

RESISTANCE in the Middle East

Number 7 Fall 1972

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WITCH-HUNT

In the wake of the Munich events, the shrill cries of politicians and the press against "Arab terrorism" can be most closely compared to the anti-Asian demagoguery of the World War II period, which led to the internment of thousands of Japanese, or the wave of xenophobia accompanying the Palmer Raids of the early twenties, when hundreds of East European immigrants were persecuted and deported.

Deportations have already occurred in the US...and they continue. Surveillance and intimidation of Arabs, particularly those who are politically active, occurs on a day-to-day basis. The fascist Jewish Defense League has threatened both immigrants and persons of Arab descent, and it has staged attacks upon progressive organizations that have attempted to hold meetings for discussion of the Middle East crisis.

The staff of Resistance in the Middle East urges readers to struggle to expose the bourgeois hysteria. Defense of victims of harassment by the FBI, the Immigration Service, or fascist groups is a basic necessity. At the same time, we ask you to send information that you may have with regard to individual cases so that we may publicize them in future issues of the magazine.

operation boulder—U.S.A.

The US is now screening all Arabs entering the country. Every visa applicant is listed under the code name "Boulder," and overseas State Department officials must clear the applications with Washington via telegraph. The State Department defines an Arab as anyone born in an Arab nation or born to parents who were born in an Arab nation, regardless of nationality or present country of residence.

"Operation Boulder," as ordered by Secretary of State Rogers, also includes efforts to identify all Arabs presently residing in the US, with reliance upon the FBI to conduct these investigations.

adapted from Jerusalem Post,
October 5, 1972

On October 5, the New York Times extensively quoted Sol Marks, New York district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, concerning repressive measures taken against Arabs residing in the US. While Marks claimed that the government did not wish to "touch off a panic" among Arab immigrants and temporary residents, he emphasized that his office and the FBI were investigating "individuals the government had reason to believe might be planning terrorism." Surveillance and interrogation operations have been undertaken against many of the 6300 Arab students living in the US, and the FBI has regularly posted agents outside Arab League offices in Washington and New York. One employee said, "Wherever we go, they shadow us."

The article reported that "besides operations which are said to be aimed at known or suspected members of Black September and Al Fatah, the government has tightened visa requirements for all foreigners in transit through this country." Marks took particular pride in this measure, pointing out that previous regulations which allowed persons in transit to spend 10 days in the US without a visa had been a "perfect vehicle for terrorists."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



Dear editors:

Some years ago, partially from firsthand experience, I began to see and realize what extraordinary control qualities highly organized competitive sports possess over many people. Apparently unlimited numbers of people will spend four, five, seven hours a day, seven days a week training in order to "make it." Furthermore, it is a near obsession for even greater numbers of people who simply watch. In some nations, half of the adult male population can talk of little else but sports. Good athletes are seen as "models" for workers in capitalist society---highly motivated, highly competitive, hard working, uncomplaining, and extreme conformists. If you want to keep your people from complaining about the abuses of capitalism, set up highly organized competitive sports for them. It will keep them trapped from ages 8 to 80. The capitalist spirit of the Olympic Games is clear if you are willing to detach yourself for a minute from the sports sideshow. For this and other reasons, I found the games despicable even before they started.

The Palestinian action in Munich hit a sore point for the Games. The ridiculousness of the charge that politics were brought into

the "purity" of the Olympic Forum was obvious. Furthermore, the incredible publicity showered on these models for exploited people (the athletes) could itself easily be counter-exploited. The glorification of dog-eat-dog actions on the field and their vilification in the "real world" was shown for what it is---one of the lies/contradictions of modern capitalist society.

But the causes and effects of the Palestinian attack went far beyond the Olympics. For one, it reminded the traitor Arab leaders just what the feelings of the masses were and effectively blocked them (at least for the time being) from making peace with their Zionist counterparts. It also showed these leaders (and the rest of the world) how vicious the rulers can be in attaining their goals. Munich was a vivid and perhaps too obvious display (not unlike Attica) of how the Zionists and imperialists need and use "massacres." By making their world as insecure as possible, they force the people to trade control over their own lives in return for "promises."

The effects of Munich don't end there. They have social and economic implications for the exploiting societies. They make travel and business (i.e., exploitation) considerably more troublesome and, to an extent, less secure. They also give economic effects due to security costs (guards, inspectors for every flight). The reason the costs of a subway ride in New York have risen so much is largely security costs. Furthermore, soft points of modern exploitative capitalist society are exposed. The use of a climate of trust is a primary need of capitalist society. But there is to be no trust in exploitative relations. We must all be criminals.

Munich can hardly be a program for Palestinian liberation. Far from it, Munich must follow from such programs, from the understanding of the nature of capitalist society. Munichs have their costs as well as their benefits and these must be carefully calculated. But to simply dismiss them as politically "fruitless" as some supporters of Palestinian and worldwide socialist revolution have called them, is a sign of ignorance of what the modern exploitative world is all about.

Yasin abd-Wallahadd,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear editors:

In terms of your five political principles (See editorial in Resistance #6), I would like to make one comment on #5. The element that seems to be left out of your analysis is the condition of the world situation. You'd probably agree that the primary contradiction in the world today is that between imperialism and its colonies. Once this point is agreed upon, it is easier to see that groups in the US have a responsibility to support any development that widens this contradiction.

Thus, a national-bourgeois or national petty-bourgeois government in the Middle East that has broken with imperialism is worthy of our support on that ground. It has come down on the correct side of the main struggle in the world today. I think that your principle #5 makes this point---but it is not presented scientifically. In fact, it could lead Resistance to attack an anti-imperialist government that is repressing socialist forces at home.

C.R., Philadelphia, Pa.
(EDITORS' RESPONSE: Yes, we definitely agree that the primary contradiction is between imperialism and its colonies, and we consider exposure of this contradiction as the #1 task of the magazine.)

However, one has to confront at the same time the question "Which class(es) are most capable of pursuing the struggle against imperialism?" The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in the colonial world can and do take anti-imperialist steps in defense of their own class interests and we critically support such steps because they do represent gains for the proletariat and peasantry. Nonetheless, the progressive character of bourgeois nationalist governments has limits because the national bourgeoisie is also interested in thwarting the long-term aspirations of the masses (such as elimination of capitalism)

When a national bourgeoisie moves in a regressive direction--for example, seeking to liquidate the Left--then it is an elemental duty to give criticism, to explain that the struggle against imperialism is being set back. One such case would be the Sudanese government's persecution of Communists since 1971, where proletarian internationalism obliges Marxists to "attack" a government that had previously taken anti-imperialist steps.

Companeros:

...I agree totally with your policy of denying that Zionism has anything to do with national liberation. No matter how much it is identified with Marxism or socialism, Zionism can never be anything but a racist-imperialist ideology geared to the needs of the world bourgeoisie (Jewish and non-Jewish); Marxist Zionism is merely a sub-ideology of this, geared to the needs of the Jewish workers' aristocracy in Israel. H.S. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

In Cleveland, Ohio, on October 6, eight Arab sailors from a Kuwaiti ship were barred from coming ashore by immigration authorities. Richard Ahern, district director of the Immigration Service, gave lack of visas as the pretext, but claimed that he did not know why the government had failed to grant visas. He pointed out that, in Japan, where the Kuwaiti Horizon had docked before coming to the US, the American consul could have granted the requested visas. Without visas, the sailors would be forced to spend more than 30 days on board as the ship proceeded to other Great Lakes ports.

AP, UPI; Oct. 6, 1972

OIL: IRAN & IRAQ

A. IRAQ NATIONALIZATION

On June 1, the Iraqi government declared its intention to nationalize the holdings of the long-established Iraq Petroleum Company, which had previously accounted for sixty percent of Iraqi production. Shell, British Petroleum, and Standard Oil of New Jersey--- the three dominant partners in Iraq Petroleum---were forced out, while the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (23.75 percent) would be offered a chance to make a separate agreement with the al-Bakr government.

The nationalization has been widely interpreted as a bold thrust against imperialism in the area, but the silence of the oil cartel regarding the move should have been a significant warning. Recall, for example, in 1962, a nationalization declaration by the government of Colonel Karim Kassem had led to a C.I.A. guided coup in Iraq. The new government, after quickly reassuring Washington that it did not intend to interfere with Iraq Petroleum's operations, initiated a wave of persecution against Communists and left-leaning members of the Ba'ath Party.

Ten years later, the oil barons and the State Department have reacted quite mildly to Iraq's nationalization plans. Several factors may explain this situation:

- 1) The nationalization does not affect the operations of the Basra Petroleum Company, the Esso subsidiary in southern Iraq, which regularly accounts for forty percent of production.
- 2) The terms of nationalization do not preclude a situation where the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles could strike a bargain with the Iraqi government and then resell its oil to other European or American companies.
- 3) The oil cartel possesses sufficient strength to enforce a world boycott of Iraqi oil that could eventually compel Iraq to reverse itself. This possibility is increased by the fact that the Soviet Union, which is an oil-exporting nation, cannot agree to purchase all of northern Iraq's out-put without endangering its own oil sales to capitalist nations.
- 4) Even if Iraq were to halt all oil production inside its borders, the oil giants can meet the demands of the world market by increasing their production elsewhere.

Consideration of these factors permits a grasp of the enormous obstacles facing not only Iraq, but any other Middle Eastern nation that seeks greater control over its own resources. The wiliness of the oil barons is most clearly revealed by the actual measures that were taken before Iraq declared its intention to nationalize.

B. THE SHAH MAKES A DEAL

In mid-May, the powerful Iranian Consortium, whose wells account for nearly one-fifth of all Middle Eastern production, initiated secret negotiations with their long-time friend the Shah of Iran. Coincidentally, the three major members of the Consortium---Standard Oil of New Jersey, Shell Oil, and British Petroleum--- are majority shareholders of the Iraqi Petroleum Company.

During the final week of June, the Shah flew to London to announce that he had made a new agreement with Consortium partners, under which Iran's production is required to expand by 10 percent per year. Several geologists have predicted that this enormous production increase will deplete all of Iran's known resources by 1994 when the new agreement expires.

