitions about striking. Some of them went as long as four years without increases, and now they are making up for it." Israel will have lost some 850,000 work-days (and possibly more) in the three years between 1970-72, as compared to a loss of 232,000 strike days in the 1967-69 period.

Because it is interested in preventing concerted class action by workers, the capitalist states find ethnic differences to be convenient in keeping workers disunited. As a result, a capitalist state will find its ethnic problems to be unsolvable. And Israel is no exception.

The Zionist approach has been somewhat similar to the South African settlers, and leaders of both are often talking of how similar their problems are. The preferred solution to the problem of having so many Arabs around--creation of a "Palestinian" West Bank state--is similar in concept to the South African solution of a "Bantustan" state. In a sight very similar to the busing of black workers in South Africa, fifty thousand Palestinian Arabs are bused daily in and out of Gaza and the West Bank to work for Israeli enterprises. Through Israel's extreme force and complete economic control, the Palestinians have been somewhat subdued in actions against the Israeli bosses. Nevertheless, daily acts of resistance are reported, always to be met by heavy-handed reprisals.



Dayan speaks to United Jewish Appeal visitors about defense

III. RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS

A short-term solution for Israeli capitalists and their servants may lie in the creation of conditions similar to those preceding the 1967 war. Israel may then be able a) to try to destroy the Palestinian Resistance, which would be impossible, short of genocide, or b) gain territory in Syria and Lebanon, including the Litani River area and desirable agricultural land in both countries, or c) make a deal with Jordan and perhaps Lebanon that would open these countries to Israeli economic penetration. In June, 1969, Dayan himself said that "after the present cease-fire lines, there will be new ones. They will extend beyond Jordan--perhaps to Lebanon and perhaps to central Syria as well," (London Times, June 25, 1969).

A longer-term, but nonetheless self-defeating solution (because of its capitalist basis) would be to gain economic "peace" with additional Arab nations, with Egypt in the lead. Such an arrangement would require the full cooperation of the Americans and of European nations as well. For these imperialist parties, it is a desirable solution. Economic peace giving Israeli goods entry into the Arab world is the least desirable solution for the Palestinians and the Arab masses collectively, although some Arab leaders find it tempting. It could lead to a long economic boom for Israel, escalating the role of Jewish workers as a labor aristocracy, while leaving the Arabs' anti-imperialist struggle in disarray and weakening immediate and visible reasons for support of the Palestinian struggle.

In fact, this is seen by some Zionist leaders as the ideal solution to the "Jewish Question"--namely the consolidation of a Jewish labor aristocracy. Of course, it is an impossible solution, since the controlling imperialist investors are hardly likely to be interested in appeasing any one group forever, and would eventually shift portions of their capital to parts of the world where promises of higher returns and safer conditions may be available

Israel may also choose to crack down on its own rebellious working class. A number of anti-strike bills have been introduced in the Knesset, with provisions for severe economic and physical punishment for workers. Although this may be attempted in desperation, war is seen as a much easier path to take.

TeRRoR IN GaZa

The description of Israeli atrocities in the Gaza Strip was originally printed and distributed by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

Conditions in Gaza prison are intolerable. Prisoners are beaten constantly by their wardens. No requests for interviews with the prison warden are accepted, nor are any complaints--these being considered discipline--offenses. Punishment for these offenses for speaking a single word in a cell is usually a stay in the "punition block"--a cell about six feet long by four feet wide, whose floor is always kept wet; thus the inmates cannot sit down or stretch out. Up to four men are packed in each such cell, when not condemned to "solitary punishment." Additionally, cold water is often poured over their bodies and clothes in the evenings, a punishment also used on prisoners outside the block. Frequent beatings are administered by prison personnel, which is considered by the inmates as "worse than the Shin Bet interrogators." During the rare visits by Red Cross representatives conditions improve: the daily walk is lengthened from 15 minutes every two or three days to one hour daily. This is discontinued after the Red Cross men leave. Information is based on testimony by inmate Muhammad Yusuf before his lawyer, Mrs. Felicia Langer.

Miss Lutfia I. El-Khauari was arrested on 7-8-1969 and held under difficult conditions at Beit Shean police stations, one of the most notorious "interrogation stations" for Arabs. She was forced to "confess" an attempt "to poison the whisky" of an Israeli agent provocateur living in Ramallah. She got ten years in prison. Her lower body became paralyzed. She suffered severe pains and was unable to rise from bed but was charged with "malingering." Only after several months was she transferred to Tzrifin camp prison. On 6-9-72 she was suddenly taken from her hospital bed, in extremely bad condition, and unable to walk, and taken back to the Neve Tirtza women's jail. Her shouts for help, for pills or pain-relieving injections, are now heard there daily by other inmates. A demand by her lawyer to call on her in her cell (as she is physically unable to come to the visitors' room) was refused by prison authorities on 15-9-72.

"SAIGON EXPECTS ISRAELI ADVISORS TO COME AFTER THE AMERICANS LEAVE"

By Gil Kesari, Maariv correspondent in Saigon, Dec. 15.

