

**RESISTANCE**  
**in the Middle East**

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**SPECIAL  
ISSUE**

**THE WAR**

60¢

# WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

DEAR SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

*Resistance in the Middle East* continues to expand both in its own political development and in establishment of a broader base of support. In order to meet the needs of the present crisis that has arisen as we go to press, together with our desire to serve as a catalyst for those who are developing an anti-imperialist perspective of the Middle East, we need an increased commitment from our readers.

Although good resource material and hard-to-get news items are always abundant for us (Yet there is never truly enough because of the enormity of the task), we are continuing to have very real financial and distribution problems. Naturally, all labor on this publication prior to printing is donated. Likewise, none of our funding comes from academic institutions, religious entities, governments, "charitable" organizations, or corporations. Only you, our readers and supporters, and Movement bookstores can ensure our continuation.

Since *Resistance* is a quarterly publication and the valuable material collected for each issue far exceeds the amount of available space, we are not presently able to offer advertising space even though extensive publicity for worthwhile activities and publications would be highly important. Certainly, advertising would ease some of our own problems of distribution.

In coming months, it is likely that greater demands will be placed upon us. We hope that old and new friends of the magazine will contribute with all the resources that they can spare. At the same time, it is essential to furthering of political awareness that we share ideas and information about events. We look forward to hearing from you.

In struggle,

The *Resistance* staff

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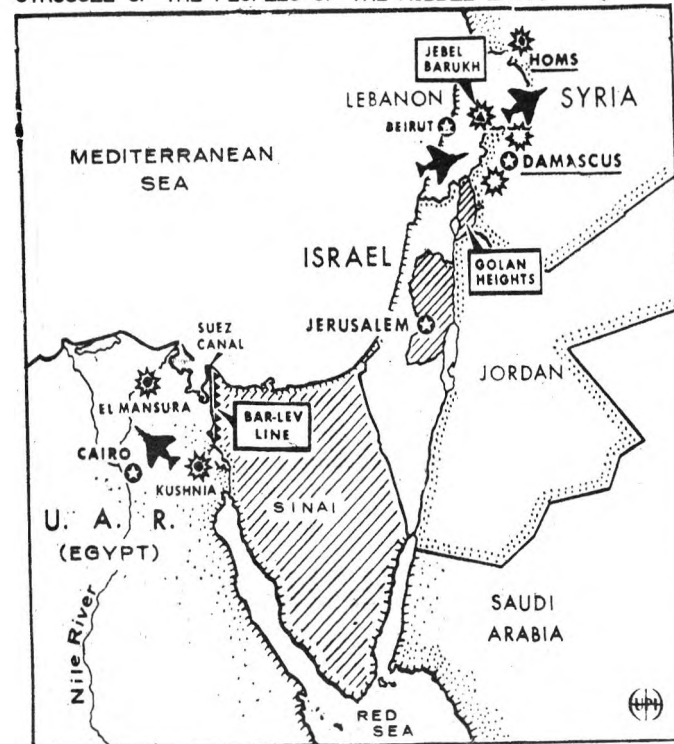
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## INTRODUCTION

THE NEW WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST POSES WITH BURNING CLARITY THE ISSUES THAT HAVE LAIN BEHIND EVENTS IN THE REGION THROUGHOUT THIS CENTURY--IMPERIALIST SUPER-EXPLOITATION, FLAGRANT DENIALS OF THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION, AND BRUTAL ATTEMPTS TO CRUSH THE MASSES' STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE LIBERATION. THE AMERICAN RULING CLASS, WHOSE POWER AROUND THE WORLD DEPENDS HEAVILY ON MIDDLE EAST OIL, IS NOW BRINGING ITS GOVERNMENT, ITS NEWSPAPERS, AND ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES INTO ACTION AGAINST THE ARAB RESISTANCE. AS WE GO TO PRESS, U.S. SKYHAWK JETS, AIR-TO-AIR MISSILES, TANKS, ANTI-AIRCRAFT ARTILLERY AND MASSES OF ELECTRONIC GEAR ARE BEING RUSHED TO THE ISRAELI MILITARY, U.S. PILOTS, MARINES AND "SPY SHIPS" ARE AT THE SCENE. RICHARD NIXON, WHO ONLY WEEKS AGO POINTEDLY REFERRED TO THE 1953 OVERTHROW OF PRIME MINISTER MOSSADEGH IN IRAN IN ORDER TO PREVENT ARAB GOVERNMENTS FROM NATIONALIZING THEIR OIL RESOURCES, HAS NOW OPENLY REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A DIRECT U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION--SUCH AS THE ONE IN LEBANON IN 1958. (CBS NEWS, EVENING REPORT, OCTOBER 15.)

IN THIS CONTEXT, THE U.S. MEDIA ARE WAGING A PROPAGANDA WAR, SEEKING TO ENLIST PUBLIC SUPPORT BEHIND ZIONIST AGGRESSION AND DIRECT IMPERIAL INTERVENTION. IN THE MATERIAL WHICH FOLLOWS, *Resistance* DESCRIBES EVENTS AND SITUATIONS WHICH ARE CENTRAL TO THE WAR BUT WHICH HAVE BEEN PURPOSELY IGNORED AND TWISTED BEYOND RECOGNITION. OUR EFFORT HAS BEEN CIRCUMSCRIBED BY AN OCTOBER 10TH DEADLINE AND BY UNAVOIDABLE LIMITATIONS OF SPACE AND OTHER RESOURCES. BUT WE INTENSELY HOPE THAT READERS WILL FIND OUR WORK HELPFUL TO THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO UNDERSTAND AND EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEEPENING STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.



Throughout the present war between Israel and Arab nations, two equally false claims have dominated official Israeli commentary: a) "They hit us by surprise." and b) "We will 'turn the corner' very soon." The myth of Israeli unpreparedness is easily exposed, for example, by reports issued just before the eruption of hostilities. According to a *Jerusalem Post* article of October 4, Israeli military spokesmen denied reports that Syria and Egypt had begun to increase their forces stationed along cease-fire lines. However, there was indication of "subsequent precautionary measures by Israel" and a claim that Arab sources had exaggerated the scope of these "routine movements."

Despite its claim that Israeli forces were only performing "routine movements," the *Post* made a striking admission that Arab leaders had reason for suspicion:

"Fears of a new confrontation were aggravated following last week's terrorist operation in Austria. Foreign news media quoted Arab circles as cautioning against Defense Minister Moshe Dayan's vow that Israel would strike at the terrorists anywhere, whenever provoked." (October 4)

The mid-September "reconciliation" among Cairo, Damascus, and Amman was subsequently suggested as a possible reason behind Syrian troop movements in the Golan area (*Jerusalem Post*, October 5). Transfers of Syrian forces from the Jordanian border to the cease-fire line was seen as a possible gesture of goodwill by Hafez el Assad to King Hussein. At the same time, the *Post* stated that "Israeli forces along the Golan Heights were placed on alert over the New Year weekend. The alert was explained as 'standard practice' during Israel's festive season." (October 5).

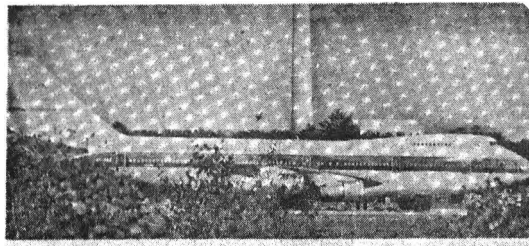
Against this backdrop, together with the long history of massive Israeli "retaliations" against Palestinian commandos and Arab civilians in Syria and Lebanon, it is not difficult to imagine why provocations were a strong possibility for the weekend of October 6-7 in the Golan area. Moreover, at a time when thousands of tourists from Europe and the U.S. had arrived in Israel for the Yom Kippur religious holiday and when Austria had just given in to demands made by a Palestinian commando group concerning migration of Soviet Jews, a military adventure by Israel against Syria was certainly not an unlikely event.

The inconsistencies of Israeli claims of a "surprise attack" are further revealed in a *Time* report on the rapidity of Israeli troop mobilizations:

"In fact, on the day of the Arab attack (sic), the Israelis had begun to call up their reserves at 10 a.m., at least four hours before the fighting began, and the Israeli Cabinet was already in session by the time word of the invasion (sic) reached Jerusalem." (October 15).

Although Israel immediately undertook a publicity offensive to push its assertions of "unpreparedness" (including a pléde by Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Alon to *Newsweek's* Jerusalem correspondent Michael El-





Airliner that the Portsmouth (N.H.) Herald said belongs to Israel sits on the runway at Pease Air Force Base, located near Portsmouth. (AP)

kins that "we deliberately refrained from striking first."--Newsweek, October 15), there are ample indications of the first-strike actions of its air force. During the earliest hours of the conflict on October 6, Israeli jets attacked the Syrian port of Latakia. The vital differentiation between the current war and the 1967 war rests upon an overestimation of the role of air power by Israel's generals. Initial results in Sinai and the Golan Heights alike showed that massive, Israeli air attacks were unable to deter the advance of Arab forces. Whereas the quick Egyptian takeover of points on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal can be partially attributed to superior numbers in that area, the chain of events in the Golan Heights indicates the emergence of a new type of Arab army, quite unlike the impotent forces which Israel had so easily defeated in 1967.