Business Week has quoted one American oil executive on the matter:

"The companies squared the Shah away in mid-May. The Iraqi takeover came on June 1. The companies felt a lot more comfortable knowing they had a deal with Iran." (July 1, 72)

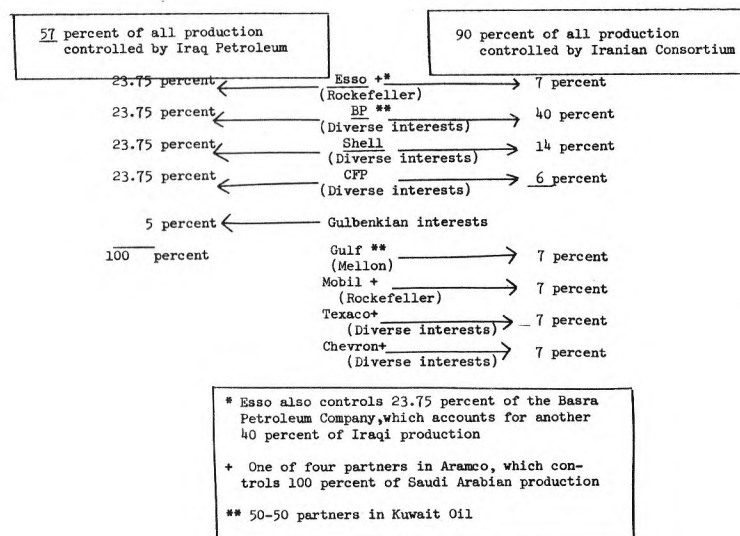
Iran's status as an oil-producing nation is suggested by recent changes. With the powerful Consortium controlling 90% percent of its production, Iran has risen to fourth place among oil-exporting nations. In the Middle East, its closest "rival" has been Saudi Arabia. For Iran, a great leap occurred in 1971, when domestic out-put rose by more than twenty percent. Mid-1972 figures suggest that a similar jump will take place this year, and, of course, the Shah's new agreement projects two decades of annual 10 percent increases.

This situation allows Iran an enormous political weight within OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Even though OPEC's "one country, one vote" structure has permitted other members, such as Libya, to push for higher royalties from the oil cartel, Iran alone accounts for 18 percent of the OPEC countries' production. For the past year, as OPEC, under pressure from the majority of its members, has campaigned for a 50 percent share of oil profits, Iran has worked persistently to sabotage this demand. Iranian refusal to support majority decisions has meant, in effect that OPEC cannot undertake joint actions without fear of Iran's reaching an "independent" agreement with oil companies.

IRAQ

23.75

IRAN



C. SAUDI SELL OUT

The point has now been made more explicit by October's OPEC negotiations. Saudi Arabia, which had originally given "critical support" to the OPEC demand for a larger share of yearly revenues, has now turned tail. In the October negotiations held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani of Saudi Arabia did not actively press demands that OPEC members had voted upon in January. Also representing the emirates of the Arab Gulf, Sheik Yamani and the oil industry representative George Piercy of Standard Oil of New Jersey publicly agreed that the producing countries would not receive 51 percent ownership of oil resources on their territories until 1983. Thus, the oil companies have received a ten year period during which they can maneuver to undercut or overthrow "joint ownership" plans.

The Saudi about-face greatly limits the options available to the "left-wing" of OPEC. Together, Saudi Arabia and Iran account for 35 percent of OPEC production and, with the puppet emirates of the Arab Gulf, they can seriously hamper nationalizations undertaken by other members...simply by their roles as major suppliers of oil to Europe and Japan.

For other OPEC members, Saudi-Iranian sabotage will pose a critical problem in the years to come. Even though other OPEC nations jointly account for nearly 20 percent of world production, they are confronted by the "Seven Sisters"---the world's seven largest oil companies whose combined output, represents nearly two-thirds of world output, with Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Gulf, as their principal points of production.

The deepness of the problem has been well illustrated by the limitations of the Iraqi nationalization itself. How can Iraq expect truly favorable terms from the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles when the CFP itself, as a member of the Iranian consortium, will be a beneficiary of the Shah's giveaway? How can Iraq expect strong support from the Soviet Union, when the Soviet Union itself is a major importer of natural gas from Iran? How can Iraq expect strong support from OPEC when the Saudi-Iranian manipulations have already exposed OPEC's profound weaknesses?

Iran's sharp increases in oil production and its close cooperation with Saudi Arabia vis-a-vis OPEC are a threat to all peoples of the Middle East. This concept can best be approached by asking the question "What does the Shah get as a reward for his cooperation with the oil cartel?"

D. THE SHAH TALKS TOUGH

While there is no denying the millions that the Shah and the Iranian aristocracy can lavish upon gold-plated bath-tubs, furs, and Ferraris, one must also give weight to the chauvinist ambitions of the "King of the Aryans." Having long claimed the Gulf emirates as Iranian territory, the Shah has frequently expressed his urge to function as Washington's "second-in-command" in the Mashraq. In a January, 1972 interview, the Shah pretended to condemn American establishment of a naval base in the Gulf. Why? Because he believes that Iran can do the job more capably:

"I think the United States realizes it can't be an international gendarme and that world stability should be assured by countries that can assume this responsibility in different regions. How many times can you repeat the Vietnam experience?"

...For us control of the gulf is not a problem because with 1,000 kilometers of coastline and 10 naval and airbases we can always close the strait of Ormuz. The problem is that, if some of the smaller islands fall into irresponsible hands, a small motorboat with a bazooka could sink a tanker." (New York Times, January 17, 1972)

In the same interview, the Shah said: "Although Iran is not yet a formidable military power, I wouldn't advise anyone to brush against us even now, and particularly in five years."

A glance at Washington's steadily rising military sales to Iran, including Phantom jets and sophisticated tanks, suggests where a portion of the Shah's rising oil royalties will go. At the same time, one can point to steady efforts by Iran to secure political leverage within the Gulf emirates and to provoke a conflict with Iraq over the present borders between the two nations.



Looking eastward, the Shah has, on many occasions, stated his opposition to any dismembering of Pakistan, indeed, it should be recalled that the Shah was prepared to give both weapons and soldiers to the Yahya Khan regime during last year's Bengla Desh crisis.

E. WHAT NEXT?

The enrichment of Iran's aristocracy through increased oil royalties, not to mention the growing dependency of the oil cartel upon oil from Iran and the Gulf region, serve to indicate the powerful forces that stand against any struggle to overthrow the Shah.

The new agreement by the Shah with the Iranian Consortium stands as a barometer of the oil cartel's real fears in the Middle East. While they have not yet attempted to thwart the Iraqi nationalization by "traditional" means, such as a right-wing coup, the oil giants have stepped up their long-standing efforts to transfer production away from regions that are regarded as "trouble spots." This strategy is reflected not only by their previous maintenance of low production levels in Iraq, but by their new reluctance to tap rich oil fields in Egypt or Libya.

While the agreement with the Shah is a clear attempt to offset any effects of the Iraqi nationalization and to block other nation's attempts at nationalization, the specifics of the new agreement may "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

These deepening contradictions felt among the Iranian workers and peasants suggest intensifying struggle against a regime that has so calmly signed an agreement that threatens to drain Iran of its principal natural resource within twenty years. At the same time, there will be increased certainty among the masses in other Middle Eastern nations as to the oil cartel's readiness to conspire to block even the most limited efforts to nationalize.

Solidarity with the struggle of the Iranian masses becomes an important endeavor for anti-imperialists, particularly those of us living in the heart of the imperialist monster.

"SHAH of IRAN Assassin!"



IRAN-1952- Demonstration against Consortium

On June 14, when the Shah of Iran visited Geneva to attend the annual conference of the International Labor Organization, he was greeted by such an extensive wave of protests that he cancelled his plans to attend the Munich Olympics that were due to be held in September.

Weeks before the conference, the Confederation of Iranian Students and a number of Swiss organizations had circulated a public appeal protesting the ILO's invitation to the Shah. (The ILO, which is largely funded by the American A.F.L.C.I.O. and by non-communist unions in Europe, hardly represents the needs of the working class). It was founded in 1919, under the guidance of Samuel Gompers, to offset the growing influence of the Communist International.

Under growing pressure, the Swiss government began to issue announcements that the Shah's trip to Geneva was a "private" one, not reflecting Switzerland's relations with the monarchy. When he arrived, they took the unprecedented step of refusing to let him use a government helicopter, thereby forcing the Shah to rent one from a private firm.

The demonstrations against the Shah were among the largest in Switzerland's history. Several days before his arrival, six gallows symbolizing the executions of Iranian patriots by the regime were raised in public squares in Geneva. At the actual time of the Shah's arrival, large demonstrations took place, not only in Geneva, but in other Swiss cities. In Geneva, there were street battles with the police in front of the ILO offices.

On June 14, the day the Shah was scheduled to speak to the assemblage of labor leaders several delegations walked out in protest. The head of the Swiss delegation said: "I have refused to hear the Shah's speech to indicate my opposition to the policies of the Iranian monarch which are in flagrant opposition in every respect to the principles of the International Labor Organization."

The success of the protests against the Shah's visit is viewed as a serious defeat to the regime's 'progressive' image by many. Sometime in 1972, the Shah is planning to visit the U.S. in order to request an increase in the billion dollars a year military aid that Iran receives. Efforts to expose the Shah's regime as a marionette of the oil companies are now in progress. Such actions are particularly timely in light of the growing worldwide solidarity with the struggle of the people of Iran.

Defend The 41

Resistance, the new organ of the Iranian Students Association in the United States announces that, starting in October, a campaign is underway to secure renewal of the passports of forty-one Iranian students. Extension of passports was denied to the forty-one students by the Iranian Consulate in San Francisco following their involvement in protests there in June, 1970 when the Shah's sister, Ashraf, had visited San Francisco.

The consulate's refusal to extend their passports means probable deportation to Iran, which, in turn, could mean three to ten year sentences in the Shah's prisons.

In recent years, the Iranian regime has attempted a variety of strategies in order to eliminate political activity by Iranians who study abroad---ranging from threats to their families to refusal to process study and travel papers. Last year, in October, the infamous SAVAK (the Shah's secret police) fire-bombed the Washington offices of the Iranian Student Association.

SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE 41 BY SENDING CHECKS TO : U.S.A.U.S., Defense Section, P.O. BOX 4000F Berkeley, California, 94704



Israel & Ethiopia

Among African nations, Ethiopia, long ruled by the ruthless emperor Haile Selassie, is often proclaimed as a "friend of Israel." Israeli and Ethiopian officials like to make the colorful claim that these ties are a modern counterpart of the Biblical amity between the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. Yet the present situation involves much more than sharing of sentiments about Biblical legends.

As European colonialists took over neighboring areas, such as Sudan, Somalia, or Uganda, Ethiopia's rulers, before the 1930's, sought to maintain a precarious balance by taking advantage of rivalries among the different imperialist powers. In 1935, however, when Mussolini launched an invasion from the Italian coastal colony, Eritrea, the Ethiopian feudal classes definitively chose to align themselves with British-American interests. After a six-year exile, Haile Selassie regained power, as British forces drove out the Italians,

Until 1951, Britain provided judges for Haile Selassie's courts, advisers for his army, and annual grants to subsidize his government. At the same time, Britain acted as the trustee for Eritrea, which had been taken over from the Italians in 1941*** For Britain, control of Eritrea allowed full domination of the mouth of the Red Sea, in conjunction with its installations in Aden on the opposite side of the Bab el Mandeb.

In 1950, the United Nations decreed that Eritrea would receive "federative" status within the Kingdom of Ethiopia. In this way, Ethiopia would gain a valuable outlet to the sea.

Just as the UN had failed to ask the people of Eritrea whether they wished to be ruled by Haile Selassie's feudal regime, Haile Selassie himself signed an agreement in 1953 that allowed American forces to establish military bases in Eritrea. This violation of the Eritrean people's right to self-determination coincided with Ethiopia's turn toward the United States as its major source of financial aid.