"...a government source in Saigon stressed to Maariv correspondent that South Vietnam's military situation--now, and even more in the future--will require help in the form of military advice if the country is to withstand the Communist subversion and aggression...According to the Saigon source, the question of Israeli advice will now be an urgent need, especially since the Americans are pal

pecially since the Americans are planning to disengage their troops from the whole of South Vietnam in the framework of a cease-fire agreement or a truce. The US...is not planning to abandon South Vietnam completely. The idea of being helped by Israeli knowledge is not only known to Washington, but was inspired by it".

SPY SCARE

The severe internal problems within Israeli Society periodically manifest themselves through ruthless political witch-hunts. Until recently, the primary target for police intimidation and social ostracism has been the Arabs living inside of Israel and the occupied territories. Protection of "national security" is the often repeated justification for brutal policies which not only affect the Arab population but touch large sectors of the Israeli working class. (For example, the government retains the "right" to draft striking workers into the army when it considers a strike harmful to "security").

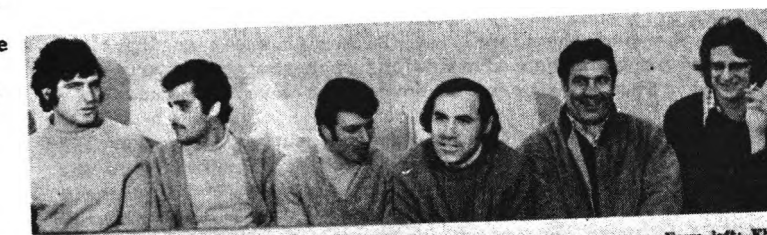
Left organizations such as Rakah (Communist Party) and Matzpen (Israeli Socialist Organization) have exposed and denounced official economic sanctions and police interventions directed against Arabs and Jews. Despite fascist efforts of the government to silence outspoken criticism of internal repression, these organizations have also fought against Israel's pro-imperialist policies throughout the Middle East.

It is not accidental that the present "rounding-up" of Jewish and Arab militants reached a new stage recently with the 'Arab-Jewish spy ring' scare. Numerous cases of political arrests in the last few months coincide with the country's present economic crisis. Spiralling inflation has caused massive strikes (both public and private sectors).

Labels of treachery and subversion appear to be the only avenues of propaganda open to the policy-makers who wish to prevent a growing political consciousness on the part of the Israeli masses. The denial of basic democratic rights and the worsening of conditions for workers threaten to blow away many Zionist myths which have, until now, succeeded in preserving a powerful national unity built around Israel's "security" needs.

The latest pogroms against Arab and Jewish activists have implied to the rest of the world that the Meir government is indeed threatened by internal unrest which is slowly generating an intense political awareness.

At the onset of the spy scare the Israeli news media consistently attempted to link the anti-Zionist opposition to subversion, i.e. acting against the national interest.



In the dock at Haifa District Court are the six accused in the spy and sabotage case. From left: Ehud Adiv, Subhi Na'arari, Anis Karawi, Simon Hadad, Daoud Turki, and Dan Vered. (G.P.A.)

The popular daily Ha'aretz (December 10) described one of the central figures of the case as an "educated Arab". Simon Khadad was co-ordinator of Arab Affairs at Haifa University at the time of his arrest.

"Khadad, like other educated Arabs of his age drew encouragement for his nationalist activities from a group of Leftist Jewish students who were associated with Matzpen and its breakaway factions. At the time, this encouragement led to demonstrations held to press for the acceptance of an Arab, who had in the past been suspected of extreme nationalist leanings, as a University lecturer, and to joint marches for freeing of Biram and Ikrit to their former homes."

"The Jews sought to pull the Arab students out of their isolation and to this end they organized meetings in which much was said about the oppression of the minorities by the Israel Establishment. These meetings spilled out of the University and spread to the homes of extremist Arab nationalists and members of Rakah (C.P. of Israel...)

The alleged leader of the group, Daoud Turki was a former Rahah member who ran a bookstore in Haifa. Harassment was a familiar reality in his personal life and daily business. Yediot Aharonot (Dec.8) dismissed him with its usual journalistic integrity... "known for his extreme left wing opinions."

The Jerusalem Post (Dec. 12) attempted to conjure up visions of an international anti-Jewish conspiracy, its audience being primarily western Zionists (British and American). Dan Vered, a mathematics teacher from Tel Aviv becomes contaminated abroad, according to the Post:

"In the U.S., he apparently made contact with the radical left and via the S.D.S. reached the 'revolutionary people's party'. He apparently returned to Israel a convinced revolutionary Marxist which led him via Matzpen and his meeting with Cohn-Bendit to the Israeli Revolutionary Organization and to his arrest."

The Labor Party, Mapam, described the 'fabl' of Ehud Adiv, former Israeli paratrooper, kibbutz member, and basketball coach:

"...The turning point came with the visit to Israel of the red-headed German Jewish professional revolutionary who was a central figure in the French students' riots of May 1968." (Jerusalem Post, Dec 2)

As the search for 'subversion' gained popular support, Ma'ariv (Dec 10) reported that "at least 100 to 150 members of the minorities (Euphemism known as Arabs) and at least one more Jewish youngster may be arrested". That same week, 38 more Arabs were arrested.