In the highly mountainous Golan region, Palestinian and Syrian infantry forces, backed up by tank units, withstood Israeli air and ground offensives and then took the counter-offensive, swiftly by-passing Israeli fortified positions. At 6:30 P.M., Syrian radio communiques announced:

"Ground fighting stopped after our forces successfully repelled the enemy attack on our positions and moved into the counter attack. Fighting is going on now west of the cease-fire line. Our forces have liberated some positions, including one at Mount Hermon."  
New York Times, October 7

In addition to the rapid guerrilla-like movement of Palestinian and Syrian ground forces, Syrian planes were able to penetrate as far west as Kiryat Shemona along the Lebanese border, engaging Israeli Phantoms in fierce battles. Heavy artillery continued to shell Israeli settlements in the heights and in the Hula Valley region.

In Sinai, Egyptian forces which had moved across the Canal on pontoon bridges or been landed at strategic points by helicopter tenaciously held on under intense Israeli air attacks. By evening on October 6, many tank and infantry units had pushed ahead, causing Israeli forces to seek defensive positions. The Egyptian advance was facilitated by the implantation of SAM missiles close to the Canal in order to knock down Israeli jets.

Israeli spokesmen, faced by the realities of an initial setback, complained bitterly of the "surprise attack" by Arab forces, knowing that their alterations of the facts would be avidly echoed by the Western press. They readily began to claim that a "counter-offensive" would begin as soon as mobilization was "total" inside Israel. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, on October 6, swore that "the Arabs will take no advantage from this war before the cease-fire goes into effect," (Time, October 15). He admitted that Israeli forces along the Canal were over-extended, but insisted that the size of the Sinai Peninsula afforded a sufficient "military buffer" for Israel's population centers.

3 Israel's first "counter-offensive," which began on October 7, never truly materialized. One factor behind the limited character of Israel's counter-measures may have been continued over-estimation of air power. Although heavy Israeli bombing caused Egyptian forces to fall back from their advance posts in Sinai toward a narrow strip along the Canal bank, Israeli ground forces were not brought forward in large numbers.

Within less than 72 hours, it became clear that the generals' optimistic claims were divorced from reality. Correspondents for *Le monde* reported that, as early as October 9, chaos existed on the Israeli lines from Jerusalem to the Golan Heights. Tanks were proceeding in ragged lines, with little artillery interspersed among them. On the front, ambulances continually screeched through the front and rear lines, while infantrymen showed few signs of the cockiness that had predominated during the 1967 war. As radios shrieked of "victory" along the Syrian front, soldiers spoke of hurried orders to transfer as quickly as possible to the Sinai front. As one correspondent for *Le monde* (October 11) expressed it, "A thousand and one signs gave the same impression: Israel was preparing for a long and protracted war of the classic military kind, and its population was habituating itself for a long effort."

At the same time, Israeli strategists were faced with a dilemma conditioned by political and economic realities. Full control of the Sinai peninsula, up to the Canal, is fundamental to continued exploitation of the Abu Rodeis oilfields in the gulf of Suez and to Israeli aims of militarily controlling the Red Sea. Thus, concentration upon the Sinai struggle was a persistent temptation. On the other hand, events of the past six years have shown again and again that the "northern front" is fundamental to Israel's long-term aims of crushing Palestinian resistance and thwarting unity between the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian masses.

As Israeli ground operations quickly entered a stalemate, the strategists appear to have opted for massive air attacks as the prime component of their "counter-offensive." With a savagery not unfamiliar to the American air force, Israeli pilots in their American-made craft carried out an intense bombardment of Damascus, Latakia, Homs, and Mint al-Beida in Syria, seeking to blast the civilian population into panic. In Damascus alone on Tuesday, October 9, 200 civilians were killed, and, in Homs, hundreds more (*Le monde*, October 11). Yet the "war of intimidation" did not go on without high Israeli aircraft losses, as Syrian craft and missiles took to the air. Despite its brutal attacks upon civilian populations and its ability to knock down many Syrian MIG's, the Israeli air force was soon to find itself short of planes, and it is not accidental that American resupply efforts were set in motion as early as October 10.

The intense air war unfolded in a similar manner on the southern front, as Israeli pilots sought to reduplicate American atrocities in Vietnam. In the Nile Delta, Phantoms poured death and destruction upon Port Said, causing at least 250 civilian casualties on October 9. Their missions further south along the entire Nile Valley brought death to even greater numbers of Egyptian civilians. One CBS report (October 11), which was quickly squelched, spoke of U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's horror at the aerial terror bombing of the Delta region. He had been informed that Israeli pilots were massively dropping booby-trapped cigarette packages, transistor radios, and ball-point pens.

Subsequently, Cairo itself was subjected to intense air raids, and, by October 12, the *International He-*

*rald Tribune* reported that civilian casualties had risen above 500. Terror bombing continued throughout Thursday, October 11. Benha Hospital, the principal one in the Delta Region, reported treating hundreds of wounded. Foreign correspondents who toured the area confirmed similar scenes at other hospitals throughout northern Egypt. It was readily becoming clear that, whereas Israel's spokesmen and allies hypocritically harped upon being "pushed into the sea," its U.S.-subsidized air force was trying not just to push Arabs into the desert but to pound them into dust.

During the air offensive, Israeli forces also attempted to penetrate the Egyptian rear flank. Operations included an attempted naval landing in the Nile Delta along with parachuting of troops. These maneuvers, however, were repelled by Egyptian forces and it was reported that the Zionist fleet lost five ships and many of its helicopters. Another element of Zionist strategy was to strike at oil storage and shipping facilities along the Egyptian and Syrian coasts. Japanese, Greek, and Soviet ships, at least two of them merchant marine vessels, were hit, and loss of lives was extensive.

Israel's massive air attacks, with terrorizing of civilian populations as a major objective, have, however, failed to produce a tangible shift in the war. On the Sinai front, Egyptian tenacity and the gradual attrition of Israeli air power meant that, by October 14, Egyptian forces could move forward from the "Bar-Lev Line" with relative ease. Egyptian communiques reported the destruction of at least 150 Israeli tanks during the counter-attack. Foreign observers estimated that at least 1000 Egyptian tanks crossed into Sinai during this phase. On Monday, October 15, the *New York Times* commented that "The Israelis have still not been able to mount an offensive in Sinai, and independent reports suggest that even when they do, they face a long and difficult campaign against a force well protected by SAM-6 missile batteries."

On the northern front, Israeli forces moved eastward from the recaptured Golan Heights, meeting intense resistance from Palestinian, Syrian, and Iraqi detachments. By October 12, the Iraqi air force, together with Syrian planes, was beginning to wear away at Israel's Phantoms. Although an Israeli column had proceeded through the mountains as far east as Sassa, which is within artillery range of Damascus. Nonetheless, this force had met continuous resistance and other Israeli units had not moved much beyond the Golan. The *New York Times* of October 15 indicated that Arab forces elsewhere on the northern front were holding their ground close to the Golan Heights. A decrease in Israeli air activity over Syria indicated, once again, that the ground war would be decisive to the final outcome of the conflict.

As Damascus' citizens prepared to defend their city to the death and as regular forces dug in behind the front lines, it remained clear that, on both fronts, Zionist forces had been met by unexpected levels of Arab resistance. The myth of the invincibility of the Israeli soldier destroyed, the myth of their invincible air power failed to terrorize the population. Not capitulation, but resistance, their leaders announced, "always resistance," signaling the popular will to accept no compromises in their deepening struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

#### 4 AMERICAN PILOTS TAKE PART IN BOMBING OF DAMASCUS

Soviet newspapers have confirmed that Phantom Jets piloted by American citizens had taken part in a raid against Damascus. *Krasnaya Zvezda*, the armed forces newspaper, followed news of the confirmation with a report from Arab ambassadors in Paris that American pilots had been captured after their planes were downed near the capital.

--New York Times, 10/15/73

## PENTAGON moves in

As Israel's normal supply of highly sophisticated military equipment dwindled during the first five days of the war, the United States quickly took steps to re-supply its client. By October 11, the American press was releasing reports of "emergency measures" supposedly taken in order to counter Soviet replacement of Egyptian and Syrian military supplies. Even the day before, newspapers in Norfolk, Virginia (a major base of the Sixth Fleet) had issued reports of planes with Israeli markings picking up cargoes of bombs and missiles from the near-by Oceana Naval Air Station. On the following day, intelligence sources in Washington released estimates that Israel had lost nearly one-third of its tank forces and one-quarter of its jet fighters during the first five days of the conflict (*Boston Globe*, October 12, 1973).

Pentagon contingency plans had not yet taken final form, because there were reported divisions of opinion as to the seriousness of Israeli losses. However, it was confirmed that steps had been taken to "send Israel tons of ammunition as a 'quick fix' after it was determined that the first six days of fighting had reduced stockpiles to serious but not extremely dangerous levels." (*Boston Globe*, October 12, 1973).

The willingness of U.S. imperialism to reinforce Israel was underlined not only by White House and State Department "warnings" to the Soviet Union, but by both houses of Congress. Overwhelming approval was given to an amendment by Senator Henry Jackson to the Military Authorization Bill, extending a blanket arms credit to Israel under which the Pentagon can ship unlimited quantities of weaponry without prior Congressional authorization (*Washington Post*, October 11, 1973).