Although Haile Selassie had once promised bold reforms, conditions of the Ethiopian masses have steadily deteriorated. Despite his promises of land reform during the thirties, Haile Selassie himself and the nobility have continued to appropriate peasants' lands for themselves. The Coptic religion and the Amhara language, representing a minority of the population, are given an "official" character by the regime.

*** In 1890, Menelik II, the great-uncle of Haile Selassie, had bartered Eritrea to the Italians in exchange for arms so that he could subdue the revolt of the Galla tribes in Ethiopia



In some regions of Ethiopia, as much as 75 percent of the land is owned by absentee landlords. Since agriculture continues to provide as much as two-thirds of the national income, the sufferings of the peasant majority can only intensify.

Through the years, Israel's economic ties with Ethiopia have steadily expanded, with the result that, by now, Ethiopia is one of Africa's largest purchasers of Israeli goods.

As early as 1952, Israeli investors participated in establishing the INCODE meat packing plant in occupied Eritrea. In 1970, Israel's exports to Ethiopia totalled \$4.3 million, with electronic goods and textiles providing nearly half of this amount. Since 1966, Israeli exports to Ethiopia have doubled, reflecting Israel's increased development of its Red Sea trade route

In return, Ethiopia's exports to Israel were \$2 million in 1970, consisting mainly of agricultural items. The Israeli Economist (Feb. March, 1972) has described the situation as follows:

"Israel imports \$250 million worth of grains a year, mostly wheat. It would like Ethiopia to be able to supply 10 percent of that in a few years...the money saved on the price and the difference in freight costs make the experiments on grain strains worthwhile.

Another promising commodity is meat. Canned kosher meat is one of the major Israeli imports. But vast grazing grounds are not enough. Ethiopia's twenty-five million head of cattle are prone to disease. If health standards were to reach a satisfactory level, Ethiopia could supply Israel with the kind of lean meat it likes best...at a distance of only three days by sea from Eilat. "

In this way, one is confronted by the possibility of an expanded role for predominantly agricultural Ethiopia. At the same time, Israeli capitalists hope to saturate the Ethiopian with their goods.

As the Israel Economist points out, "trade figures do not come anywhere near showing the whole picture." Another aspect of Israeli penetration of Ethiopia is investment. Israel's standard practice, as in other African nations, has been to seek profitable "joint ventures," in which Africans or their governments nominally retain a portion of ownership. For exam-

ple, Abadir Cotton, a ranch covering more than 5000 acres, is backed by private capital from Israel and capital from the Ethiopian regime. A recently-signed contract will permit the Israeli firm Koor to manage the ranch for another five years.

Another major area of Israeli interest is tourism. In a three-way joint venture, the Ethiopian regime, together with El Al and the American businessman Victor Carter *** will be establishing a network of hotels at important tourist sites. Plans are underway for El Al to offer a "package deal" that would permit Americans to combine a trip to Ethiopia with trips to Israel.

Solel Boneh, the large Histadrut-owned construction complex, has long played a vital role in Haile Selassie's "development plans." It has constructed a national stadium, Haile Selassie University, and portions of the Addis Ababa airport. At present, its major project is a highway between Ethiopia and Kenya.***

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Israel's business role in Ethiopia has developed in conjunction with long-established "technical assistance" schemes, sponsored by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. These programs, labelled "humanitarian" by Israel, presently include urban planning in Addis Ababa, efforts to increase the yield of Eritrean fisheries, and management of the Sciences Faculty at Haile Selassie University.

Moreover, the Ethiopian Geological Institute in the Ministry of Mines is entirely manned by Israelis. This team of visiting specialists has recently mapped 100,000 square kilometers in the Tigre region (bordering Eritrea) by use of aerial photographs. In this way, Israel is gaining first-hand knowledge of Ethiopia's potentially exploitable natural resources. Use of maps for counterinsurgency is also postulated

***Victor Carter, the owner of Republic Corporation (Los Angeles) has personal investments in Israel totalling at least \$5.5 million dollars. Carter, who maintains close personal relationships both with Golda Meir and Haile Selassie, is presently a leader of "Democrats for Nixon."

***Solel Boneh's recent activities in constructing a naval base for the Shah of Iran suggest that it may also be involved in bolstering the Ethiopian regime's network of bases.

Israeli collaboration in development of Haile Selassie's 40,000 man army has frequently been documented. Beginning in 1960, Israelis replaced the U.S. Green Berets as trainers of Ethiopian officers. Israeli advisers continue to operate counter-insurgency programs directed against the Eritrean Liberation Front, and Israel lent assistance in establishing the Jebel Hamid Base in occupied Eritrea. Between 1960 and 1966, Israel's military mission in Ethiopia trained an average of 1000 soldiers per year.***

Israel's political-military stake in Ethiopia clearly must be evaluated in terms of over-all imperialist strategies in East Africa and the Red Sea. Because its northern neighbor is the Sudanese Republic and because Eritrea borders the Red Sea, Ethiopia is vital as a base for imperialist attacks upon the Arab World. At the same time, its large army constitutes a threat to the Republic of Somalia and other East African states.

It is to be recalled that, during the long secessionist revolt by the tribes of the South Sudan, Ethiopia provided bases for the rebels and served as a conduit for British-Israeli aid to the rebels. More recently, an Israeli force, departing from bases in Eritrea, has occupied three Yemeni islands at the mouth of the Red Sea (August, 1972).

Thus, the Haile Selassie regime is a useful tool to both Israel and the United States in their designs to encircle Arab nations and to prevent African unity. Israel's accelerating development of a "colonial master" role toward Ethiopia in the economic sphere is a logical counterpart to the three-way political-military linkage of the United States, Israel, and Ethiopia.

In the years to come, the struggles of the Eritrean Liberation Front and of the Ethiopian masses against Haile Selassie and his imperialist sponsors will be of paramount importance to the development of both the Arab revolution and the African Revolution.

*** In early 1972, with mediation by the pro-imperialist World Council of Churches, President Nimeiry of the Sudan concluded a truce with secessionist tribal leaders. Since that time Nimeiry has ceased to give support of the Eritrean Liberation Front. The three occupied islands belong to the Yemen Arab Republic, whose leaders have stated that they expect the US to arrange an Israeli withdrawal.

***Next to Ethiopia, the Congo-Kinshasa is probably the African country that has maintained the closest military ties with Israel. It is no coincidence that, in 1962, Haile Selassie sent troops to the Congo to assist in bringing to power the Israeli-trained general Joseph Mobutu.

ERITREA---PRESENT and FUTURE
of a YANKEE BASE

...Kagnew Station in Eritrea is as important as Okinawa or Danang for the global policies and strategies of the United States.

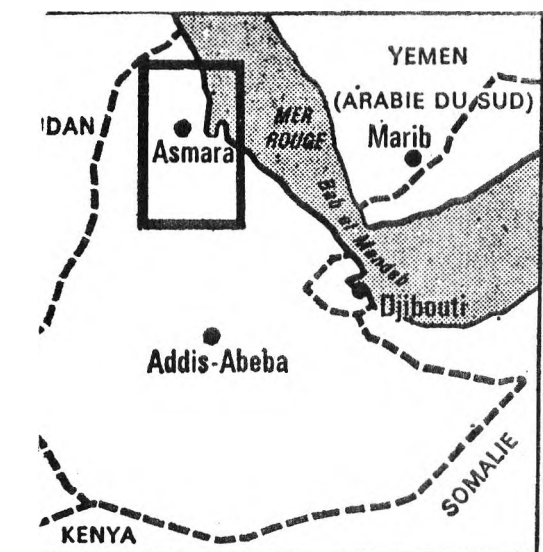
...Progressives have claimed that Kagnew's electronic sensors cover the Arab nations and are planted deep in Soviet territory and in other socialist nations. More than 1500 American specialists work on the base.

...The Israeli police are training an anti-guerrilla contingent that operates mainly in Eritrea and are training the Emperor's secret service. The Federal Republic of Germany contributes to the replacement of Ethiopian military equipment with yearly payments of \$1 million.

...Aside from the \$1 1/2 million yearly rent for Kagnew, Ethiopia receives more than half of all American military aid to African nations. According to latest figures, the aid program has already spent \$100 million or more.

Presently the worries of Washington and Addis Ababa concerning Kagnew are manifested by a neurosis that increases and diminishes according to the proximity of guerrilla operations...

translated from "Eritrea, Presente y Futuro de una Base Yanqui," Tricontinental February, 1972 by Roberto Correa Wilson



inside ISRAEL

BARAM & IKRIT

ESSENCE OF ZIONISM

The dream of creating a Jewish State has inevitably depended upon the concept of control of territories, for a modern nation-state cannot exist without a politically coherent accumulation of acreage. From its inception, the Zionist movement raised the slogan "A homeland for the people who have no homeland," and directed its efforts toward establishing control over land inhabited by the Palestinian nation. Displacement of Palestinians in order to create a Zionist fait accompli initially involved "legal" means such as purchasing of land from feudal lords and then "semi-legal" means such as reclamation of uncultivated lands. Without a steady flow of subsidies from the European and American ruling classes to Zionist organizations, these steps would have been impossible. At the same time, there had to be a political system such as that of the Turkish Empire or the British Mandate that would "legalize" Zionist displacement of Palestinians.

Even with formidable outside help, Zionist settlers and their organizations only owned seven percent of Palestine's land surface by 1947. At that time, the 508,000 Jewish settlers, mostly concentrated in urban areas, represented one-third of Palestine's population. Nevertheless, the United Nations Partition Plan offered fifty-five percent of Palestine's territory for creation of a "Jewish state."

Subsequent events have shown that this plan was not enough to satisfy the ambitions of Zionist leaders, who anticipated a continued flow of immigrants and of financial aid for colonization. Similarly, it has been shown that the Palestinian people were excluded from formulating the "equitable plans" devised in London or New York.

Since the Partition Plan did not allow for Zionist control of Galilee or the Lydda-Ramle region, Ben Gurion and other Zionist leaders saw the Plan as an obstacle to further colonization. Under these circumstances, armed conquest now emerged as the essential ingredient for creation of a "Jewish state" in 1948. Such events as the massacre of Deir Yassin (April, 1948) cannot be isolated from similar acts of terror perpetrated by the "officially recognized" Haganah and Palmach. The flight of thousands of Palestinians from their homes was a di-



rect outcome of their fear of becoming victims of other Deir Yassins.

Writing in the Israeli newspaper, Yediot Aharonot (April 4, 1972), retired colonel Arieh Yitzhaqi, who will soon publish a history of the 1948 war, has said:

"If we assemble the facts, we realize that to a great extent the battle (Deir Yassin) followed the familiar pattern of the occupation of an Arab village in 1948. In the first months of the War of Independence, Haganah and Palmach forces carried on dozens of operations of this kind, the method adopted being to raid an enemy village and blow up as many houses as possible in it. In the course of these operations, many old people, women, and children were killed wherever there was resistance."

The terrorist expulsion of Palestinian workers and peasants from their homes in 1948 was the form of "escalation" considered necessary for creation of the state of Israel. Zionist military superiority, the key to the fait accompli, was the direct result of financial support from the West, and this continued support has permitted Zionist leaders to retain their hold upon the land that their armies had seized.