The intention to further increase surveillance and limit political criticism was publicly expressed by the Chief of Police:

"What is of concern in the spy and sabotage affair is the great number of Israeli Arabs who grew up in the country and who participated in sabotage and terror plans. We must review our attitude to the Arab minority in the country and evaluate it on the basis of the latest revelations... It is clear that the shift from intellectual exercises for adopting ex-

ISRAELI PRISON



trimest and deviational positions to the plan for the execution of sabotage actions is short and sudden. These hothouses, to which the law and public relate with understanding, can produce not only silly and sick theories, but also dangerous actions."

Four of the originally accused, were members of a group called the 'Red Front' which was a split from a Matzpen tendency. Later, as the case expanded, 2 members of a Maoist organization called the Revolutionary Communist Alliance were interrogated. Rami Livneh, son of a communist parliament member was tortured along with many Arab detainees. In a full paid advertisement in Ha'aretz (Jan. 12) the following names appeared as torture victims:

Shanke Hativ (Dir Hana), Mohammed Dasuki (Taibe), Ahmed Mahmoud Haouri (Tarshiba), Faaz Turke (Haifa), Subhei Naarani (Busmat Tivon), Rasan Agbria (Um el-Fahen), Simon Hadar (Iblin), Eli Samlie (Arab el-Samniye), Hana Savit (Tarshiba), Salam Jabrin (Um el-Fahm), Meli Lerman (Kidon), and others.

At different intervals in the media's hysterical coverage of the case, the major accusations of sabotage and subversion were retracted by officials investigating the case. Security officers reported that "many of the rumors on the proceedings of the investigations are groundless." Ha'aretz reported, "the investigations indicate that up to the time of their arrest, they had no clear plan for sabotage acts and had received no equipment and sabotage materials."

The nature of this political frame-up leads us to question-- If the Israeli left is truly as insignificant, incompetent and divided from its Arab brothers as the bureaucracy claims, why was it necessary to hit so hard? Is it possible that the spectre of class unity among Arabs and Jews has haunted the Zionist establishment for a long time?

An international campaign is now underway against repression inside Israel. Five organizations released the following statement.

"The government aspires to destroy the organizations of the left and is utilizing provocations to this end. After the discovery of what is called a "sabotage and spy ring," the regime struck at the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle) by arresting Rami Livneh and Melli Lehrman. It is obvious what will come next: the well-known domino method. After Struggle, others will be hit. Against the Black Panthers and the government used frame-ups about "domestic terrorism" and "Molotov cocktails"; against the organizations of the left it is now using the obvious provocation of "spying and sabotage."

The government does not intend to stop there. By announcing that 100 more arrests are expected, the regime is preparing the ground for arresting more political militants and destroying more political and worker's organizations. The charge that members of an open political organization "had contact with agents of the enemy" is only a beginning.

The government that has for years been expropriating and expelling Arabs, that has for years been engaged in class oppression and racial discrimination, is in need of renewed "national unity" because of the strike wave and price rises. It needs new "security" grounds to justify its militarism and the continuation of oppression.

The Israeli regime cannot tolerate the joint political organization of Jews and Arabs, and it uses all its weapons, from the security services to the courts, to destroy all such activity.

We place no trust whatsoever in the information released by the police and the security services-- they are intended to create a lynch atmosphere. Various charges raised toward this end have already been disproved (and some of the accused have been freed already).

We know that many of those imprisoned have been badly tortured in the course of interrogation, in the highest traditions of such methods. We have heard that they will be tried before closed military courts on the basis of the 1945 Defense and Emergency Regulations.

Yesterday the regime claimed that striking workers were "saboteurs"; today it attacks political organizations and claims they are "enemies": tomorrow it will destroy workers' councils by claiming they endanger "national unity". The government attacks freedom of political organization and at the same time prepares the laws that will enable them to send striking workers to jail.

LET'S STOP THEM NOW!

Yesterday they declared the villages of Ikrit and Biram "closed areas"; tomorrow they will prohibit demonstrations against "excesses" and all forms of neighborhood and school organizations.

LET'S STOP THEM NOW.

Don't let them outlaw any political organization.

LET'S STOP THEM NOW.
LET'S FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLE.
TO ORGANIZE ACCORDING TO THEIR OPINIONS AND CONSCIENCE.

We urge all organizations and individuals to support this call.

SIGNED:
Avant-garde Group, Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen), Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle), Arab Students' Union-Hebrew University (Jerusalem).

WHAT IS THE SHIN BET?

To many persons, Israel's intelligence services are known as the "Shin Bet", but, in reality, the Shin Bet is but one of five sections within a complex network. Since many experts in the field consider Israel's "State Security Services" to be even more tightly run than the C.I.A., it is clear that there can be no "definitive" study of Israeli intelligence and counter-intelligence.

In the past year, however, a series of interrelated events have blown away parts of the invisible shroud that had previously protected the "State Security Services" from curious eyes. Notably, such post-Munich operations as the murders of Wael Zuaiter and Mahmoud Hamshari in Europe by Israeli intelligence operatives have drawn long over-due attention to the operations of "Mossad" Israel's overseas espionage-and-assassination bureau.