At the same time, reports emphasized the importance of Israel's Electronic Counter Measures (ECM) as a means of preventing Egyptian and Syrian missiles from opposing Israeli air attacks. The ECM battle rests upon the attackers' ability to jam the radar screens of anti-aircraft and missile posts on the ground, as the U.S. had sought to do in Indochina. "Israel, if the SA-6 is indeed taking a toll on its aircraft as Pentagon specialists believe, now must collect more ELINT (electronic intelligence) on the SA-6 and design electronic counter-measures against the weapon." (*Washington Post*, October 11, 1973). By October 13, Associated Press dispatches were reporting American reconnaissance flights over Egypt as well as possible jamming of Egyptian radar stations by ships of the "Liberty" type (It is recalled that, during the 1967 war, Israeli planes had accidentally attacked the "Liberty," a U.S. ship carrying out jamming operations along the Egyptian coast).



Arrangements were hastily made for transferring American Phantom jets from European bases to Israeli destinations, once officials had become convinced of the extent of Israel's air losses (*Boston Globe*, October 12, 1973). Sixth Fleet forces already in the Eastern Mediterranean have been supplemented by 2000 Marines from the 6th Marine Regiment, normally stationed at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. The Marines were given six hours' notice before being transferred from their base to ships located somewhere between Crete and the Syrian-Lebanese coast. (*Associated Press*, October 12, 1973).

The speedy transfers of weaponry and regular forces to the area of combat have been paralleled by movement of "irregular" forces. By October 11, reports from London were stating that Heathrow Airport resembled a "military transit center" due to the large numbers of American volunteers destined for Israel. At that point, 500 volunteers equipped with military outfits had arrived on four jumbo jets from New York, with hundreds arriving from unspecified destinations in the U.S. There were reports that some commercial flights had been detoured from other destinations in order to bring volunteers to the "recruiting center" at Heathrow (*International Herald Tribune*, October 12, 1973).

Moreover, Continental newspapers such as *Le monde* (October 10, 1973) have carried reports of Europeans disguised as "Israeli reservists" being transferred in large numbers. These movements, without a doubt, have been arranged under NATO guidance.

The escalation of American military aid to Israel during the final portion of the week was clearly indicated by reports from Pease Air Force Base in New Hampshire. A newsman for radio station WHEB in Portsmouth, New Hampshire stated "There was more air activity at the base last night (Friday) than I can remember at any time with the exception of the Cuban missile crisis." (UPI dispatch, October 13, 1973). The same report indicated that persons living near the base had observed at least six Boeing 707's with Israeli markings picking up arms and ammunition.

The unmistakable indications of frenetic Pentagon activity to rearm Israel point all too clearly to the possibility of a direct American intervention if Israeli forces suffer reverses. This factor, together with reports of a full alert for American ships in the Arab Gulf region, rips the veil off any official pretenses of "neutrality" on the part of American imperialism. It is to be noted, however, that some American officials have already expressed fears that the truth may become known in the Arab World. On October 11, the *International Herald Tribune* cited Administration sources as "fearing reprisals against not only oil but U.S. interests in general should massive resupply efforts become known."

#### BULLETIN: U.S. INTERVENTION ESCALATES

On Monday, October 15, WTAR-TV of Norfolk, Virginia reported that an Israeli ship, the *Aben Dar*, was loading tanks and Skyhawk jets at the Norfolk Naval Base Pier. Navy spokesmen refused to comment upon reports that Norfolk is a staging area for supply shipments to Israel. The Israeli Embassy in Washington declined to comment.

The Soviet Press Agency reports that 20 U.S. Phantom Jets had left the American air base at Inchirlik in Turkey for an "unknown destination." Tass speculated that the planes were headed for Israel.

--New York Times, 10/15/73

5

## palestine revolution

"WE'RE FIGHTING IN PALESTINE AND FOR PALESTINE AND NOT JUST TO RECOVER THE TERRITORIES THE ARABS LOST IN 1967."  
PLO's Bassam Abu Sharif

While the Syrian and Egyptian forces, backed by Arab nationalist support, were engaged in a massive and far more successful resistance to the Zionist aggression than anticipated, the Palestinian Liberation Organization was proceeding with a popular war of liberation for all of Palestine. Palestinian revolutionary forces lead the first break through in Golan, diverted the Zionist forces in the West Bank and Gaza, and scored numerous attacks within occupied Palestine itself. By week's end, Palestinian forces throughout the homeland were mobilizing for the liberation attempt.

On the Syrian-Lebanese Front: 26,000 Feda'iyyin\*

The Palestinian revolutionary forces on the Golan Heights and in Southern Lebanon took the brunt of the Israeli offensive, repelling Israeli forces on the ground and scoring direct hits against the endless waves of U.S. Phantoms. Armed with mobile missiles and anti-aircraft, the guerrillas stormed Mount Hermon in the first day of fighting, enabling the regular Syrian reserves to move through the valleys into Quneitra (The "capital" of the Golan Heights) and beyond by the second day of fighting. Rocket attacks on the enemy's paramilitary (Nahal) settlements along the cease-fire lines were supplemented by contingents of Palestinian guerrillas who fought behind Israel's front lines, thereby thwarting their main thrust forward. Still other resistance forces in Northern Lebanon and along the Syrian Mediterranean coast engaged the Phantoms in a screen of continual anti-aircraft fire, and attacked Israeli naval vessels in the ports of Tartous, Latakia and off Pnias, the oil terminal for the pipeline from Iraq. Israeli troops were repulsed in attempts to hit the oil storage tanks. Still other feda'iyyin repulsed air incursions in Eastern Lebanon, around the central Middle East radar installation at Barmaka in particular, and along the Mediterranean coast.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 27



LES COMBATTANTS PALESTINIENS DE LA SAIRA, EN SYRIE.  
Une anticipation qui s'impose.

## palestine on western screens

Along with the press, the screen has been one of the favorite weapons of Zionism for molding public opinion in the West: it is a matter of convincing Europeans and North Americans that Jewish settlement of Arab Palestine was and is a legitimate venture.

Manipulation of Biblical History—Starting with the absurd assumption that there can be a "chosen people," Hollywood producers have created immense Biblical or para-Biblical super-productions which re-write history according to Zionism's needs: pretending to evoke the tribulation of Jewish tribes before the Christian era and their difficult relationships with the Pharaohs and other neighbors, these films insinuate (with the help of extravagant scripts where palace rumors replace the class struggle as the motor of history) that, already, more than 2000 years ago, Egyptians were maltreating Jews—who-only-wanted-to-live-peacefully-in-the-Promised-Land! Among the many films in this vein, we can cite Cecil B. de Mille's "Ten Commandments" or Howard Hawks' "The Pharaohs." Or even "Solomon and the Queen of Sheba," which "foretells" the alliance between Tel Aviv and Addis Ababa!

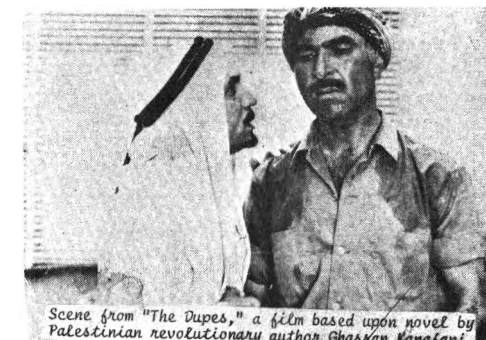
Even as we applaud films that expose European anti-Semitism, we should also be conscious, in this regard, of Zionist strategy's sleight of hand tricks: in the name of the monstrous Nazi holocaust, efforts have been made to justify the persecutions that Jews in Israel today are carrying out against Palestinians, who had no connection with German genocide. The most typical films of this treacherous genre are "Exodus" by the American director Otto Preminger and "A Wall in Jerusalem" by the French director Frederic Rossif. With an ostensibly humanist theme, they serve to inspire Zionism.

Even as we again applaud films that expose anti-Semitism, it should be noted that there is no film that exposes the massacre of Gypsies by the Nazis, and that there is hardly a single film ("Slaves" by Herbert Biberman) which correctly exposes North American racism against blacks. There are very few films that expose genocide against the American Indian (although there is an abundance of anti-Indian westerns), and only one or two that attack apartheid in South Africa (in particular Lionel Rogosin's "Come Back, Africa").

Glorification of Zionist Colonialism—Initially, propaganda was designed to persuade the masses in the West that "Palestine was a land without people for the people without a land." Since it is obvious that one could not forever conceal the fact that the "Promised Land" was not a desert and was not uninhabited, a more classic and more typically colonialist justification was employed: namely that Palestine had a certain number of inhabitants, but that they were "savages"! A place for the superior race, therefore, for the "chosen people" (Again!) Then there was a series of films, especially documentaries that explained at length and in color how the Israelis had managed to make a desert flower, whereas the Arabs (understood to be incompetent) had left it abandoned for centuries.

To counter this extremely elaborate propaganda, there are, unfortunately, not very many good anti-Zionist films. For twenty years, many progressive Western directors have themselves been intoxicated by Zionist ideology.

6



Scene from "The Dupes," a film based upon novel by Palestinian revolutionary author Ghassan Kanafani.