It is highly indicative that, among the 100,000 Palestinians who did not flee their homes in 1948, at least 30,000 were classified as "internal refugees" so that their lands could be taken. In areas such as Nazareth, where a large Arab population remained, many sites were declared "uncultivated" and were then turned over to the Jewish Agency.



Women of Ikrit, 10 miles from Baram, in a protest on the site of their village in Upper Galilee. Israelis razed the village in 1952 for military reasons.

Similarly, along the northern border, the two Arab villages of Baram and Ikrit, inhabited by Maronite Christians, were seized after the 1948 war for "security reasons." The former inhabitants, in 1952, actually succeeded in winning a favorable verdict from the Israeli Supreme Court of Justice, but the Ministry of Defense held firm. Shortly after the verdict, soldiers dynamited all dwellings in the villages, and Baram was turned over to the "socialist" Mapam party for construction of a kibbutz.

For the past twenty years, the people of Baram and Ikrit have continued to demand the right to return and to rebuild their homes. Under the leadership of the Maronite bishop Joseph Raya, the villagers have recently renewed their demands. Professing their loyalty to the state of Israel and insisting that the two villages have no military importance, they have undertaken a long campaign whose high points occurred in August.

On August 5, a group of two thousand demonstrated in the two villages, and some demonstrators occupied the Maronite churches that still stand there. In this case, Israeli soldiers and police brutally attacked the demonstrators.

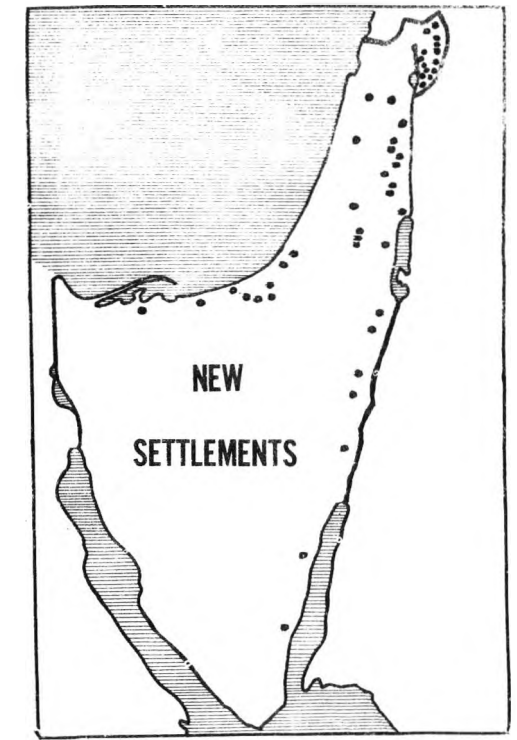
Later, on August 23, twenty-five hundred Maronite Arabs, led by Bishop Raya, participated in a mass demonstration in Jerusalem. Their placards carried such slogans as "We don't want to be refugees in our own country" and "Justice for Arabs and Jews in Israel."

The actions of the villagers have won wide support in Israel, but the government has refused to yield an inch. A clue to government motives had been given by Ha'aretz, one of Israel's largest newspapers, on July 28, 1972:

"The decision of Premier Golda Meir not to return the displaced persons of Baram and Ikrit to their villages has ensued out of the apprehension that a precedent may be created concerning the displaced persons of other villages..."

It was noted that there were at least twenty-one other groups of Arab "internal refugees" whose situations were identical to that of the Baram and Ikrit villagers.

The Baram and Ikrit case, to say nothing of similar cases inside the 1948 "borders," is an irrefutable indication of the colonialist essence of Zionism. Neither the long-standing refugee question nor the ongoing expulsions of Arabs from the territories seized after 1967 can be discussed in isolation from the "colonial fact." Historically, the twentieth century presence of Jews in Palestine has depended directly upon the slogan "Might makes right."



LAND-GRAB CONTINUES

Recently, one of the most explicit descriptions of the expansionist nature of the Zionist state has been published in the Jerusalem Post Weekly (September 8, 1972) under the chauvinist title "Settling the Wasteland." Since 1967, forty-nine settlements have been established outside the former "Green Line" (pre-war borders), with the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip as the greatest areas of concentration.

Because space only permits us to reprint excerpts, we recommend that readers consult the original article for additional evidence of the ruthless efforts to construct a "Greater Israel."

"Forty-nine settlements have been set up across the former Green Line in the past five years, and they have already begun to make a significant contribution to the country's food production. Last year, these fledgling settlements, a dozen of them Nahal outposts engaged in only limited farming, had an agricultural production valued at IL 46 million.

The seemingly arid land on which many of the settlements were founded has proved to be an agricultural gold mine. A semi-tropical climate makes them natural hothouses for the growth of early winter crops which are top money earners in Europe."

"How many of the new settlements are located on land formerly used by Arabs?"

Three, says Yehiel Agmoni (director of the Zionist Organization's Settlement Department): they are located at Pithat Rafiah on part of a 20,000 dunam tract closed off for security reasons in 1969. Part of this area had been farmed by Beduin. Many of the other set-

tlements, however, especially those in the Golan Heights, have been established on land from which Arabs fled during the Six-Day War."

"In the second largest concentration of settlements, the lower Jordan Valley, 11 have been established, of which seven are on Government-owned land. Four are in the Phasael Valley, which was state land as far back as Herod's time..."

"The remainder of the settlements in the lower Jordan Valley are located, as in the Golan, on abandoned Arab property, the owners having fled across the Jordan during the war. Much of this property was in scattered holdings and land exchanges were worked out with Arab farmers remaining in the areas in order to create contiguous, viable tracts.

"The exchanges were purely voluntary," says Agmoni. "The farmers got at least a dunam of equally good land for every dunam they gave." In several instances, he says, villagers have refused to exchange land and have stuck by their refusals. Among them are the villagers from Akraha, where 500 dunams of crops planted in an area closed off by the military for training purposes were destroyed."

equal pay for equal work

According to the Jerusalem Post (September 27, 1972), women workers in Israel earn one-half as much per year as men workers. In industry, where the largest proportion of women workers is found, "female workers earned 45 percent less than men per hour and 52 percent less per year," according to the Post, "the gap is even bigger in agriculture and commerce."

Through the years, light industries in Israel, such as textiles or food processing, have relied heavily upon women's labor of Arab women and women from the Afro-Asian Jewish communities. The continuation of this trend is indicated by the fact that in 1971/72, in the Acre region alone, 2500 additional Arab women were hired as factory workers (Jerusalem Post Sept. 27, 1972). This figure, by itself, represents the largest number of Arab women to enter the labor force in a single year.

Israel's super-exploited women workers, however, have recently protested the harsh conditions that Israeli capitalism has forced upon them--as shown by the following account of a strike at the Elite chocolate factory. The strike continued for another month, following publication of the article:

Ramat Gan--The usually bustling courtyard and corridors of the strike-bound Elite factory here were strangely quiet and deserted on Friday morning. Doors to the production lines were firmly padlocked.



Shoshana Auerbach, one of the two women members of the six-man committee, led me off to a quiet room where I could talk to members of the Elite staff. The first was Esther, a mother of two from the Upper Nazareth chocolate factory. (She preferred to omit her surname: "Nazareth is a small place- I don't want any trouble you see.")

Esther has worked in the chocolates department for 10 years, works an 8 hour day earning a gross pay of LL2.31*per hour. After 13 years, she told me the most a woman could earn was LL2.39 per hour. "That's including premiums and the norms are very high, hard to achieve- and in the slack season there are no premiums. I take home a maximum of LL430 a month- and that's in a good month with full premiums.

Of course, we've all been dissatisfied for years. I suppose I could have found other work, but it's not so easy in Nazareth and my health isn't that good. One of our main grievances is that Menachem Eliav, Secretary of the Labour Council, never represented the worker's interests. He was abroad when the strike broke out. Now we don't need him any more and we'll fight through to the end of this strike without him."

"My husband's attitude to my being out on strike? He's all for it- he's laughed at Elite salaries for a long time. I can manage on only 50 cent pay during the strike, and we're all prepared to work. The Arab girls at Nazareth feel exactly the same way."
"We may be lost causes, but not one of us would want her children to work here. And the fact is that no daughters follow their mothers to Elite. No young girl wants to work in a factory and no wonder, with a dirty scarf tied round her head and the dust from the chewing gum all day long."

They will, they assured me, accept no agreement that does not promise equal starting pay for both sexes: the women's work on the packing of fancy chocolate boxes provides the company with one of its most profitable lines. "But equal pay is not the only issue by any means: severance pay is what we're tackling now," I was told, followed by "We've completed our first month of pregnancy where this strike is concerned. We'll just have to see how long the full term takes."

*--59 cents per hour

Reprinted from The Jerusalem Post, August 29, 1972, by Catherine Rosenheimer

MUNICH and AFTERMATH

The Resistance staff has chosen to cover the events of Munich within a format which, we hope, will more effectively convey the real issues than conventional editorials or news items.

We have sought to include a number of items from overseas sources, for we firmly believe that the American press has sought to conceal the truth concerning the fidayin action at Munich, its causes, and its ultimate consequences.

***--After much discussion, we have decided that a chronology of the events that occurred in Munich on September 5 would be of assistance to readers. Even though many may be generally aware of inconsistencies in the German-Israeli claims concerning the action of the fidayin and the death of the hostages, we feel that a concise summary can contribute to the greatly needed effort to combat the racist hysteria that the bourgeoisie has promoted in the aftermath of Munich.

Material for this summary has been drawn from a variety of sources, including Le Monde, the Jerusalem Post, Afrique-Asie, Jeune Afrique, Newsweek, Time, and the New York Times.

September 5, 5:05 A.M.--8 Palestinian fidayin occupy cottage of Israeli Olympic Team in Munich. 2 Israelis killed and 9 taken hostage. The fidayin throw a leaflet from the window explaining that their goal is to liberate 200 comrades held prisoner in Israel. If no answer is received by 9:00A.M., the hostages will be killed.

7:30 A.M.--German officials, including Hans Genscher, Minister of the Interior arrive. They request that the deadline be pushed ahead to noon and the fidayin agree.

8:15 A.M.--Mohammed Khatib (Egyptian), Bonn Representative of the Arab League, is contacted by German officials. Walter Scheel, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, asks him to mediate, emphasizing that no Arab states are responsible for the fidayin's actions, Khatib agrees to go to Munich. He leaves Bonn at 10:00A.M. in government helicopter.

11:40A.M.--Khatib is brought to Olympic Village. Genscher asks him to persuade the fidayin to extend deadline, promising that money and a safe-conduct will be given in exchange for hostages.

12:00P.M.--Via Khatib, the fidayin refuse this offer, saying "We are not highway robbers." They do agree to extend deadline to 1:00P.M. Khatib informs them of German assurances that no surprise attack is planned.

1:00P.M.--Direct negotiations with German officials; fidayin extend deadline to 3:00P.M.