When one considers the historical origins of the "State Security Services," it is possible to understand why this network continues to operate with the utmost in secrecy. It has often been pointed out that other institutions of the Zionist state actually arose during the years of the British Mandate, and the intelligence system is no exception. During the thirties, as Palestinian resistance to the Zionist colonization intensified, the newly formed Haganah cooperated closely with the British in developing means for surveillance of the Arab population.

However, the true ancestor of Israel's present-day intelligence network is to be found in the Irgun and the Stern Gang, two terrorist organizations that demanded immediate "liberation" of Palestine so that a Zionist state could be erected. Outlawed by the British colonial authorities, who saw them as a threat to the delicate balance that London sought to maintain after 1936, they existed clandestinely relying partially upon bases of support outside Palestine. The Irgun's first venture took place in 1938, when it placed bombs in the marketplace of Haifa, causing 200 Arab casualties. Its attacks upon Arabs and its raids upon British military supply depots became so popular among the settler population that the Haganah soon created its own competing terrorist units, known as the P.O.M. These units remained under the personal direction of David Ben-Gurion until 1948.

Although the terrorist organizations that arose under the Mandate did not engage in "conventional" information-gathering, their secrecy and their skill in offensive operations are two traits that have consistently characterized the Israeli intelligence network. For example, the Stern Gang, in 1943, succeeded in foiling British wartime intelligence in order to perform the assassination of a British cabinet member, Lord Moyne, in Cairo.

When World War II ended, Zionist intelligence operations were greatly expanded in preparation for the eventual seizure of Palestine. Overseas operatives of the Haganah specialized not only in arranging clandestine arms shipments, but in perfor-

ming terrorist assignments. At the same time, the Palmach, the Irgun, and the Stern Gang maintained their own overseas operations, but, eventually, these were to be integrated with the Haganah's network under a single command.

In 1947 and 1948, Britain was hit by a wave of letter bombs--parcels and envelopes designed to explode upon opening. The recipients were generally families of British functionaries and military personnel stationed in Palestine. As we shall see, the letter-bomb has long been a favorite of Israeli intelligence, giving reason to suspect that many of this year's letter-bombs have been of Israeli origin.

After the creation of the Zionist state and the formation of the "State Security Services," a concerted effort was made to disperse Arabic-speaking agents throughout the Arab world. All through the fifties, a number of Israeli intelligence officers, including Aharon Yariv (later to become head of the "Security Services" network), were sent to the U.S. or to NATO institutions for training. Thus Israeli "James Bonds" would be well-equipped to intervene at crucial moments in the Arab world, as they did in Egypt following the overthrow of King Farouk.

In 1951, Avraham Dar, a top Israeli army officer had penetrated Egypt, using the alias "John Darling." He recruited a group of Egyptian Jews, one of whom was Elie Cohen. "Darling" was soon joined by "Paul Frank"--another agent, who was posing as an ex-Nazi. By 1954, when Nasser had risen to power, "Darling" and "Frank" were ordering their men to place bombs at British and American installations (including the offices of the U.S. Information Agency) in order to provoke the imperialists into taking a harder stance against Nasser.

Finally, the Egyptians trapped three members of the group and sentenced them to death. Even though Moshe Sharett, the Israeli prime minister, appealed to Nasser for clemency, Nasser refused since he had previously executed members of the Muslim Brotherhood on charges of spying for the C.I.A. However, later events proved that Nasser's counter-espionage



Gen. Aharon Yariv-
Security Chief

services had only uncovered a small portion of Israel's system of operations inside Egypt.

Superficially, the discovery of the "Darling group" appeared to have a far greater impact inside Israel for BenGurion was able to use the failure of this operation as a pretext for regaining the prime minister's office. Blame for the failure was shifted from the intelligence complex itself to Pinhas Lavon, who had been Sharett's Minister of Defense. In order to defend himself against BenGurion's charges, Lavon would have been forced to reveal the scope of Israel's already large overseas operations thereby violating his oath of secrecy.

When Ben Gurion took office again in February, 1955, the intelligence network was placed under the command of General Isser Harel, known to his associates as "Isser the Terrible." Harel, a veteran of the Haganah's pre-World War II espionage complex, was a close personal friend of BenGurion. As Supervisor of State Security Services, he greatly tightened the links among the five basic sections. These include "Mossad" which functioned overseas along lines analogous to the C.I.A., and the "Shin Bet" which was designed for domestic counter-espionage and for surveillance of Palestinians still living in Israel. The three other sections under Harel's command were military intelligence, police investigation, and a research and information complex.

Prior to and after the 1956 Suez War, "Mossad" operatives carried out a series of lightning operations in more than one Arab nation. In 1955, they used letter-bombs to kill Salah Mustafa, the Egyptian military attache in Jordan. Similarly, they assassinated Mustafa Hafid, the Egyptian officer responsible for training Palestinian fidayin in the Gaza region.

Nevertheless, Israel's information-gathering efforts had far more direct military and political consequences. Extensive aerial mapping and an intimate knowledge of Egyptian military structure had greatly facilitated the 1956 push through Sinai to the Suez Canal. Under the director of Yuval Nieman, an intelligence officer, thousands of Egyptian prisoners were interrogated, and the results were processed by computer. In this way, Israel would possess a reservoir of information about Egypt's armed forces that was re-applied during preparations for the 1967 war.