Presently, European anti-Zionist films are very few in number:

France: "Palestine" by Paul-Louis Soulier was partially financed by the Algerian News Agency. The film is a one and one half hour report in color, which has the distinction of having been made both in Israel and in neighboring Arab countries. It offers good documentation on Zionist misdeeds and the expansionist aims of the Israeli government. It describes the plight of Palestinians in Israel and even shows an interview with some activists in prison. The author also presents various aspects of the Resistance outside Israel. However, political defects include a failure to expose the anti-Palestinian maneuvers of certain Arab governments and a general political perspective that is not entirely satisfactory. Since it was filmed before September, 1970 in Jordan or the recent repression in Lebanon, the film is partially outdated. Nevertheless, it remains one of the best documentaries available in France on this subject.

"Palestine will win" is a short film made in Paris with reliance upon film archives of the Bibliotheque Nationale by Jean-Pierre Olivier, a Marxist-Leninist, in cooperation with the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) in France. This film, made after the battle of Karameh, is deliberately didactic and was mainly intended for Arab workers living in France (one copy was seized by the police during an "illegal projection.")

At the Librairie Palestine in Paris one can see a videotaped film entitled "I will burn this city" that was filmed in Jordan after "Black September" by Carole and Paul Roussopolos from the group Video Out. The title is taken from an utterance of King Hussein: "I will burn Amman when I can no longer govern it." It is an interesting document upon the policies of the Jordanian Nero.

Western Europe: It appears that the German Manfred Faust deserves credit for the best documentary on the Palestinian Resistance, a medium-length film entitled "Palestine." It contains an interview with Yasser Arafat and it won first prize at the Baghdad festival for films on Palestine in March, 1973.

In order to combat Zionist mystification in the West, it would be necessary for a film-maker of the stature of Joris Ivens to analyze from A to Z the Jewish issue from a non-metaphysical perspective that can attack the obscurantism of the Judeo-Christian explanation...a film inspired, for example, by Abraham Leon's *Materialist Concept of the Jewish Question*. Such an effort is all the more necessary now that French bishops—after a very long delay!—who now denounce Christian anti-Semitism call for recognition, in the name of "particularities" of the "chosen people," the "State" of Israel's "right to political existence."



Meanwhile, Zionist film-production marches ahead: Israel presented eleven long films at the last Cannes Festival. Several subtly or massively Zionist films have been made in France, and there are also "Jerusalem, Jerusalem" by Chapier and "Pourquoi Israel" by Lanzmann.

#### PALESTINE FILMS---EUROPE & NORTH AMERICA

**West Germany:** "Where is Palestine?" 16 mm., color, 42 minutes, 1971. German, French, and English versions. Filmed by Manfred Faust. This film won first prize at the Baghdad festival of films on Palestine because of the clarity and effectiveness of its analysis of the Palestinian question. The film can be rented through Unidoc Film, Sudliche Auffahrtsallee, Munich, F.R.G. or bought through Neue Prometheus Film, Rothbuschenstrasse, 21, 8 Munich 90, F.R.G.

**France:** "Palestine" 16 mm., color, 90 minutes. Filmed by Paul-Louis Soulier. Cooperation by Algerian News Office. 19 rue Brea, Paris, France.

"Palestine will win" 16 mm., 20 minutes. Filmed by Jean-Pierre Olivier.

"I will burn this city" videotape on the September, 1970 massacres in Jordan. Filmed by Carole and Paul Roussopoulos. Librairie Palestine, 24 rue de la Reunion, Paris, 20, France.

**Holland:** "I can never forget Palestine" 16 mm., color, 45 minutes. Commentary in English, dialogue in Dutch and Arabic. 1971 production by Ikor Televisie. The film consists of two televised reports on Palestinian children who speak of their experiences. Miss Trudy van Keulen, Ikor Televisie, Borneolaan 27, Hilversum, Holland.

**Italy:** "Al Fatah-Palestine" 16 mm., 80 minutes, 1970. Italian and English versions. Divided into two parts. This film portrays living conditions of the Palestinian people, social services of the Resistance, and military training. It also has interviews with cadres, combatants, and political leaders. Unitele Films, Rome.

**Switzerland:** "Biladi, a revolution" 16 mm., 55 minutes. French and English versions. 1970. A report on the Resistance before the September massacres. Filmed by Francis Reusser. Film Zurich Cooperative, B.P. 146, 8025, Zurich, Switzerland.

**Britain:** "Jerusalem in danger" 16 mm., color, 20 minutes, 1971. English version. Icon Films Production. After a historical survey of Jerusalem, the film describes the horrors of Israeli occupation and exposes Zionist plans for making Jerusalem a "new Los Angeles." Caabu, Room 106, Grands Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C. 2.

"The only logical way" 16 mm., color, 27 minutes, 1972. English version. Filmed by Tim Hohenboken. Jumala Films. Filmed in Lebanon and Jordan. Contemporary Films, Ltd. 55 Greek Street, London, W1V 6 DB.

**United States:** "Revolution until victory" 16 mm., 45 minutes, 1972. English version. Documentary made in Palestine by Newsreel: the refugee camps, the liberation movement, the ties between Israel and Western imperialism. Los Angeles Newsreel, 715 South Parkview Street, Los Angeles, California, 90057, United States

#### FROM TURKEY-A CALL TO ACTION

Turkey has been under martial law for 2 years and 5 months. The National Security Council has just announced an end to the law. What does such a decree mean after 29 months of fascist control? To date, at least 15,000 have been detained on the pretense of "creating anarchy". More than 2,000 citizens have been condemned or are awaiting trial. Most progressive organizations have been outlawed and torture has been turned into a state institution. An appeal for action from 7 women political prisoners in Turkey was sent to The Information Center for the Expression of Solidarity with the Turkish People in Paris, and forwarded to this publication:

"We are political detainees who have been imprisoned in Martial law jails.

"From the very first day of our detention, we have been subjected to illegal and inhuman repression and torture by the present regime..

"Our faith in humanity has permitted each of us to withstand this repression and torture, and we will continue to face them fearlessly. However, we strongly believe that all human beings who have a sense of honor, whatever their political tendencies, should take on the responsibility of destroying this machinery of repression and terror.

"Present laws in Turkey claim to protect an individual's personal security and his right to life. They state that no one shall be subjected to torture, repression and inhuman treatment.

"The torture inflicted at several institutions in Turkey is very well known today both inside of Turkey and before world opinion. News of torture applied to political prisoners appears every day in the press.

"We are now trying to inform public opinion about the death of our revolutionary friend Hatice Alankus, which also concerns our "right to life". \*

Signed, Ulkü Ahmet, Lale Arikdal, Nurten Tuç, Elif Tolon, Muzafer Ilgen, Füsün Gökmen, Ülker Akgöl (Sagmalcilar Prison)

\* The above signatories and cellmates of Hatice describe the torture and premeditated negligence which led to her death.

For weekly information on Turkey in English, write to CIESWPT, 47 ter, rue Gabriel-Peri, 94270 Kremlin-Bicetre, France.

\* A campaign to protest the treatment and imprisonment of these women is now underway. All groups, and women's groups, in particular, should send letters and telegrams to the above address.



This article is a translated and edited version of "La Palestine sur les Ecrans Occidentaux" by Monique Hennebelle, appearing in *Afrique-Asie*, October 1, 1973.

## NIXON DOCTRINE

NOTE: MUCH OF WHAT FOLLOWS IS ADAPTED FROM THE GULF SOLIDARITY, FEBRUARY-MARCH 1973 BY THE SUPPORT COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE GULF, C/O P.O.B. 1634, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94116. PARTS OF THE ARTICLE HAVE BEEN UPDATED WITH THE RECEIPT OF RELEVANT NEWS ITEMS. FOR THE FULL ARTICLE, WHICH IS STRONGLY RECOMMENDED, WRITE THE SUPPORT COMMITTEE AT THE ABOVE ADDRESS. COST IS 50¢ PER ISSUE.

#### PLANNING FOR BRITISH DEPARTURE

Due to the particularly unstable political situation in the Middle East and the Gulf, this region is the weak link in the series of waterways: the Mediterranean sea, the Red Sea, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean, which provide easy access to Asia, Africa and Europe. Both oil and access to the raw materials, cheap labor and vast markets of Asia and Africa, which form the lifeblood of imperialism, are threatened here. Were the people's struggles here to be victorious, it would be ideally located as a revolutionary base to aid struggles in Asia and Africa. Therefore, U.S. imperialism's efforts to stop the spread of national liberation struggles takes on great weight, especially in this area.

With the spread of the revolutionary movement in the Gulf (most notably Dhofar and Oman, but also Kuwait, Bahrain and Iran), with the obvious popular strength of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, with the growing Soviet presence throughout the area, and with partial departure of British military imperialism, it was clear that the political picture in the Middle East had changed enormously. This formed the third factor, along with economic and strategic ones, that caused great concern to the controlling imperialists of the U.S.

Despite the jolt it gave to the U.S., the British neo-colonial policy of military withdrawal was in keeping with the 'spirit' of the Nixon "peace through partnership" doctrine. The two imperialists made an excellent team for executing a plan consistent with the interests of the U.S. The basic principles of the U.S. policy, as outlined by Sisco, were as follows:

"Non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations--  
Encouragement of regional cooperation for peace and progress--  
Supporting friendly countries in their efforts to provide for their own security and development--  
Avoidance of confrontation in such areas of the world (with the Soviet Union)--  
Encouraging the international exchange of goods, services and technology--"

"Cooperation" as spoken by Sisco meant joint action between the U.S. and Britain on the one hand, and among the puppet states on the other. The U.S. would stay behind the scenes, not directly "interfering in the internal affairs" of the states but rather "encouraging them and supporting them" militarily and exploiting them ec-

onomically. Britain would generally follow the same course with the exception that, unfortunately it would have to retain and perhaps even expand its military presence. Meanwhile the local reactionaries would be "regionally cooperating" against the revolution. As Sisco said so piously, "We all share an interest in an orderly, expanding market place insulated insofar as possible from ideologically motivated disruptions..."