3:00P.M.--Through Khatib and Ahmed Mestiri, the Tunisian ambassador, German officials request extension of deadline to 5:00P.M. When request is granted, they assure Khatib that no surprise attack is planned.

4:30 P.M.--Germans agree to let fidayin and hostages be flown to Cairo. Genscher enters cottage and talks with hostages, who assure him that they are ready to be flown to Cairo. Genscher tells fidayin that they will be flown in helicopters to a civilian airport, and requests a 7:00deadline so that a plane can be prepared for flight to Cairo.

5:00 P.M.--German police make plans to encircle cottage. By 7:00, 300 armed policemen, along with tanks and other military vehicles, are in the area. Khatib again urges German officials to take fidayin demands seriously.

8:20 P.M.--German chancellor Willy Brandt confers by telephone with Egyptian prime minister Aziz Sidky.

10:20 P.M.--Fidayin and hostages leave Olympic village in two helicopters. They are followed by third helicopter containing German officials.

10:40 P.M.--Helicopters arrive at Furstenfeldbruck, a NATO airport. Mohmoud Badran, one of the 3 fidayin who will survive, realizes that this is not civilian airport as promised by German officials. Police snipers wait in unlit areas.

11:00 P.M.--As two fidayin return from inspecting Lufthansa jet, snipers open fire. Some fidayin seek cover behind helicopters with bullets. During two hour battle, helicopters explode.

11:30 P.M.--German officials send word to Israel that hostages are safe.

2:00 A.M. (September 6) --German officials announce that surprise attack at Furstenfeldbruck has failed. fidayin are taken to prisons.

NO TO Tirades & Tears

The last word on the decisions that led to the deaths of the Israeli hostages and the Black September fidayin will remain unheard, for capitalist heads of state seldom care to reveal embarrassing secrets. There can be no doubt, however, that both American and Israeli officials stuck to a line of "not yielding to blackmail." Whether German officials agreed willingly or reluctantly is not the point.

There is an inescapable comparison between Munich and the 1971 massacre at Attica Prison ordered by Nelson Rockefeller. In both cases, hostage's lives were readily dispensable, for bourgeois order wants to avoid the "dangerous precedent" of yielding to the just demands of the oppressed. In both cases, officials have sought to conceal their own responsibility for massacres by playing upon racism.

With Attica and with Munich, the real terrorists are yet to be punished.

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Enough of hypocritical tirades and crocodile tears. Since the "good consciences" of the West, without the slightest show of emotion, can watch blood flow in Vietnam, Palestine, or Latin America, eleven, twelve, or seventeen more deaths will not trouble them.

The real "crime" that they charge the Palestinians of Munich with is not the killing of eleven Israelis whom no one and, least of all, Mrs. Golda Meir wished to save, but the disruption of an ambiance that was supposed to be "beautiful and polite." They accuse us, the Palestinians, of having broken up a party that was only reserved for "wise and distinguished" guests who have seats in the United Nations, flags, and national anthems.

Excluded from the "olympic peace," we were only supposed to stand at the door. They know, however, that we live in refugee camps, thanks to subsidies from "international generosity." They even intend, if we behave "reasonably," to discuss with our superimposed Quislings--Ja'abari, Shawa, or other "trustworthy notables."

Since Palestinians make such wonderful victims and such miserable refugees, they saw fit to prove that they could be as "determined," as "clever," or as "efficient" as Nixon, Golda Meir, or Moshe Dayan.

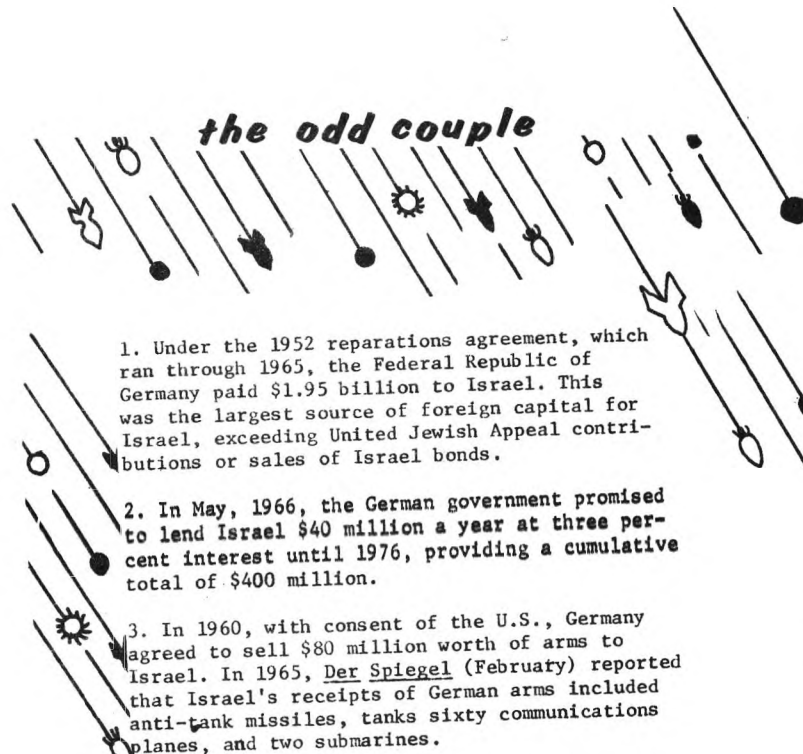
In Munich, some Palestinians, heirs to universal injustice, broke into the party of well established and well nourished citizens and demanded that there be face-to-face discussions, on life or death terms. In these negotiations that could have progressed toward a solution, Israel did not wish to participate, under the pretext that this would be "submission to blackmail." In reality, for the Zionists, the Palestinians do not exist and have never existed.

The true drama of Munich is the murderous contradiction between two wills, one to seize land by force and terror, the other to not die without a struggle.

The first step can only be taken when the nations of the world can decide to admit the national and legal existence of the Palestinian people, represented by the Palestinian Liberation Organization which has as its program the creation of a secular, democratic state in Palestine.

The contradiction can never be resolved until the Palestinian people can fully exercise their right to self-determination on their own land.

While we wait, we Palestinians have nothing to lose but our chains.
by Kemal Adwan, member of the Political Bureau of al-Fatah
Le Monde, September 20, 1972



1. Under the 1952 reparations agreement, which ran through 1965, the Federal Republic of Germany paid \$1.95 billion to Israel. This was the largest source of foreign capital for Israel, exceeding United Jewish Appeal contributions or sales of Israel bonds.

2. In May, 1966, the German government promised to lend Israel \$40 million a year at three percent interest until 1976, providing a cumulative total of \$400 million.

3. In 1960, with consent of the U.S., Germany agreed to sell \$80 million worth of arms to Israel. In 1965, Der Spiegel (February) reported that Israel's receipts of German arms included anti-tank missiles, tanks sixty communications planes, and two submarines.

4. In 1971, Israel imported \$232 million worth of goods from Germany--more than from any other European nation except Britain. Its exports to Germany totalled \$91 million, representing 10 percent of all Israeli exports to Europe.

The American press has largely ignored the carefully orchestrated hysteria that has seized Western Europe following the Munich massacres. In Germany, initial measures taken included: requirement of visas for all persons arriving from the Middle East or North Africa, interdiction of all foreign organizations existing in Germany, and creation of a special "anti-terrorist" brigade within the national police. This brigade would come under the direct supervision of Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who had supervised the unsuccessful "rescue" at Furstenfeldbruck Airport.

By September 12, at least 500 Arabs had been detained for security checks by German authorities, and, by the end of the month, at least 500 expulsions had taken place.

On September 13, at the initiative of Walter Scheel, the Brandt regime's foreign minister, Common Market nations' foreign ministers met in Rome to discuss a collective "anti-terrorist" program.

In Bonn, on September 29, thirteen representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) occupied the Arab League offices and began a ten-day hunger strike protesting persecution of Arab workers and students by German police. On the same day, a solidarity demonstration in Frankfurt by Germans drew several thousand persons.

In France, left organizations, as well as the CGT (France's largest trade union) and UNEF (union of university students), have unanimously condemned the actions of the Brandt regime and have warned the Pompidou regime against similar steps. Demonstrations and solidarity meetings, not only in Paris, but in the provinces, have been frequent.

At an October 10 press conference in Paris, foreigners who had been living in Germany gave a detailed analysis of the situation. The first report was given by an Iranian who pointed out that Iranians who oppose the Shah have long been targets of persecution by German police. He exposed the close working ties between the Israeli Shin Bet and SAVAK, the Shah's secret service, and concluded with a statement of unconditional solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. A similar report was delivered by the representative of Turkish students and workers in Germany, whose organizations have been under heavy surveillance since their highly successful demonstrations against the Turkish dictatorship in May, 1972.

Ibrahim Sus, representing the General Union of Palestinian Students, declared: "What Jews were thirty years ago, the Arabs are today. For the fascists, it's all the same." He denounced the passive attitude of Arab governments toward the persecutions and called for a continuation of solidarity actions by the European Left.

Throughout this period, there have been continued reports of German persecutions, particularly in the Munich and Stuttgart regions. Many of those expelled have been turned over directly to Israeli or Jordanian authorities, and their fates are not known.

In France and Italy, strong Left support for the Palestinian cause has blocked the governments' desires to some extent. Here, the "unconventional" measures advocated by Israeli leaders after Munich seem to present the greatest threat. In Rome, on October 13, "unknown assassins" killed a Palestinian employed at the Libyan Embassy, and the Italian police have not identified any suspects.

Although it is too early to predict, the witch-hunt in Europe, especially in Germany, contains the threat of a generalized persecution of foreigners, particularly those who are politically active. It should be noted that France, while not interdicting Arab organizations, has arrested and deported Basque refugees in recent weeks, turning them over to the fascist Franco regime in Spain.

The hypocritical "anti-terrorist" appeals of politicians and the bourgeois press, coupled with Israeli threats and US pressure, pose a grave threat to progressives throughout Europe. The solidarity actions undertaken by the French left with the victims of this wave of racism are a necessary, unifying political response that we in America would do well to heed.

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WORDS OF A MILITARIST

In an August 18 speech, Moshe Dayan, addressing the Israeli Parliament, left no doubts as to ongoing preparations for future aggression. Topics covered in the speech included: fortifications in the occupied territories, industrial production for military purposes, military electronics, the tank corps, and the balance of air power.

Fortifications: "From 1967 'til April, 1973, our investments in creating a military infrastructure in the Israeli-controlled territories will be

about IL 1,364,000 million (\$390 million). Over half of this sum has been invested in Sinai."

Military production: "The coming years will see continued growth of our own security production at a rate of IL 250-300 million (\$70-80 million) every year..."

Electronics: "There is no other area in which the development and sophistication of means of warfare are so striking as in electronics. It was not idly that Nasser spoke of the 'white screens' on his radar sets in the Six-Day War..."

Armored vehicles: "Since 1967, we have removed from the array of our forces all those tanks that were defined as being of low quality and, today, 78 percent of the armored disposition is based on tanks of 'good quality.' These changes, of course, express themselves in terms of handsome sums of money."