In the late fifties and early sixties, as the United States revamped its own intelligence complex, cooperation between the C.I.A. and Israel's "security services" was expanded. As the U.S. provided financing for Israel's "foreign assistance" programs in

Africa, Israeli experts were pressed into service in order to train the domestic spy networks of such nations as Ethiopia, Uganda, and the Congo. At the same time, the steady flow of American dollars to the Israeli military establishment insured that the "security services" would have at their disposal the latest equipment available.

Despite these favourable conditions, Israel's intelligence network was not exempt from crises and failures. In 1961, Pinhas Lavon, the alleged mastermind of the 1954 operations in Egypt, demanded

that he be reinstated in his previous position. Before several parliamentary commissions, he suggested that others had been responsible for the failure of these operations. Under government orders, "Paul Frank," the former second-in-command of the 1954 operations, was arrested as a "double agent." However, Frank was later exonerated and publicly claimed that his arrest had been part of BenGurion's efforts to silence Lavon. Even though BenGurion ultimately won his feud with Lavon, he had caused wide public outcry against secrecy in government, seriously weakening his popularity.

In 1963, two spectacular failures occurred, producing a major shake-up within the intelligence system and the resignation of BenGurion. The first of these involved the discovery that Israel Beer, BenGurion's personal military adviser, was a "double agent" who had supplied information to the Soviet Union. The "Shin Bet" had been proven vulnerable!

Far more serious was the revelation of "Mossad's" harassment campaign against German scientists who had been working in Egypt. Even though some of these scientists were, in fact, employees of the C.I.A., Isser Harel had ordered operations against them. In March 1963, two Israeli operatives were arrested in Zurich by Swiss authorities for threatening a German woman whose father was working in Egypt. Several of the German scientists, meanwhile, had been wounded by letter bombs addressed to them in Egypt.

Because it was feared that these operations would jeopardize Israel's own secret receipt of weapons from Germany, Isser Harel was abruptly dismissed, being replaced by General Meir Amit. As members of the Labor Party denounced BenGurion's sanctioning of "secret foreign policy measures," BenGurion resigned from the Prime Ministry.

Yet, during this same period, one of "Mossad's" most successful operations was already under way. Elie Cohen, the Egyptian Jew who had originally been recruited in Egypt by Avraham Dar, had successfully established himself in Damascus as a close friend of high Syrian officials. Calling himself Kamal Amin Taabes, Cohen had purchased a flat close to government offices in Damascus and allowed his important friends to use it for trysts with their mistresses.

Even though Cohen had discovered that several ex-Nazis were living in Damascus, he was ordered by his superiors to ignore them and to focus upon other matters, such as Syria's plans for diverting the head-waters of the Jordan. Communicating regularly with Tel Aviv via a radio concealed inside a cocktail shaker, Cohen eventually succeeded in transmitting detailed descriptions of Syria's fortifications in the Golan Heights.

Cohen was only discovered in 1965, as he was on the verge of being offered a post in the Syrian government. With newly acquired Soviet-made equipment, the Syrian intelligence service had been able to localize his wave-length. Cohen was immediately executed, and the officials with whom he had associated were removed from their positions.

Nevertheless, "Mossad" continued to score victories within the Arab world. In August, 1966, Munir Ruffa, an Iraqi pilot flew a Soviet MiG intact from Bagdad to Israel, providing Israeli officials with their first opportunity to examine the type of aircraft favored by the nationalist Arab regimes. At the same time, contacts with Jordanian intelligence permitted Israel to obtain valuable information about the preliminary activities of al-Fatah, the first of the Palestinian resistance organizations.

In the Six-Day War, Israel's lightning airstrikes against Egypt and Syria would have been impossible without detailed information of the type that can only be obtained from aerial surveillance or on-the-spot agents. General Aharon Yariv, who is now the head of "Security Services" has boasted to the French writer Jean Larteguy that "we were one of the first armies in the world, if not the first, to use maps and aerial photos on a large scale." (Interview of Yariv by Larteguy, published in The Walls of Israel.)

In addition to its reliance upon advanced American technology in order to pinpoint Egyptian and Syrian military positions, Israel had also been able to rely upon the services of its "Elie Cohens" both Israeli and Arab. It has been revealed that, at the time of the Six-Day War, Israel kept a dossier including the names of all Egyptian pilots and all Egyptian officers stationed in Sinai. During the Sinai invasion, some Israeli units moved according to up-to-the-moment information on Egyptian tank and artillery positions that was being provided by an "Egyptian" officer who has access to a short-wave radio.

A year later, writing in al-Ahram (July, 1968), Mohammed Hassanein Heykal would admit:

"The Israelis had a perfect knowledge of Egypt. They even knew the names of our pilots, as well as the secret codes of our air force and tank corps."