Both Iran and Saudi Arabia were given the important joint role by the U.S. of policing the Gulf region as a whole. Secondly, the U.S. agreed to Britain's plan to federate the sheikdoms, but this time with the limited objective of making them more capable of withstanding "internal subversion". And finally, there was no question that elaborate plans would have to be adopted to reverse the tide in Oman against revolution.

"King Faisal early realized that, with the departure of the British, it would be necessary to cooperate closely with Iran to assure stability throughout the Gulf." (J.H. Noyes, Deputy Asst. Secretary of Defense). Once told what to realize, the King and the Shah swallowed their differences and confirmed their new friendship.

And in turn, Iran's ties with Israel closed important imperialist links from Central Asia to the Mediterranean.

The second task of the U.S.-British "cooperation" was to federate Bahrain, Qatar, and the seven Trucial States. But early British efforts (1968-71) failed, and by the time the British were supposedly packing their military hardware, they had achieved only a weak and unstable federation of six sheikdoms.

Particularly because of the instability of this Federation, its protection from the internal threat of revolution was essential, and it still held excellent opportunities for economic exploitation. Responsibility for the task was divided along lines reflecting U.S.-British relations--the British were charged with the military defending while the U.S. would take care of the economic developing.

The British military effort was predicated on "defense against internal subversion". Britain is now arranging for the formation of the so-called "Allied Defense Forces of the Federation", with some 10,000 troops including Pakistanis, British, and others equipped with armored cars, troop carriers and self-moving artillery installations and commanded by British military experts. Along with these direct British programs, the idea is to make use of the Gulf's two gendarmes, Iran and Saudi Arabia, in defending the sheikdoms.



"Gotta halt those aggressors"



The U.S. has been expanding its diplomatic presence throughout the area, opening missions in Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Oman, accrediting the U.S. ambassador to Kuwait to those states and Qatar as well. "Distinguished" visitors come and go. Nixon was recently in Iran and Spiro Agnew visited Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and Secretary of State Rogers and Joseph Sisco visited Bahrain and the Arab Republic of Yemen. Furthermore, a variety of Defense Department teams, State Department study groups and intelligence operatives have been visiting (some without leaving), counting the stakes and devising the strategies.

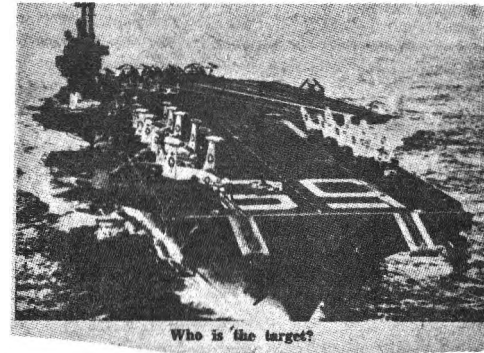
The U.S. is also maintaining what Sisco likes to call a "small American naval contingent" in Bahrain of crucial importance to the U.S.'s strategic and intelligence needs. COMIDEASTFOR (Commander, Middle East Force) is stationed in Bahrain with responsibilities extending from Ethiopia (Kagnew Station- Eritrea) to Northwest Australia and the Indian Ocean. The base is also meant as a backup force for crushing the revolution. According to General Maxwell D. Taylor, rather than involve itself in another "prolonged" war as in Vietnam with its mortifying consequences, the U.S. now feels a need for the "ability to do little things which it may be important to do in a hurry--such as talking with our friends and giving minor help to our allies..." Apparently there are a lot of important *little things* to be done in the Gulf, beginning at the base's home in Bahrain where a strong worker's movement has been developing. This movement has flexed its muscles many times, beginning with a huge worker's uprising which began in March 1972 when a strike at the airport spread to town, and all shops, factories and schools were closed down for four days. The movement showed its power again this year in May when the workers at the Bahrain oil refinery struck on Mayday with wide support from the masses.

#### OMAN

But the most advanced of the "cancerous growths" threatening imperialism in the Gulf is in Oman where the revolution is a beacon of inspiration to all the people of the Gulf. British Brigadier John Graham commands Sultan Qabus's army and Wing Commander Hurst the air force. The British have 120 officers and 60 pilots in Oman. In fact, Oman is a model of the spirit of imperialist-puppet partnership. Through a U.S. "fishing fleet",

Mardello, the CIA conducts intelligence surveillance, watching out for small ships which may be smuggling arms and spying on Soviet movements in the Indian Ocean. The U.S. also has aircraft stationed at the British airbase in Sharjah, one of five outposts in the area. Other outposts include an air base at Salala, capital of Oman; a major air base at Masirah used for troop deployment; a new base on the Omani mainland at Rass al Hadd, and a naval base at Ras al-Khaimah.

The puppets too have been hard at work in Oman. Besides appropriating the four islands of Abu Musa, Big Tumb, Little Tumb, and Um al Ghanam, to himself, the Shah has been helping Qabus with a steady flow of Iranian arms and advisors. Iran has also been pitching in with helicopters and possibly air support. Saudi Arabia, while concentrating mainly on attacking Democratic Yemen, has pledged \$6 million to Qabus in addition to vast quantities of weapons. The U.S. through the CIA gave Qabus \$300 million, but the powerful forces of revolution have forced the British puppet to spend 75 percent of all his oil revenues on arms. Apparently,



Saudi Arabia has joined the others in stationing forces in Oman, but to date, there has been no report of their engaging in combat. Coming in from afar, the master of all murderers, King Hussein, together with the Iranians, has been supplying pilots to Qabus in order to supplement the British fliers, along with intelligence officers, military officers, training and troops.

All of these same reactionary conspirators have joined hands in an all-out attempt to crush the base of the revolution as well. Democratic Yemen is not only threatening imperialist interests as a base for the *communist virus*, but it has also now ironically acquired a certain attraction for the imperialists. For Aramco (Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, Chevron) have recently discovered an important oil reserve in Saudi Arabia, of which the most tempting portion lies in Democratic Yemen. Yemeni spokesman, Ali Nasser has characterized the situation in this way: "We are besieged on all sides. To the West, the Ethiopians and their Israeli allies plot and fortify the islands close to Bab el Mandeb, entrance to the Red Sea, to the east, British warplanes use the pretext of pursuing the guerillas in the counter-revolutionaries from our own country... have found refuge with our North Yemeni brothers... and are taking part in attacks launched ceaselessly across our northern borders by tribes in the pay of Saudi Arabia..."

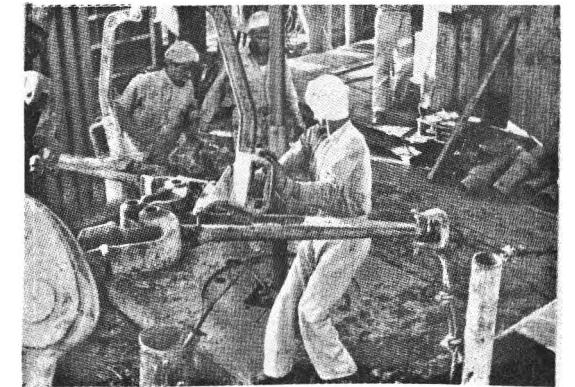
But the revolutionary answer to the regional cooperation of the reactionaries is the far more powerful call to unity of all the revolutionary forces of the Gulf region. The fate of the Nixon Doctrine in the Gulf has already been foretold, not only by the heroic people of Vietnam, but already by the total incapacity of imperialism to even blunt the edge of the revolutionary sword of the people of Dhofar and by the spread of the revolutionary flames which are engulfing the entire region. As the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf has stated, it is incumbent upon all revolutionary and nationalist forces to stand together, to defend and liberate the area from neo-colonialism and to realize that the national and democratic objectives of the people, for which so many martyrs have died, must become reality. "The way to defeat imperialist maneuvers is through long, difficult and protracted struggle to develop a people's war of liberation in the area as a whole," responded Said Seif of PFLOAG. The massive arms deal and the attacks on the British and American installations; the massive opposition throughout the Gulf against the Shah's aggressive occupation of the four islands in the Straits of Hormuz; the joint communiques and statements condemning the repression issued by the struggles in Bahrain and Kuwait--all these bear witness to the growing unity of the revolution throughout the Gulf. It is the international duty of all progressive forces to actively support this revolution, to start now to focus the eyes of the world on the savage imperialist plot and to help ensure that the Nixon doctrine is dealt another devastating defeat.