Air power: "Publications of the Strategic Institute show the Israel air force as the largest western (sic) air force in the Middle East. According to these data, in 1972, Israel has 374 planes, Turkey has 360, Italy 300, Greece 216, and the US fleet in the Mediterranean 200 planes."

The significance of this quantitative and qualitative growth is that we are now already investing over 50 percent of the security budget in the airforce and this percentage will not decrease, but, rather, will grow in the future."

Jerusalem Post Weekly,
August 30, 1972



where we stand

We are confident that the majority of readers share with us the knowledge that "Arab terrorism" ---as journalists-for-hire call it--- is an inevitable response to decades of Zionist expansion in Palestine. The kidnapping of Palestine in the name of Zionism would never have occurred without the consistent support of the gold-medal terrorists (commonly called millionaires) whose natural habitats include stock exchanges, posh resorts, and presidential palaces.

For a long time now, many Americans have become familiar with the bourgeois "double standard" whereby the war criminals of Wall Street and Washington are portrayed as peace-seekers and the freedom fighters of Indochina, Latin America, or Africa are called "terrorists." However, large numbers have been able to see through the thick fog of falsehoods and point their fingers at the real terrorists.

In the case of the Middle East, self-education has been far slower. Pressure from bourgeois "opinion makers" and Zionist ideology have taken a heavy toll upon the left. The just struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as other liberation struggles in the Middle East, is often minimized or ignored.

Even among many who clearly understand the ties between Zionism and imperialism, there has been no shortage of backward concepts:

"The Palestinian Resistance is merely a nationalist movement that will go nowhere until it tries to win support from the Israeli masses."

"The Palestinian struggle was crushed in 1970 and will not be important again for many years."

"The fidayin should concentrate on overthrowing the regimes in Lebanon and Jordan and exposing nationalist regimes."

"The fidayin have turned to hit-and-run attacks because they cannot mobilize the Palestinian masses."

These often-heard verdicts, whether they come from individuals or the journals of left organizations, do nothing to aid the exploited masses in the Middle East. Serious discussion of how to block the American bourgeoisie's ever-present anti-Arab hysteria is rare, and parsimoniousness in direct support for liberation movements in the Middle East permits the ruling class smokescreen to stand intact.

If we recognize that, in the past, imperialism and Zionism have persisted in attacking and exploiting the peoples of the Middle East, with or without "pretexts," then the future can be analyzed effectively. Recent history shows clearly that, if liberation movements, including the Palestinian Resistance, develop "ideal"

programs, strategies, and tactics---that is, become objectively capable of breaking the imperialist stranglehold upon the region---then the terrorists in Washington and Jerusalem will seek to use even more vicious means of "protective reaction."

Without this context, ad-hoc approval or condemnation of specific actions undertaken by specific organizations of the Palestinian Resistance is not enough. For opponents of imperialist domination of the Middle East, a progressive position on the Palestinian Question entails certain minimal obligations, including:

- 1) Active, and not merely verbal support to the Palestinian Resistance. (History shows that progressive movements can develop more fully if their international support consists of more than cheers or advice.
- 2) Efforts to educate the public as to the motivations of the anti-Arab hysteria concocted by the capitalist class.
- 3) Efforts to unmask Zionism as a reactionary ideology that can only bring tragic consequences to Jews and Arabs.
- 4) Persistent work to expose imperialist "peace arrangements," such as the Rogers Plan. Even if these schemes receive the support of Arab regimes or the socialist camp, they remain instruments for ensuring continued exploitation of the Middle East.

Members of our staff share the perspective that small-scale attacks against symbols of Zionist power, such as the Israeli Olympic team, are no substitute for the long-range effort to achieve the highest mobilization of the Palestinian masses. However, in accord with the obligations we have outlined, we emphasize that "acts of terror" by Palestinians are the inevitable response of an oppressed people to their continuing misery at the hands of the world's true terrorists. Americans cannot judge the military and political effectiveness of specific organizations without priority attention to the question "How do we improve the quality of our own efforts against Zionism and imperialism?"

In direct reference to the Munich events and their consequences, we believe that a definitive judgement is not yet possible. The recent words and deeds of the Israeli terrorists Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan have made it clear that blood-thirsty attacks against the Arab masses will continue, fidayin or no fidayin. The Israeli bourgeoisie has not miraculously given up its desire to seize control of the Litani River (southern Lebanon) or to menace Arab nations that seek closer ties with the Soviet Union and China. Neither the European nor the American bourgeoisies have decided that support for Israel's military adventures is a losing game. For them, the Middle East remains a lifeline...as important to imperialism's survival as Africa or Southeast Asia, if not more so.

Within the Middle East, the role of such puppets as King Hussein, King Feisal, or the Shah of

Iran remains unchanged. In Lebanon, the bourgeoisie continues to make plans to put down the Palestinian Resistance. Since 1970, it has become increasingly clear that "nationalist" regimes, such as those of Egypt and Syria, have sought to tie the hands of the fidayin and thwart mobilization of their own people.

While the Munich raid did not achieve its stated goal of securing the release of 200 fidayin held in Israeli prisons, its aftermath has appeared to bring a temporary halt to the dangerous "negotiations" offensive of Egypt. We would remind "left critics" of the Palestinian Resistance that this short-term opportunity can be most effectively seized by revolutionaries in the Middle East and not be those who uphold "the correct line" while living within the belly of the imperialist monster.

The present situation may or may not be used to the fullest degree by our sisters and brothers in the Middle East, but we maintain that, for progressives in the United States, the fundamental obligation remains the same: namely to work ceaselessly against the gold medal terrorists who cannot hold back the tide of revolution in Palestine, in the Middle East, and in North America.

SEEKING A FINAL SOLUTION

"We're dealing here with totally illogical people, half-mad; we must finish with them for once and for all." These were the words of Israeli minister Shimon Peres as Israeli Phantoms streaked over Lebanon and Syria on September 8. While Israel's generals told Western reporters that "all steps had been taken to avoid civilian targets," the civilian death toll exceeded two hundred. (Le monde, September 10-11).

Simultaneously, Israeli newspapers carried details of a new Golda Meir "peace map," with Israel retaining all occupied territories except minor portions of the West Bank.

In tactics remarkably similar to US tactics in Indochina, Israeli forces re-entered Lebanon a week later. 4000 ground troops under heavy air cover and following search-but-mostly-destroy orders remained 36 hours inside Lebanon. This time, casualties were even more numerous.

At the coastal refugee camp of Nahr-el-Bared, which Israeli sources claimed was a naval training camp for al-Fatah, at least ten children were killed by strafing. In Rashaya, the village clinic was burned to the ground by the occupiers, and there were twenty deaths. 16 villages were "searched" by the invaders, with nearly 200 houses destroyed.

In the village of Jouaya a taxi that was taking wounded passengers to a hospital was crushed by a Centurion tank, and 7 persons were killed.

Whereas the Lebanese army had refused to offer resistance during previous Israeli invasions (February, 1972; June, 1972), units in the south did fight back on this occasion. At least 60 Lebanese soldiers were killed. For the inhabitants of villages in the occupied area, this was an encouraging development. They support the Palestinian fidayin at least conditionally, and, in the past, have bitterly complained of the government's refusal to fight the Israeli aggressors.

Following the invasion, the Franjeh government issued an ultimatum ordering the fidayin to suspend operations on Lebanese territory. This demand violates the agreements signed by the Lebanese government with the PLO in November, 1969. Despite initial acceptance of the demand by some leaders, including Yasser Arafat, opposition ran high in the fidayin ranks. Hence, a new agreement was made restricting the fidayin's freedom of movement to the north---away from Israel. It is to be recalled that the guerrillas have disobeyed similar agreements in the past and that the Lebanese government has been unable to enforce its reactionary demands.

Developments within Syria during this period have offered some benefits to the Palestinian Resistance. After the September 8 air attack by Israel, the Syrian government removed previous restrictions upon the fidayin's freedom of movement and permitted 1000 commandoes to cross the border into Lebanon to reinforce their comrades. The Damascus government has also begun to supply the commandoes with tanks and other weapons.

Since the September 8 offensive, the Syrian army has fought back against Israeli attacks, taking heavy casualties. The civilian toll from Israeli air power has also been heavy. The change of policy in recent months, which offers slightly greater leeway for the Palestinian Resistance, appears to be linked to Syria's growing disagreements with the pro-imperialist drift of Anwar Sadat in Egypt. Feeling the threat of "invasion through peace" Syrian leaders have condemned all efforts to come to terms with Israel, and particularly those of Sadat. Moreover, they have allowed the Soviet Union use of the vital Mediterranean port of Latakia, following the removal of Soviet advisors from Egypt.

For the immediate future, Israel's blitzkrieg, warmly encouraged by the US, has made far more difficult the implementation of pro-imperialist schemes such as the "Rogers Peace Plan."



MURDEROUS RAIDS CONTINUE

Following the hijacking that led to the release of the three Black September commandoes who had carried out the kidnapping of the Israeli Olympic team, Israel undertook still another massive air attack (November 1). While UN ambassador Yosef Tekoah and other Israeli officials repeated the traditional "no civilian targets" pretense, it was reported that more than one hundred civilians in Syria were killed by this onslaught. (Le monde, November 3, 1972)

FOR MASS PARTICIPATION

"Individual violence has no faith in the viability of mass participation, which is the natural basis of a people's war against an enemy who is far more advanced in military power and technology. What the Vietnamese experience proves is just this. In Vietnam, guerrilla warfare developed into full scale people's war, not through individual heroism--"external or internal"--but by the expansion of the struggle amongst the masses, through engaging them in armed activity, raising the people's political awareness and organizing them. The ability of the Vietnamese struggle to grow until it reached the level of subduing the machinery--the military might of the United States--was a direct result of the translation of the theory of people's war into the Vietnamese situation. Military activity tended to escalate only in the context of increasing political consciousness--divorced from spontaneity."

"The struggle against imperialist interests depends on the capabilities of the revolutionary mass struggle in each Arab state against its own ruling class that is tied, in one way or another, to imperialist interests internationally. The task of fedai activity in fighting against Israel is to extend and to link its struggle--theoretically, politically, and militarily--with the struggle of the revolutionary masses in every Arab country. That, above all, is the road of struggle against imperialist interests.

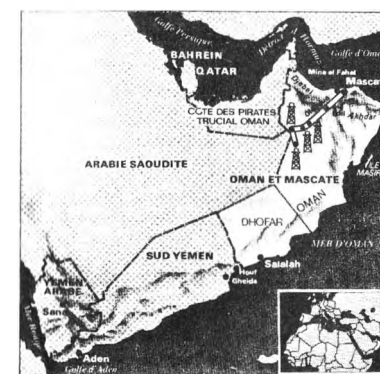
Individual violence (terror) is a dead-end road for mass movements, for there is no easy substitute for arousing the revolutionary consciousness of the people and organizing their ranks toward full participation in armed people's war against the common enemy."

from "Terrorism and Revolutionary Violence," a document of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP).

DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

The post-1945 anti-colonial struggles of the Middle East, like those of many African nations present innumerable historical perplexities, to many segments of the left, especially within the U.S., the leader of the imperialist camp. Too often, one hears irresponsible claims that the battle against colonialism is irrelevant unless there is an easily identifiable "socialist leadership" during all phases. Too often, protracted struggles are described as having "only produced a nationalist regime."

Yet short-sighted comrades, who may be historically labeled as unwitting heirs of Semkovsky, Liebman, and Yurkevich** frequently fail to analyze specific situations or to develop generalizations that may be relevant to the Middle East and other regions of the "Third World." In this sense, a glance at the independence fight of southern Yemen, now the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, is relevant not only on its own terms, but in relation to other regions of the Middle East. Here, the replacement of British colonial rule by a state in which the feudalists and the bourgeoisie have been eliminated represented a deepening of the "national struggle," rather than an artificial counterposition between that struggle and socialist goals.



LA PÉNINSULE ARABIQUE.

Democratic Yemen's emancipation from colonialism is, perhaps, an anomaly in the Middle East, but, at the same time, the "anomaly" may offer valuable lessons to those who hope for the end of imperialist domination throughout the Middle East, serving as the fore-runner of a growing revolutionary storm.

Having suffered under more than a century of British rule, the people of southern Yemen were "late-comers" to the anti-colonial struggle. In fact, the first phases of their struggles were profoundly influenced by the successes of nationalist movements elsewhere in the Arab World.

** "The liquidator Semkovsky," the Bundist Liebman, and the Ukrainian "petty-bourgeois Yurkevich" were three adversaries sharply attacked by Lenin in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914)

The colony's economic and social structure was "unique" in terms of the sharp contradictions between Aden, the cosmopolitan port on the Red Sea, and the impoverished rural areas, where the majority of the population lived. Although the Adeni population, which included large numbers of foreigners, possessed trade unions and political parties, the vanguard role in the anti-colonial struggle was ultimately filled by the peasantry and the tribes that lived in the hinterland.

A Marxist-Leninist leadership in the countryside proved to be the key to this "historic exception." Whereas the urban population, led mainly by the trade unions and the petty bourgeoisie, initially sought independence within the British Commonwealth, and later, the creation of an "Arab socialist" state, the people of the interior, guided by the National Liberation Front, carried the struggle far beyond these goals.

During the fifties, as traffic through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal increased greatly, the port of Aden became even more vital to imperialist strategy in the region. Britain expanded the port facilities of Aden, built oil refineries, and set up a broader network of military bases. Moreover, oil and uranium were discovered in the interior, in the Hadramaout region.

Between 1950 and 1956, the volume of trade through the port of Aden rose from \$171 million to \$379 million. The amount of crude oil passing through Aden increased from 2.5 million barrels to 5.9 million barrels; yet the Adeni economy, even under capitalist criteria, was severely deformed. Port services generated nearly two-thirds of the city's yearly income and accounted for an even higher percentage of employment. During the fifties, exports of certain traditional products, such as salt, textiles, tobacco, and coffee, fell sharply.

In the interior, economic deterioration was even more acute. Between 1950 and 1956, total exports (with tobacco as the main export item) fell by sixty percent. Seafood production, which had been a major source of revenue, fell by seventy-five percent.

The peasants and fishermen inhabiting the interior represented three-fourths of the colony's entire population, but they generated only eight percent of the gross national product. Among the peasantry, the average yearly income was less than \$100 per capita. The drastic nature of the situation is indicated by the fact that, during the fifties, it was normal for half of each year's food supply to be imported.

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Democratic Yemen: bibliography (See article: S. Ta'amari, "Consolidation of a Guerrilla Movement," Arab Journal, IV, Fall, 1966. R. Lefort, "South Yemen---The Arab New Left Faces the Test," Le monde diplomatique, 3-part series beginning 2/2/71 (French). E. Rouleau, "South Yemen---Hitched to a Red Star," Le monde diplomatique, 2-part article beginning 6/10/72.

One of the first groups to demand an end to British rule was the People's Socialist Party which had been inspired by Nasser's thrusts against imperialist domination of Egypt. However, Britain quickly developed a strategy for diverting the discontent of the masses. The hinterland was re-organized as the "Aden Protectorates," consisting of twenty-three petty sultanates, sheikdoms, and principedoms (A comparison with the Arab Gulf region would be appropriate). On the other hand, the port of Aden was granted a separate status. Under the new constitution written by the British, the PSP was offered several cabinet posts.

By 1962, after the PSP had consummated its entry into a puppet government, opponents formed the National Liberation Front of the Occupied South Yemen. Since one of the N.L.F.'s demands was a reunification with North Yemen (in 1837, when the British had moved into the area, they had severed Aden from the Sultanate of Yemen), some of its members went to North Yemen in order to seek aid from the anti-monarchist forces there.

On October 14, 1963, the N.L.F. initiated the first stage of the revolution with an armed insurrection in the Radfan Mountains. Whereas other nationalist groups concentrated their efforts upon the port city, the NLF chose systematic organization of the peasants and tribesmen living in the "Protectorates". Within a mere two years, it was fighting on nine different fronts against 45,000 British soldiers.

Although aid from Egypt continued to arrive via North Yemen, the first congress of the NLF in June, 1965 adopted a program calling for expropriation of the local bourgeoisie. Nasser first sought to undercut the NLF by sponsoring the creation of the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) drawn mainly from city-dwellers who had initially supported the People's Socialist Party. When the NLF refused Nasser's demands that it unite with FLOSY, all Egyptian aid was withdrawn and a sharp struggle between the two organizations developed. It is to be noted that Nasser's withdrawal of aid was accompanied by similar steps by the Soviet Union, with the result that the NLF was forced to rely entirely upon its own resources in order to carry the revolution forward.

In the hinterland, the military advances of NLF forces compelled the pro-British sheiks to flee immediately. Peasant councils, integrated with the people's militia, became the basic unit of government. As 1965 drew to an end, the NLF undertook successful urban guerrilla actions. Several urban trade unions, including the petroleum workers, broke with the People's Socialist Party and endorsed the NLF program.

By August, 1967, most rural areas, as well as several portions of Aden, had been liberated.

Urban contingents of the NLF maintained daily harassment of British forces and succeeded in liquidating many FLOSY cadres. Since 1965 the NLF had defined FLOSY as a wholly vacillatory force in the struggle against imperialism and had established liquidation of FLOSY as a major goal.

The successes of the NLF struggle, whose methods had been inspired by the experiences of the Chinese and Vietnamese, had produced a situation that was untenable for the British. With the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle in the neighboring Arab Gulf region, Britain decided upon a total withdrawal from Aden. Whereas it was feared that an "Arab socialist" regime would receive strong support from other Arab nations, British strategists felt that a politically isolated NLF government would be unable to maintain power. The resultant chaos, they assumed, would permit an easy restoration of colonial domination.

As the NLF maintained a tenuous hold, internal divisions arose, its right wing proposed an accommodation with the remnants of FLOSY and efforts to win support from the "progressive" regimes of the Arab World. At the Zinjibar Congress (March, 1968), however, majority endorsement was given to the proposals of Abdul Fattah Ismail, a spokesman of the left wing:

"The path of petty bourgeois development is a dead end because the petty bourgeoisie in the era of world imperialism and the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence demonstrates an historic incapacity to adapt class struggle politics. According to this conception, since the independence of the Arab states, the big bourgeoisie, then the petty bourgeoisie, have failed in the same way in their essential mission: to constitute an independent national economy by industrializing the country and carrying out radical land reform; creating Arab unity and fighting against imperialism and its ally Zionism by arming the masses to lead a long-range people's war. "

At the same time, the left wing of the NLF pledged its solidarity with the global struggle against imperialism and, in particular, with the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf:

"South Yemen will become the "red base" of support for all the liberation movements in the Arabian peninsula, in particular, to the Popular Liberation Front of the Occupied Arab Gulf. It will support all the anti-colonialist movements in the world in order to weaken the reactionary camp while creating new fronts of struggle, and it will reaffirm its aid to the armed people's resistance in Palestine and to the heroic Vietnamese people."

Although the left wing had won a majority vote at the Zinjibar Congress it still did not

held state power. The government of Qatan as-Shaabi had, thus far, failed to nationalize large plots of land, banks, or large commercial enterprises.

After a brief struggle which eliminated the as-Shaabi government, the left wing became the heirs of a rapidly deteriorating situation. The port of Aden, which had been the second largest port of the British Commonwealth, was close to collapse. In 1969, port traffic fell seventy-five percent. When the British had departed in 1967, they took with them 24 million pounds in capital. While unemployment rose sharply, large numbers of skilled workers who were immigrants returned to their countries of origin.

95 percent of Democratic Yemen's population was illiterate, and there were only two high schools in the entire nation. After a 129-year British presence, there were only 120 miles of paved roads.

A key element of the new NLF government's work was an ambitious land reform program. Although the as-Shaabi government had nationalized the properties of sheiks who had collaborated with the British, the new law limited the maximum land-holding to 20 acres of arable and 40 acres of non-arable land. With assistance from the government and the National Liberation Front, peasants seized the properties of the remaining large landholders. At the same time, efforts were made to organize peasant councils in neighborhoods where none had existed previously.

To date, 87,000 feddans of land in Democratic Yemen have been nationalized. Since its rise to power in June 1969, the government of Salim Ali Rubbayeh had created seventeen farming cooperatives, with more than 1,000 members apiece. The largest of these is the Lenin Estate, which has been established by reclamation of 1,000 acres of desert.

The new government has also undertaken extensive reforms of the army. Whereas the as-Shaabi government had favored creation of a conventional army, the Rubbayeh government has carried forth the traditions of the struggle for independence by arming the peasantry and the proletariat. Within the regular army, recruits spend several hours a day receiving technical and ideological instruction. The people's militia, trained for emergencies, numbers in the tens of thousands.

The most serious threat to Democratic Yemen's survival continues to be external attack. In November, 1970, an invasion by 4,000 exiles and Saudi mercenaries was soundly defeated by the people's militia, which allowed the invaders to push far ahead and then destroyed their supply lines in a series of guerrilla attacks. Large quantities of cannons and light arms of American origin were captured from the Saudi-backed "Army of Free Yemen."



More recently, north Yemen, or the Yemen Arab Republic, has become a base for efforts to subvert the people's Democratic Republic. In addition to providing a refuge for feudalists and former FLOSY members, the Yemen Arab Republic has recently occupied the strategic island of Kamaran. In July this year, U.S. Secretary of State Rogers, following his visits to Iran and Saudi Arabia, visited the Yemen Arab Republic in order to open a new American embassy and to formalize an agreement for American aid.

The large American base for air and naval communications on the opposite side of the Red Sea poses still another threat to the People's Democratic Republic. The Kagnev base, situated in occupied Eritrea, is used not only by American forces but by the hundreds of Israeli advisers who are assisting the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie.

To the east, revolutionary Yemen is threatened by the sultanate of Oman and the British forces based there. Since a Chinese-built road to the border now facilitates the flow of supplies for the PLFOAG forces fighting in Dhofar, the British have had a ready-made pretext for repeated air attacks against the eastern portion of the People's Democratic Republic. Under these circumstances, the advances of the Dhofari struggle against the Sultan Qabus remain integrally linked to the defense of the PDRY.