Israel's effortless victory in June, 1967, no doubt depended heavily on the superiority of its external intelligence units and its own domestic counter-espionage services, such as the "Shin-Bet." Nevertheless, it is appropriate to observe that this was a victory against conventional armies. Since the Six-Day War, Israel's armies and its intelligence network have been forced to confront a new, less predictable and more dedicated adversary--namely, the fidayin. This fact has been duly acknowledged by such figures as Aharon Yariv, the man who had selected the hour for the surprise attack upon Egypt in 1967:

"Of the 3.2 million inhabitants that Israel now has, 270,000 are Arabs. With the occupied territories, this Arab population increases by 1,120,000. Then the problem of subversion arises. I think that we're going to have trouble in this area." (Interview with Larteguy)

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A subsequent installment will analyze the character of Israel's secret offensive against the Palestinian resistance, and the significance of Mossad's new tactics.

LEBANON

INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS INTENSIFY

On November 11, 1972, two striking workers at the Gandour chocolate factory were assassinated by the Lebanese police, who claimed that they had fired in "self-defense." The General Confederation of Lebanese Workers called a one-day strike on November 14, with the result that more than 100,000 workers walked off their jobs. The workers' action was supported by a student strike involving 50,000. The strikes were accompanied by mass demonstrations, during which Lebanese security forces were noticeably absent.

This upsurge, with no parallel in the recent history of Lebanon's labor movement, is a sign of the deepening economic and political contradictions within the "Switzerland of the Middle East." Since June, Israel has repeatedly attacked the villages of southern Lebanon, causing hundreds of casualties and forcing many families to flee their homes. 100,000 refugees have moved to Beirut since June.

The Lebanese army units stationed in the south have regularly refused to resist Israeli invasions and raids, while the government has failed to provide funds for rebuilding homes, schools, or other facilities destroyed by Israeli forces. Many peasants in the South are painfully aware that the Lebanese army is in the region, not for defense, but for interdicting the movements of the Palestinian fidayin (For all practical purposes, the government has abrogated the 1969 Cairo agreements, whereby the Palestinian Resistance had won the right to operate freely in the South).

On January 25, the residents of Nabatiyeh, a town in the South that has suffered heavy Israeli attacks, held a demonstration to protest the government's failure to repair damaged water and electricity facilities. It has been reported that army units fired upon the demonstrators, wounding several and killing two. Local protests in the South have been paralleled by frequent demonstrations in Beirut against the governments' "benign neglect" of the victims of Israeli attacks. The troops' indiscriminate shooting upon the Nabatiyeh demonstrators marks a new level in the government's apparent fear of mass indignation.

Like its counterparts in Israel, the Franjieh regime has tried to concoct a "Syrian spy scare". In early January, officials announced that they were hot in the trail of a "Syrian-inspired" cell that was allegedly plotting to overthrow the government and unite Lebanon with Syria.

In recent years, Lebanon has seen spiralling inflation and a sharp drop in living standards; the burden of which has fallen on the working class. As trade union organizing makes headway (particularly in such areas as the port of Tripoli, where major oil refineries are located), there is a potential for the continued expansion of militant struggles that may ultimately pull Lebanon out of the vicious cycle of imperialist domination.

SYRIA: forward and backward



Since September, Israel has regularly carried out indiscriminate bombing of heavily populated areas in Syria. In tones reminiscent of the period prior to the June, 1967 war, Israel's Chief of Staff General David Elazar, has said: "I would think Syria has learned a lesson...and if it wants to maintain a cease-fire, it will have to put an end to terrorist activities." (Le Monde, Jan. 10, 1973). Within days, Moshe Dayan took up the theme, saying "I do not think that limited operations serve our purposes, because it is not by hitting them a little at a time that we will succeed in defeating the Syrians." (Le Monde, Jan. 14-15, 1973)

These utterances become particularly ominous when one considers that they followed a particularly heavy outburst of fighting along the Syrian border on January 8. Syrian government reports that more than five hundred deaths occurred were confirmed by foreign journalists, including Le Monde's, while a United Nations investigation reported "at least" 125 civilian deaths in areas where there were no nearby military installations.

Since Israel's "post-Munich" offensive, beginning in early September, Syrian forces have fought back courageously against Israeli attacks. On some occasions, units near the occupied Golan Heights have initiated retaliations. At the same time, the government has removed some previous restrictions on the movements of the Palestinian fidayin, and has increased its aid to the commandos. The ruling Baath party has condemned all recent efforts by other Arab governments, particularly the Sadat regime, to capitulate to imperialist "peace" pressures. Moreover, the Soviet Union has been allowed use of the vital Mediterranean port of Latakia, following the expulsion of its military advisors from Egypt.

While the importance of Syria's present resistance to Israeli aggression and imperialist designs to force an acceptance of the post-1967 fait-accompli cannot be minimized, there is also reason to question the present government's capacity to maintain its present stance. Even though the regime offers verbal and material support to the Palestinian resistance, it requires all fidayin military operations to be co-ordinated through the army through Saïqa, the resistance organization sponsored by the Baath. This policy coincides with repeated statements by the government that "only conventional armies" can ultimately defeat Israel.

At the People's Congress in Support of the Palestine Revolution, held in Beirut on November 27-28, Syrian delegates were conspicuously absent. Two

days later, the government declared that Syria would reopen its borders with Jordan, which had remained closed ever since King Hussein's September, 1970 massacre of Palestinians inside Jordan. It is recalled by many Palestinian militants that General Assad, Syria's prime minister today, had originally opposed the 1970 sending of Syrian tanks to attempt to lift the siege of Palestinian bases in Jordan.