## Saudi Arabia

### SAUDI INTELLECTUALS

Saudi intellectuals were among the first of the national sectors to understand the true nature of the Saudi regime and its deceptive and false ideology. Principally, they advocated the advancement of education among its citizens, understanding that education creates consciousness and equips the people scientifically for constructive work. Working through schools, libraries, religious institutions, the intellectuals helped to awaken the people on to the path of struggle. Their activity took many forms. Intellectuals organized the Association of Scientists in Struggle, and in 1949, the Committee to Encourage Students and to Combat Illiteracy was formed as a field for publicizing national consciousness and uncovering the deeds and motivations of the Saudi regime. After 9 months and the graduation of the first cadres, the government became aware of the danger of these organizations. They attacked the headquarters of the Committee, confiscated its property and closed down their headquarters. Guards were stationed in front of the building. Members of the committees have now been imprisoned many times, and some have been killed as a result of their participation in nationalist activity which took place in Ihsa'a Katif.

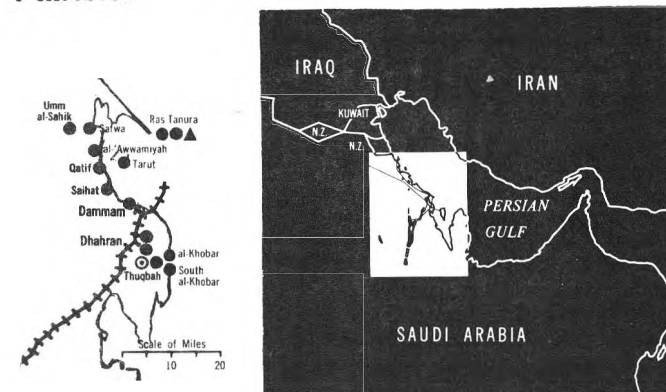
The leadership, in many struggles has been the working class. Some of the struggles have been purely unionist and others are of a national political nature. The working class commanded these struggles because it possessed a progressive understanding and a broader working area with the masses. Among the workers, class struggle continued in the direction of more strikes as in 1949, 1953, 1956, 1967, in the areas of Ihsa'a, Dhahran at Baqiq and Ras Tannura, where there are huge oil refineries. In addition to local strikes in neutral areas, there were attacks against tap lines in 1956, 1964, 1965. In June 18, 1956, the workers led protest campaigns against attempts of the Saudi regime to renew the Dhahran base agreement which gave the U.S. use of the base in order to threaten the people of Asia and Africa and to strike against the more progressive states, in particular, the Arab states. 600 Saudi citizens signed protests against the agreement. The regime reacted by arresting the leaders of the group and forced them to sign a paper saying that it is not within their right to interfere in politics because politics is a government business and the regime can do what ever it chooses.



Saudi Arab drilling crew

June 5, 1956- Oil workers in Dhahran demonstrated against the visit of King Saud. The demonstration was an extension of the protests against the agreement of Dhahran base. They carried slogans against imperialism, in particular, American imperialism which angered the King. He ordered widespread investigations and arrests which included more than 60 citizens. On June 15, workers in Katif held a mass meeting for awakening the people about the present stage that the country was passing through. The second day, mass arrests took place. On September 22, 1956, upon President Nixon's visit to the city of Dammam, workers took up the opportunity- They led a popular demonstration composed of several different classes: workers, intellectuals, students and professionals. The demonstration of 50,000 people carried slogans supporting the liberation struggle, and denounced the autocratic rule of the regime. Prince Feisal (now King) feared it may go beyond control- so he asked the masses to support the Arab League. The masses ignored him and continued shouting for liberation and against imperialism. On June 5, 6, 1967 the workers led violent demonstrations that crippled work in the oil fields. Many cities and in particular, Dhahran protested the positions of the Saudi regime towards the Zionist aggressions upon the Arab countries. Arab oil was allowed to continue flowing to the aggressors. The workers succeeded in holding the flow of oil by force and they prohibited Aramco from pumping or transporting the oil. These actions succeeded until the workers were defeated at the Khartoum summit conference which agreed to continue exploiting the Arab oil under the pretext that the oil revenue contributes to supporting the Arab states.

The real support the workers needed was assistance to stop the flow of all oil to America and to cripple their industry and armaments in order for the imperialist countries to know that they are stronger than the regime and all the arms given. The regime temporarily yielded to the initiatives of the workers, fearing a violent reaction which might destroy the oil fields equipment. It took the initiative of covering the area with a 'striking force' and exploited the naivete of members of the 'striking force'. (The naivete had reached such a point that some of them wrote to their families, "We occupied Israel with no resistance". They meant the areas of Ihsa'a and Katif.) In this way, the regime deceived the naive and used them to oppress national movements, telling them that they were fighting Israel, similarly to the mission of the Saudi regime in Jordan, September, 1970, where the same story was used to defend King Hussein and help him exterminate the commandos.) As a result the peaceful demonstrators, including hundreds of the leaders were arrested and some are still in jail.





In Saudi Arabia, all organizations of a political, scientific or literary nature are prohibited. Only Sports clubs, under the control of the Secret Service are allowed. Consequently, every political organization, no matter what its ideological objective and program, is considered as taking a position and is outlawed.

In the early stages of national consciousness, all types of political position contributed to the nuclei which have resulted in today's existing political organs in Saudi Arabia. In spite of difficulties and harrassment, and the ensuing oppressive measures, the regime has not been able to influence the dynamic and solid nature of the movement which is still threatening it. What we see of the viciousness of the last oppressive campaign is but one of the indications of the state of fear that the regime lives in. The following is a brief introduction to the existing organizations:

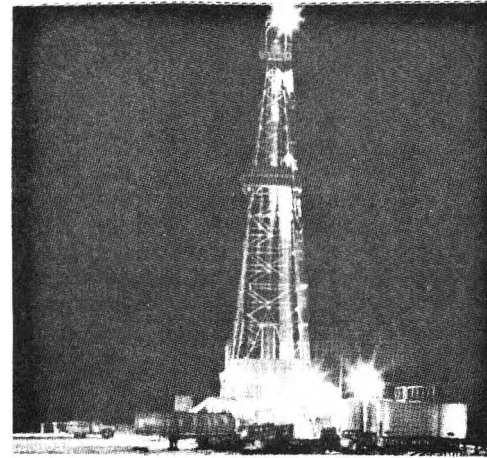
1) *Worker's Committees* were the nuclei in which patriotic elements struggled against the regime. The committees included patriotic elements with no clearly defined political affiliation but a coalition of different groups. They concentrated their work around purely unionist activities and conducted these activities publicly. In 1953 and 1956, the trade unions were subjected to an oppressive campaign of arrests. Since then, the public activities of the labor movement have disappeared; part of it has joined the other national organizations.

2) *The Front For National Reform* has included patriotic elements with different affiliations, all agreeing on the necessity of making reform, as the name clearly indicates. It is natural that this organization because of its reformist nature vanished in 1958. Two splits arose 1) *The National Liberation Front* came out of a split and introduced basic adjustments on the program of the FNR. 2) In 1961, the first communist organization existed within the *Front*. The communists passed through two stages. The first stage was activity in the sphere of publicity and general work within the *Front*, with no party organization as known. Their only commitment was to Marxism Leninism and full participation in the National struggles including the worker's struggle in the Eastern area, and participation in the *Front*. The second stage has superseded the *Front* through the NLF and the establishment of a party organization within the *Front* in 1961.

3) *The Union of the People of the Arabian Peninsula* came out as a split of the FNR. The *Union* adapts a Nasserite tendency and has participated in many activities.

4) *The Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party* has passed through two stages. The first stage of theoretical commitment without organizational commitment ended by the end of the 50's and a new stage of organizational commitment began. The *Ba'ath* participated in nationalist labor activities and they take credit in transforming demands into political struggle. The pioneers of the *Ba'ath* came from the workers.

5) *Arab National Movement* is an extension of a central organization which includes teachers from Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Saudi students who studied in schools of



Drilling rigs operate on an around-the-clock basis.

Beirut and Damascus, and were influenced by the nationalist organizations that existed in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The *Arab National Movement* established political organizations which were extensions of the existing central organization. The ANM played a role among intellectuals and then spread among the workers.

6) *The Popular Democratic Party* originated as a result of a meeting between the *Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine* and *The Organization for National Revolution* in 1970. The party considers itself Marxist Leninist organization and adopted a strategy of armed struggle.

7) *Front For Popular Struggle* is an organization formed recently which publishes news and propaganda.

SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF VANGUARD VOICE, A SAUDI ARABIAN PUBLICATION WRITTEN IN EXILE

#### OMANI STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

Omani students recently held an important conference in Baghdad. Their organization, the National Union of Omani Students, was formed last year by organizations of Omani students enrolled in Kuwait, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and the Soviet Union. Guests invited by the NUOS included representatives of the National Union of Iraqi Students, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Student Federation of Bahrain, and the Popular Front for Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG). The PFLOAG representative praised the positive role of the Omani student movement in supporting the struggle of PFLOAG. He stressed the necessity of cohesion of nationalist forces in the Arab World in the face of imperialist and reactionary attacks. A similar theme was struck by the representative of the National Students' Office of Iraq, who described the present historical juncture in the Middle East as being marked with acute struggle between the Arab revolution on one hand and the imperialist-reactionary-Zionist coalition on the other. He stressed the importance of deepening revolutionary consciousness among the masses so as to counter alliances formed by Iranian and local reaction.