The steady flow of American and British military assistance to the client states of the Red Sea region (Oman, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia) as well as recent efforts to strengthen the U.S. Indian Ocean fleet are ominous testimony of imperialist plans to isolate the PDRY, and if possible, to reverse the gains of the independence struggle. Whereas the British crown colony of Aden had once been vital to imperialist domination of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the PDRY, whose leaders wish to make it the region's "red base," is clearly a threat to imperialism.

The "dual character" of its revolution--- involving both the fight for national independence and the struggle for a socialist society within the space of little more than a decade---may offer a paradigm that will soon emerge elsewhere in the Middle East.

THE GULF

In July, 1972 members of a number of progressive groups in Lebanon came together to form the Permanent Lebanese Committee of Solidarity with Revolution in Democratic Yemen, Oman, and the Arab Gulf (PLCSDYOAG). The committee's first statement denounced the Union of Arab Emirates as an artificial creation of imperialism and exposed the deepening alliance tying the sheiks and sultans to Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Jordan and their Anglo-American masters. The committee affirmed its solidarity with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the peoples of the occupied Arab Gulf, in their struggles against feudalism and imperialism:

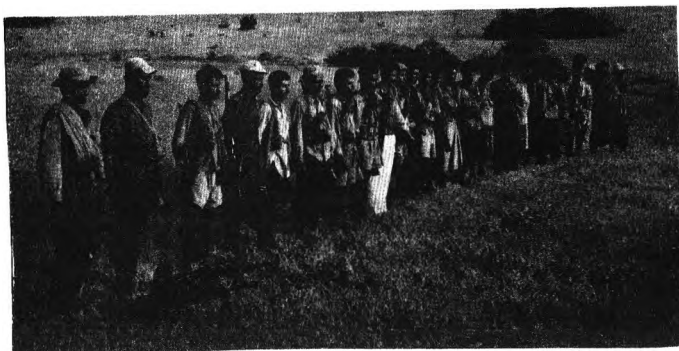
"The region of Yemen, Oman, and the Arab Gulf is the main complex of imperialist interests in the Arab World, with the biggest oil reserves on the face of the earth. It supplies more than 50 percent of Western Europe's oil consumption.

The imperialists have resorted to establishing military bases, imposing rulers from tribal cliques, fragmenting the region, and stationing two well-armed reactionary regimes, Iran and Saudi Arabia, as protectors of the oil fields.

The achievement of independence by Democratic Yemen coincided with the rise of the Palestinian Resistance. This event was an objective retaliation to the 5th of June defeat in 1967..

...Since independence, Democratic Yemen has been a daily target of armed attacks aimed at re-establishment of colonial rule and the re-appointment of sultans and sheiks. The imperialists seek to destroy the revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf by liquidating its rear flank (Democratic Yemen).

Although the counter-revolutionary camp is large, the revolutionary forces have carried out astonishing victories and have continued to take the initiative. The revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf is a natural continuation of the Yemeni Revolution.



The 5th of June saw adoption of the strategy of liberating all of Oman and the Arab Gulf, liquidating all vestiges of colonial influence, and replacing puppet rule with democratic authority in order to unify the whole area and control its oil."

The Permanent Lebanese Committee has pledged itself to undertake "all forms of moral and material support" for the revolutionary forces of the Gulf area.

A month later, in Beirut, a convention of Arab student organizations issued a statement calling for alertness by the Arab masses and all progressives in the world in recognizing the stepped-up attacks against Democratic Yemen by the forces of counter-revolution. The August statement denounced U.S. Secretary of State Rogers' visits to Iran and North Yemen as indicators of the imperialists' preparation of a counter-offensive against the intensified struggle in the Gulf Area. It called for unity of all Arab student organizations in opposition to the puppet regimes of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran that are conspiring to block the Gulf revolution.

These affirmations of solidarity are paralleled by others, such as that of the National Union of Kuwaiti Students, whose sixth annual conference officially congratulated PFLOAG for its recent military victories against the mercenaries of Qabus, the Omani sultan. Similarly, the official Algerian newspaper, Al-shaab, on August 5, called for unity of all Arab progressives in support of the revolution in Oman and the Gulf, pointing out that the Dhofar guerrillas now face not only the British forces and Qabus' mercenaries, but a new threat from Iran's growing military strength.

In Europe, the growth of support for the D.R.Y. and P.F.L.O.A.G. has been indicated by a late July solidarity conference held at the Paris headquarters of the Communist Party of France. Resolutions supporting the guerrilla struggle and condemning U.S.-British-Saudi attacks upon the Democratic Republic of Yemen were passed unanimously. Earlier, on June 9, a solidarity conference with PFLOAG was sponsored in West Berlin by the German Communist Party, the German Youth Union, the national United Turkish Front, and the Palestinian Students. The movie "Dhofar," shown for the first time in Europe, was enthusiastically received.

While consciousness of the importance of the Yemeni revolution and of the continuing struggle of the Peoples of the Arab Gulf is a matter of the future as far as the progressive movement in the U.S. is concerned, it is hoped that readers will struggle to inform their friends and contacts of events in this region which, because of its rich oil reserves, is vital to U.S. imperialist interests. Resistance hopes, in this and future issues, to make a modest contribution to breaking down the wall of ignorance that has so far separated the American left from its sisters and brothers in the Arab Gulf and in Democratic Yemen.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY GROWS

JOINT COMMUNIQUE---NLF of Vietnam

and the PFLOAG

Recently, a highly significant meeting took place in the liberated regions of Dhofar. Delegates from the National Liberation Front of Vietnam paid a solidarity visit to the Peoples Liberation Army. This visit reflects the deepening international support for the heroic struggle against the Omani sultan Qabus and his Anglo-American backers. On September 26, 1972 a joint communique was issued. Signers of the communique included Do Xuan Tam, for the South Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Nguyen Dinh Ka, editor of the weekly organ of the NLF, Amer Ali of the General Command of PFLOAG, Talal Saad of the Regional Command of Dhofar, and Husain Musa of the PFLOAG information section in Aden.

The PFLOAG's delegation warmly praised the outstanding co-ordination in struggle of the people's in the three countries of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in defeating the Nixon doctrine in Indo-China, and expresses its vigorous support to the just fight of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

The PFLOAG's delegation sternly condemns the Nixon administration's brutal and obdurate policy of aggression, its extremely serious war escalation and its inhumane means of war of extermination, particularly the resumption of the air and naval war, the blockading of the ports and bombardments of the dykes and dams of North Vietnam.

The PFLOAG's delegation firmly demands that the U.S. imperialists end their aggression against Vietnam, stop the "Vietnamisation", of the war, withdraw totally and unconditionally U.S. troops from South Vietnam, cease all support to the Nguyen Van Thieu client administration, and let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their internal affairs without foreign interference. The U.S. must put an unconditional end to the bombardments, shellings and all other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Both sides unanimously hold that the just struggle of the Arabian nation, the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world against imperialism and neo-colonialism for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress, is winning other successes and facing very shining prospects. Any cruel and savage methods of repression and any perfidious political moves of the imperialists and the colonialists together with their lackeys to maintain their domination and exploitation, only prove that they are weakened, becoming more isolated and meeting with inevitable collapse. The just cause of the peoples in Vietnam, Oman and the Arabian Gulf will certainly win."

The South Vietnam delegation NLF warmly hails the glorious successes recorded by the PFLOAG in the struggle against the U.S.-British imperialists and all reactionary forces at their service to win back national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. The delegation particularly acclaims the liberation of the Dhofar countryside, regarding it as an important achievement on behalf of liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf from the occupation of the colonialists and the reactionaries, and the realisation of independence and unity of the homeland.

The NLF delegation sternly condemns the collusion between the U.S. imperialists and reactionary regimes at their service in Oman and the Arabian Gulf; namely Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan...to maintain the reactionary regimes in Oman and the Arabian Gulf so as to exploit, repress the population, oppose the revolutionary movement, preserve the fragmentation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, turning this area into a U.S. military base and neo-colony.

The NLF delegation condemns the U.S. engineering of the so called "Regional Pact", which actually aims at gathering a number of reactionary client administrations and using them to usurp power and massacre the population: implementing the policy of making the people in the area fight the other people in the same area, serving the U.S. aggressive manoeuvre in this part of the world, they are carrying out aggressive attacks and acts of provocation against the peoples of Democratic Yemen.

The PFLOAG's delegation expresses its admiration to the tenacious, heroic and successful struggle of the valiant people of Vietnam, praises the great and all-sided victories won by the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces who have defeated one after another all war strategies of the U.S. aggressors. It warmly acclaims the unprecedented gains of the offensives and uprisings since April 1972 to date which are threatening the Nixon administration's "Vietnamisation", of the war strategy with complete bankruptcy.

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We thank Red Line, the official PFLOAG organ for material in this section. The bi-monthly English edition of Red Line can be requested from the UN legation of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, 6th floor, 211 East 43rd Street, New York, New York.

NOTICES and LATE NEWS

LEBANON---GENERAL STRIKE CALLED

Following the assassination of two striking workers from the Gandour chocolate factory by the police (Saturday, November 11), the General Confederation of Lebanese Workers has called a general strike in protest. The general strike is scheduled to begin on November 14.

Police claim that they fired in "self-defense" against striking workers near the Gandour factory.

Mass demonstrations have already occurred in protest against the police, while the Franjeh regime has put the Lebanese army on special alert.

AAUG AFFIRMS SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE

In its fifth annual convention, held in Berkeley, Calif., the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) adopted a resolution in support of a democratic, secular Palestine that would include Arabs and Jews. The AAUG resolution "salutes the Palestinian freedom fighters and hereby affirms its pledge to defend by all lawful means their endeavors to implement their rights." It also condemns the "irresolution and hypocrisy" of Arab governments with regard to the Palestine Question. In three days of panel discussions, speakers denounced the Nixon regime, exposed anti-Arab racism in the United States, and attacked racist urban renewal projects that threaten Arab-American communities within the US.

Abdeen Jabara, president of the AAUG, urged Americans to seek alliances with the oppressed, explaining that American liberals "do not see Israel as the product and perpetrator of the very same racism practiced by the Afrikaners---in this case called Zionism."

New York Times, November 13

We wish to announce the FRONT LINE, a newsletter devoted to the problems of the Greek Revolution. Our effort goes beyond the existing activity in the US in that we are primarily interested in reaching the Greek community directly (as opposed to "influencing" governments) with news and texts of the active resistance within Greece. We will report on all the groups which we know of that are engaged in active struggle. We invite all interested persons to contact us. \$1 will bring the first five issues and any amount over that would be greatly appreciated. Buttons and bumper stickers are also available."

PENA, Box 5128, Clinton, New Jersey, 08809

Articles in the January issue

Articles in the Winter issue of Resistance in the Middle East will include:

Growing Contradictions in Israel

Morocco: The Tottering Throne

Interview with Eritrean Freedom Fighters

What is the Shin Bet?

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