While the re-opening of borders will ease Jordan's economic contradictions that have arisen from its isolation within the Arab world since 1970, the Syrian regime justifies this rightward step by claiming that it is interested in re-establishing the pre-1970 "eastern military front" (Syria, Iraq and Jordan) against Israel.

Since it is well-known that Hussein is pursuing all avenues toward a separate peace with Israel, while Sadat does the same, "plans to re-open the eastern front" can only be paper plans, designed to reinforce bargaining positions, rather than develop a serious opposition to Israel's military grasp upon its 1967 acquisitions.

Thus, the Syrian government's justification for its re-opening of the border with Jordan rings hollow. It is also to be noted that, at the Cairo conference, Syrian representatives joined Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, as well as Lebanon and the Arab Gulf emirates, in insisting that the fidayin, if allowed to re-enter Jordan, could not freely undertake military operations.

The regime's zig-zags in relation to the Palestine Question are paralleled by recent regressive economic measures. Although banking and major industries were nationalized in 1963, Assad has introduced a "corrective movement" since 1970, seeking to stimulate private enterprise. Private investors are now permitted to enter joint ventures with the government-owned industries, and major efforts are being made to attract foreign capital.

Although Soviet assistance is being provided for a large dam on the Euphrates (the dam, when finished, will double Syria's irrigated agricultural lands), the regime has also appealed to capitalist nations and the U.N. for assistance with other projects. Import restrictions have recently been "liberalized," enabling middle-class merchants to greatly increase their handling of foreign consumer goods. At the same time, the regime is pursuing an active campaign to attract foreign tourists. Management contracts for locally-owned hotels have been offered to such foreign giants as Hilton, Sheraton and Holiday Inns (which all maintain subsidiaries inside Israel's pre-1967 and post-1967 borders).

The Assad regime's vacillations with respect to imperialist economic domination and its parallel vacillations with respect to the Palestinian struggle leave room for doubts as to its capacity and willingness to maintain its present stance against Israeli attacks and U.S. diplomatic maneuvers. In this sense, the Syrian masses are still confronted by the vital need of the anti-imperialist struggle, i.e. a leadership that can ensure steady advances, rather than a protracted series of right-left zig-zags.

appeal

APPEAL REPEATED

In the editorial of Resistance #7 (Fall, 1972), we called attention to the American bourgeoisie's efforts to drum up a wave of anti-Arab hysteria inside the U.S. It was duly noted that the Immigration Service had already begun to investigate and deport many Arabs residing here. There is no shortage of evidence as to the continuation and escalation of the government's witch-hunt. Today, it is clear that the targets include any foreign-born residents who dare to oppose American imperialism and to uphold the cause of the oppressed.

Thus, we are faced with particular responsibilities toward sisters and brothers whose ideas are not welcomed by the FBI or the Immigration Service. Through the government's campaign, they face possible deportation, interruption of studies, dismissal from jobs, and personal harassment. If we merely extend verbal "sympathy" to potential and actual victims of the new "Palmer Raids," then the stage is merely being set for an escalation of the law-and-order offensive that Washington desires world-wide.

We have received reports of Immigration Service-sponsored round-ups of Arab residents under the pretext of "checking their papers," as well as attempts to deport persons whose papers were perfectly in order. Likewise, we have received reports of FBI visits to employers and universities. In some cases, local police have been called in to assist the Immigration Service in locating "suspects."

Within this context, we reiterate our earlier appeal to readers to expose the bourgeois hysteria, and, above all, to take active steps to provide support to those who are being harassed.

URGENT! Send Contributions

Contributions to defend Arab residents being harassed by the Immigration Service and other government agencies can be sent to:

THE ASSOCIATION for PREVENTION of
DISCRIMINATION against ARABS, INC.
c/o G. MAHSHIE
503 East Washington Street
Syracuse, New York, 13202

IMMIGRATION SERVICE PERSECUTES IRANIAN STUDENTS

On March 14, 1972, the Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered the deportation of Babak Zahraie, president of the Foreign Students Council at the University of Washington in Seattle. At a February 25, 1972 hearing, Immigration Service lawyers had charged that he was "conspiring against the governments of Iran and the United States." Although these charges were later dropped, the government is still seeking to deport him on charges that he had visited Canada in 1971 without a proper visa. At the same time, deportation orders have been given to his brother, Siamak Zahraie, on grounds that he transferred from the University of Washington to the University of Massachusetts without permission from the Immigration Service.

Readers are urged to contact and to send contributions to:

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND BABAK ZAHRAIE
Box 133, HUB, University of Washington
Seattle, Washington, 98105

Paris Demonstrations

In mid-January, Golda Meir's visit to the Paris conference of the Second International * evoked a dynamic wave of protests from the French left.

The Israeli prime minister was officially invited by Francois Mitterand, who had been a minister of defense during France's war against the people of Algeria. Since Mitterand is presently the candidate of the "Union de la Gauche," French president, Georges Pompidou, sought to boost his own electoral standing by condemning the Yellow International's conference as an "intolerable interference in French politics." Golda Meir and Israeli officials, in turn, sought to pretend that Pompidou and the Gaullists are rabidly "pro-Arab" and "anti-Israel."