Baghdad Observer, August 9  
Saut al Thawra, September 1

# the energy<sup>12</sup> labyrinth

"WHAT CAN WE SAY ABOUT THE 'ENERGY CRISIS' WHEN WE KNOW IT'S A MYTH?"---this is a question that has proved to be very difficult. It was tentatively concluded that the more important job was not to show how 'supply and demand' figures are being manipulated, but to indicate why the 'energy crisis' is a myth that imperialist powers need to develop at this juncture in history...why, for example, oil companies now imply that production is 'controlled' by countries in the Third World, or why the press now projects viciously racist stereotypes of Arabs.

In this spirit, the following two-part article tries to examine the fabricated 'energy crisis' in relation to the very real crisis of world capitalism today---with special attention being paid to effects that both may have upon the peoples of the Middle East.

## I. CAPTURING THE WORLD MARKET

### A. How was it done? (1859-1940)

More than 3000 years ago, inhabitants of ancient Mesopotamia (now Iraq) knew how to distill a black fluid that oozed from the ground and to use the resulting product as a fuel, medicine, or means of waterproofing. Petroleum's modern history as a commodity, however, only began in 1859 in Titusville, Pennsylvania, when Edwin L. Drake drilled a 70-foot well and began selling its output. Petroleum was first used in place of coal as a source of heat and light, giving birth to kerosene lamps and stoves. Within the United States, one man, John D. Rockefeller soon set his sights on dominating the oil business and created the Standard Oil Company in 1870 in order to attain his goal.

Within a mere decade, Rockefeller had mercilessly squashed competitors in the United States, and despite oil discoveries in Rumania and Tsarist Russia by European capitalists, he was ready to corner a large share of the world market. It is indicative of the scale of American production that, as late as 1896, Shell Trading and Transport---a predecessor of Shell Oil---was formed in Britain, not as a producing firm, but as a marketer of John D. Rockefeller's oil in Europe.

However, as it approached its thirtieth birthday in 1900, Standard Oil began to encounter difficulties. Its wells in Midwestern states began to go dry, and European rivals had established prolific new wells in Rumania, Russia, and the Dutch East Indies. At the same time, domestic outcry against Standard's domination of the American market had swelled to a roar.

In 1901, discovery of the famous "Spindletop" gusher in Texas inaugurated a new era in American oil production, creating an opportunity for other capitalist dynasties, such as the Mellons (whose fortune was originally based upon banking and coal), to compete with John D. Rockefeller. In 1907, Shell Transport combined with its main European competitor, Royal Dutch, establishing a threat to Rockefeller's leading role within the world market. Through the American investment firm of Kuhn & Loeb, the new firm's backers released some

of their stock onto the American market, seeking to attack Rockefeller's rear flank. Finally, in 1911, under pressure from Rockefeller's adversaries, the Supreme Court of the United States ordered dissolution of the Standard Oil empire. Nonetheless, the oil baron and his heirs retained controlling interests in the successor firms that arose---Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony, Standard Oil of Indiana, Standard Oil of California, et cetera.

Since 1859, petroleum had passed from its "kerosene-lamp" stage to being the number one raw material for industrialized nations. In just five decades, it had emerged as the principal fuel for electrical energy production and was challenging coal as the leading industrial fuel. Invention of the internal combustion engine heralded petroleum's marriage with the automobile, while discoveries of countless uses for its derivatives spurred the expansion of the chemicals industry.

Such factors are not to be discounted when one examines the causes of World War I, particularly within the Middle Eastern theatre. For Britain, the Ottoman Empire, politically and militarily allied with Germany's Kaiser, was a much-lamented obstacle. Turkish control of the Bosphorus threatened oil transports from southern Russia, while Istanbul's domination of Iraq threatened the rich fields along the Persian coast and prevented development of reserves that had been discovered in 1907 in Iraq itself.

The war's outcome assured British and American hegemony in the world market, setting off a mad scramble to penetrate the Middle East. Although Britain now held political and military control, American oilmen, with the Rockefellers in the lead, sternly insisted upon an "Open Door" policy. Their campaign soon paid off, partially because a large slice of the British war debt was owed to American banks, including the Rockefellers' Chase National Bank (now Chase Manhattan). By 1928, Jersey Standard and Socony had acquired a 23.75 percent share of the Iraq Petroleum Company, while Gulf Oil had gained control of 50 percent of Kuwait's production. Similarly, Standard Oil of California had gained sole rights in the dependency of Bahrain.

However, the post-World War I petroleum boom---manifested not solely in the Middle East, but in Texas or Venezuela---soon led to a crisis in the market. Surplus capacity and production threatened to touch off an international price war which would surely harm profitability. In 1928, at the urging of Sir Henri Deterding, the chairman of Royal Dutch/Shell, leading oilmen met at Achnacarry Castle in Scotland to shape the famous "Achnacarry" or "As Is" agreement. Major companies would no longer seek to penetrate each other's respective marketing areas, and Texas prices per barrel of crude oil were established as the world-wide standard. Under the latter provision---which is still in effect today!---enormous disparities between crude oil prices in Texas and in other parts of the world have ensured decades of majestic profits.

A world-wide pricing agreement would have been far more difficult, were it not for the fact that eight large firms had controlled at least eighty percent of the world's production since 1918. Members of the cartel include five American firms, two British firms, and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles.



Within the United States, the cartel's existence attracted limited notice until the final years of the Great Depression, for its members carefully tried to cultivate the legend that petroleum was a sharply competitive business dominated by thousands of small producers and distributors. It was only in 1941 that reports issued by the Temporary National Economic Committee gave an indication of how a handful of capitalist dynasties ruled the realm of petroleum.

As shown in Table A, Rockefeller heirs maintained control of at least ten percent of the stock in the four largest offshoots of the monopoly that had been erected in 1870. The family's dominant position within the industry had not been abolished by the U.S. Supreme Court's 1911 anti-trust decision... a fact that offers a grim warning to present-day advocates of "trust-busting" as a solution for today's "energy crisis."

Concurrently, the TNEC reports exposed the existence of other firms, such as Gulf Oil (Mellon) or Tidewater Oil (Getty) where single-family control was even more blatant than among the Rockefeller companies. Since the thirties, patterns of control have undergone few major alterations. In fact, concentration of ownership is as basic to the world petroleum industry as pipelines, refineries, or secret pricing agreements—providing a vital clue to understanding how the "energy crisis" has become front-page news.



"Colonel" Drake (right) founded an industry with his well.

Table A OWNERSHIP of TWELVE LEADING AMERICAN OIL FIRMS in 1937

Company	Controlling Interests	Percentages of Common Stock	Company	Controlling Interests	Percentages of Common Stock
1) Standard Oil of New Jersey*	Rockefeller Harkness (Std. Oil of Indiana)	13.51% 4.30% 6.69% 24.50%	6) Standard Oil of California*	Rockefeller Harkness	12.32% 3.44% 15.76%
2) Cities Service	(Empire Gas & Fuel)	100.00%	7) Gulf Oil*	Mellon	69.50%
3) Socony Vacuum*	Rockefeller Harkness	16.34% 2.13% 18.47%	8) Shell Union* (Royal Dutch)		64.00%
4) Standard Oil of Indiana	Rockefeller Harkness	11.36% 2.92% 14.28%	9) Consolidated Oil (Sinclair)	Rockefeller	6.03%
5) Texas Company*	Hill Gates Lapham	1.30% 1.30% 1.10% 3.70%	10) Phillips Oil and Gas	Phillips du Pont	78.00% 4.81% 82.81%
			11) Tidewater Oil	Getty	25.00%
			12) Atlantic Refining	Rockefeller	1.50%

\*—firms with Middle East subsidiaries in 1937

1—Rockefeller holdings include those of the Rockefeller Foundation, other "charitable" enterprises of the family, and also Rockefeller trusteeships for other persons. The Harknesses had been original partners of John D. Rockefeller I when the Standard Oil Company was established in 1870.

2—Cities Service controlled an extensive network of gas and electrical utilities as well as oil ventures. Empire Gas and Fuel was a holding company largely controlled by Henry L. Doherty, the head of Cities Service.

Source: *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power*, U.S. Temporary National Economic Committee, Monograph 29 (Washington, D.C., 1940)

## I. CAPTURING THE WORLD MARKET

### B. How was it done (1940-1960)?

Since the Great Depression, which forced the collapse of many small producers and marketers of petroleum, the handful of "super-firms" has assumed even greater power within the United States. During World War II, they succeeded in enlisting the Roosevelt government to enforce a domestic monopoly prices system that ensured rapid capital accumulation, (Table B).

Overseas, one of the major firms' greatest victories was consolidation of power in "Saudi" Arabia. There, King Ibn Saud, throughout the twenties, had refused to do business with Britain, the protector of rival Hashemite dynasties in Jordan and Iraq. In 1933, he opened the door to Standard Oil of California, whose discoveries in the Dhahran region soon proved so extensive that other American firms began to protest its "monopoly." In 1936, Texaco was admitted to Ibn Saud's kingdom, after having agreed to share its superior marketing facilities with Standard Oil of California. Finally, in 1944, Socony and Standard Oil of New Jersey struck an agreement with their two predecessors, whereby the four firms established a combined production firm, the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO).

Of course, the "Saudi" bonanza was of little immediate value under Depression conditions or during World War II (even though the ARAMCO partners did turn handsome profits from overcharging the U.S. Navy). Its true importance, as we shall see, emerged during the post-war period.