However, Franco-Israeli economic and military collaboration in former colonies such as Chad, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroon, has been amply exposed. At the same time, the French government like the German government, has repeatedly sought to harass defenders of the Palestinian cause. The chief element preventing a massive Brandt-style witch-hunt against Arabs residing in France has been the high level of support manifested by the French left.

For this reason, France has seen an extraordinary number of "semi-clandestine" Zionist operations against Palestinians--notable the October burning of the Librairie Palestine in Paris and the recent murder of Mahmoud el Hamshari, a leading spokesman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In these cases, Pompidou's notoriously large police system has been mysteriously unable to identify any culprits.

On January 12, Mahmoud el Hamshari died from wounds received from a bomb in December. An ad-hoc solidarity demonstration called by left organizations

drew thousands of supporters. As a result, French authorities issued orders banning the demonstrations that had already been planned for Golda Meir's January 13, visit. Troops and special police units were brought to the Paris region as a preventive measure.

Nevertheless, on January 13, demonstrators assembled in groups of 150-200 in various spots and carried out a "hit and run" advance toward the Palais de Luxembourg, where the Yellow International was to meet. By this strategy, many demonstrators were able to break through police cordons and, at the Palais, they fought against both French police and Israeli security men who had accompanied Golda Meir. After several hours of fighting, the demonstrations regrouped and carried out a mass march through the streets of Paris, protesting Golda Meir's visit and the complicity of the Pompidou government.

On January 14, the P.L.O. and the General Union of Palestinian Students (G.U.P.S.) in France organized a funeral march for Mahmoud el Hamshari. Although the gendarmes tried to halt the march by arresting 80 persons, the thousands who had come to defend the Palestinian cause were not intimidated. The march continued to the Mosque of Paris, where Hamshari's funeral was to take place. At the Mosque, representatives of Palestinian organizations affirmed their dedication to struggle and their solidarity with the world revolution.

The success of the demonstrations clearly served to expose the "friendly enemies," Georges Pompidou and Golda Meir. Because of their defiance of the police ban against demonstrations and their struggle against the police, the supporters of the Palestinian cause have made it less easy for the French government to initiate a witch-hunt similar to those going on in Germany and the U.S.



PARIS--Funeral for Mahmoud

BRIEFS

ISRAEL DEVELOPS A CITY FOR PORTUGUESE FASCIST CAETANO

The Israeli Institute for Urban Research has won a \$100,000 contract for planning the Portuguese city of Sines, 90 miles south of Lisbon. Even though Israel has piously pretended that it supports the liberation movements in the Portuguese African colonies (Mozambique, Angola, Guine-Bissau), its efforts to win the friendship of the fascist Caetano should come as no surprise, considering Portugal's close ties to the U.S.

The new town will have 150,000 inhabitants and will be part of a port facilities-oil refining-petrochemical complex where foreign and Portuguese investment will come to more than \$300 million at the outset. The Israeli Institute for Urban Research reported that this was one of the largest projects in its history, and that its on-the-spot technicians will cooperate closely with Portuguese experts. The Institute is directly subordinate to the Office of the Prime Minister of Israel.

Israel Economist, July 1972

ARAB POPULAR CONGRESS in SUPPORT of the PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

During the final week of November, 1972 an important congress of progressive organizations was held in Beirut. Its purpose was to develop broader solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution throughout the Arab World. Organizations represented at the Congress included the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, the Eritrean Liberation Front, the National Liberation Front of Saudi Arabia, the National Front of Jordan, and Lebanon's Front of National and Progressive Parties. Communist parties represented included those of Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Sudan. In addition, the ruling parties of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and Democratic Yemen sent delegates.

With near unanimity, the Congress voted to establish an Arab Front, whose long-term objective would be to resist all imperialist-sponsored attempts to divide progressive forces within the Arab World. The Program of the Arab Front calls upon progressives to oppose all "liquidation plans reducing the Palestinian problem from a national liberation problem to a refugee problem" and all "partial solutions" to problems arising from Israeli occupation of Arab territories. It also demands support for the struggle against King Hussein by Palestinians and Jordanians and for the anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab Gulf and Red Sea regions.

Kamal Jumblatt of the Lebanese Socialist Progressive Party was elected as Secretary-General of the Front. The standing orders adopted by the Front have established a General Council and have called for the formation of a National Congress in every Arab country to be drawn from political parties, trade unions, and mass organizations.

While the Western press has generally ignored the Congress and the formation of the Front, the Arabic press has observed that the Congress was the largest meeting of its type in the modern history of the Arab World.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO STRIKE FROM TURKEY

A recent (11/27/72) issue of Aviation Week signals the intention of the U.S. air force to use its base at Incirlik, Turkey, in case of urgent need in the Middle East. The magazine reported that "under current agreement with the Franco government, the 401st Tactical Fighter Wing and other units (of the 16th Air Force) housed at the Torrejon (air force base) will deploy to forward bases in event of hostilities...." It was made clear that the "forward bases" in question were in Italy and Turkey. Funds were sought to build or complete 48 hard shelters for the fighter planes in Turkey alone.

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