Even though the war had allowed leading companies a period of super-profits, its outcome did not present an entirely cheerful picture. Large portions of the world had now been removed from imperialism's reach. A communist government in Rumania nationalized rich oil fields that had been exploited by foreign firms since the 1890's, while, in China, the forward motion of the People's Liberation Army shattered the cartel's pre-war hopes of setting up drilling operations.

Worse yet, the war nearly destroyed Western Europe's broad industrial base, which had provided an ever-expanding market for petroleum. Without high demand in Europe, the cartel's control of the Middle East would soon have become meaningless. "Reconstruction" under the auspices of the Marshall Plan was, in this sense, essential to the survival of European and American oil firms alike.

Table B Profits of Five Largest American Oil Firms: 1930-1945

1) 1930-40 (millions of \$)	2) 1941-45 (millions of \$)
720-----Std. Oil N.J.	662
322-----Socony Vacuum	214
101-----Gulf	173*
196-----Texaco	237*
246-----Std. Oil Calif.	197
\$1,585 million	\$1,483 million
	Yearly average
\$144 million	\$296 million

\*—firms whose wartime profits (1941-45) exceeded those of the previous decade. For the five firms as a whole average yearly profits during the war were more than twice as high as during the 10 Depression years, largely because of increased domestic demand and Federal price supports.

14 Table C Geographical Shifts in Oil Production 1935-55

Respective percentages of world production are calculated according to data furnished by Harvey O'Connor in *World Crisis in Oil*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1960.

	U.S.	Venezuela	Middle East	Other areas
1935	60.2%	8.5%	5.1%	26.2%
1940	62.9%	8.6%	4.4%	24.1%
1945	66.0%	12.5%	7.2%	14.3%
1950	51.9%	14.9%	16.3%	16.9%
1955	44.2%	14.0%	18.2%	23.6%

(During this 20-year period, American production had actually risen by 130 percent, but production in other nations rose by 380 percent. Naturally, Middle Eastern petroleum output had shown the greatest increase—1235 percent—with the 1950-55 period providing most of it.)

As injections of American capital revitalized the economies of Western Europe, the Middle East assumed a new stature. By 1950, yearly production climbed more than twice above the 1945 level, accounting for a major shift in the world supply chain (Table C). Before World War II, the United States had still been an oil-exporting nation, but, during the 1940-50 decade, its share of world output declined by more than one-fifth. On the other hand, the Middle Eastern share nearly quadrupled, with Western Europe and Japan becoming principal markets.

The post-war shift in production patterns was hardly dictated by an oil shortage within the United States. Instead, the cause can be traced directly to profit opportunities arising from the 1928 Achacarray Agreement. Production costs and taxes in Texas, Oklahoma, or California were substantially higher than in Canada or Venezuela, which had become important suppliers of the American market during World War II. Thus, it was far more profitable for the cartel to meet a portion of American demand with foreign, instead of domestic oil.

In Venezuela, for example, fresh capital inputs caused oil production to increase more than two-fold during the 1945-55 period, so that the cartel could transform supply patterns within the United States.

Because the largest firms began to turn their eyes away from domestic production, illusory advantages emerged for "independent" American producers who had survived the Depression. Some "independents," especially in the Southwest, could now expand operations without fear of being crushed by Esso, Gulf, or Texaco. In this way, individuals such as Harrison L. Hunt or Sidney Richardson accumulated sizeable fortunes based upon post-war domestic discoveries.

Nonetheless, the "independents" have always collided with a stone wall in the marketing sphere, which the cartel has always dominated. Lacking the capital to build nationwide pipelines, tanker fleets, or East Coast refineries, small producers must depend heavily upon sales of crude oil to the industry's overlords.

Survival of small producers in the West has further facilitated the cartel's machinations. Because of the deceptively high number of producing firms incorporated domestically, the majors have successfully pretended that petroleum is one of the nation's least monopolistic industries. Through the years, large and small firms alike have joined hands to



win and maintain such privileges as the 27.5 percent "oil depletion" allowance, an "open door" policy on offshore oil reserves, and minimal federal supervision of pipeline and refinery construction.

Despite the cartel's enormous privileges within the United States and Europe, post-war acceleration of production in the colonial world could hardly continue without inspiring the resistance of the masses. In Iran, in 1951, the parliament yielded to popular demands for full nationalization of properties that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had acquired under a 98-year concession in 1907. This action posed a nightmarish question to the cartel: "What if other oil-producing nations chose to follow Iran's example?"

"From 1911, when Anglo got into operation, to 1951, Iran had realized \$316 million in oil revenues and the British government \$700 million--not to mention the golden flow into Anglo's own coffers. In 1950, the year preceding nationalization, Iran had received \$45 million and the British Treasury \$140 million. In that year, Iran realized more revenue from the state tobacco monopoly than from petroleum."

Harvey O'Connor, *World Crisis in Oil*

While Anglo-Iranian's shareholders fretted and fumed, and compelled the British Government to bring their case before the United Nations Security Council, the Mossadegh government in Iran contemplated selling oil at prices substantially lower than those of the past. Anglo-Iranian itself stepped up production in its Kuwaiti fields and obtained agreement from cartel colleagues to establish a global boycott against Iranian oil. Although Italy and Japan began to defy the boycott by 1952, it was generally successful, offering another demonstration of the global power of leading firms.

In 1953, with American assistance and guidance, the Iranian army overthrew Premier Mossadegh. Within days, Herbert Hoover, Jr. arrived in Teheran to arrange a deal with the new premier, General Fazlollah Zahedi. Anglo-Iranian's former monopoly was replaced by an eight-member partnership in which five leading American firms gained control of 40 percent of production. This, together with the earlier penetration of Saudi Arabia, completed the well-established American dream of "opening doors" in every Middle Eastern nation with proven or suspected oil reserves. Another 20 percent share in the Iranian Consortium was granted to Shell and to the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, while Anglo-Iranian (now renamed British Petroleum) received the remaining 40 percent. The new agreement also permitted the Iranian monarchy a 50 percent share of crude oil profits, along the lines of ARAMCO's agreement with Ibn Saud.

Having weathered the Iran crisis with minimal discomfort, the cartel now looked forward to a golden future. Its five American members, during 1954-55, reaped \$3.02 billion in profits, or twenty percent more than during 1952-53. Likewise, for Shell and British Petroleum, profits reached \$1.06 billion, twenty-five percent above those of 1952-53.

Dreams of mushrooming profits, however, were rudely shaken in 1956 when the Suez Canal crisis erupted. Because of damages incurred during the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, the most vital oil transport link between the Middle East and Europe remained closed for

15 more than six months. Moreover, nationalist Syria shut its sections of ARAMCO's pipelines to the Mediterranean in order to express solidarity with Egypt. As European supplies dwindled, the oil barons panicked.

American anti-trust laws were temporarily waived so that a "Middle East Emergency Committee," headed by Standard Oil of New Jersey, could arrange American exports to Europe. Additional oil was drawn from Venezuela and Canada for the European market, but such measures did not suffice, and rationing was temporarily introduced in some nations.

Because the Suez closure and reliance upon far-away supply sources led to increased transport fees, the cartel, at first, appeared to benefit. For 1956-57, its five American members earned profits of \$3.82 billion, or nearly 50 percent more than they had during 1954-55. However, the world market could not sustain long-term "emergency" prices, and declining demand soon began to take its toll. The next three years were marked by a precipitous decrease, and then, relative stagnation of profits (Table D)

Year	"THE SEVEN SISTERS" and the POST-SUEZ PROFITS CRISIS (All profits figures are in \$ million)							TOTALS
	Std. Oil N.J.	Shell	Gulf	Texaco	Socony	Std. Oil Calif.	Brit. Petr.	
1956	809	538	283	302	250	268	144	2,594
1957	805 <sup>d</sup>	630	354	332	220 <sup>d</sup>	288	153	2,882
1958	562 <sup>b</sup> (-30%)	445 <sup>b</sup> (-29%)	330 (-7%)	311 (-6%)	157 <sup>b</sup> (-29%)	258 (-10%)	176 (+15%)	2,239 (-23%)
1959	630 <sup>c</sup> (-22%)	492 <sup>c</sup> (-22%)	290 <sup>c</sup> (-18%)	354 (+7%)	164 <sup>c</sup> (-25%)	254 (-12%)	178 (+16%)	2,384 (-17%)
1960	689 <sup>d</sup> (-14%)	497 <sup>d</sup> (-21%)	330 (-7%)	392 (+18%)	183 <sup>d</sup> (-17%)	266 (-8%)	174 (+14%)	2,525 (-12%)

(Profits data from Harvey O'Connor in *World Crisis in Oil*, New York, 1960)  
 --Firms whose 1957 profits had fallen below the 1956 level.  
 --Firms whose 1958, 1959, or 1960 profits showed a higher level than average decline in relation to 1957.

Furthermore, Venezuela, Mexico, and some Arab nations began to push for establishment of a unified bloc of oil-producing nations--leading to formation, in 1960, of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

16 THEFT IN VENEZUELA: "The companies in 1957, the last full year of the Jimenez dictatorship, made a profit of \$829 million, a gain of \$160 million over the preceding year, with Creole, the Standard subsidiary, and Shell accounting for 70 percent of the total...On a net investment of \$2,578 million, the companies' return worked out at 32.5 percent, which was more than two and one half times as great as the return enjoyed by other U.S. companies in Venezuela and more than twice the return on U.S. investments in the rest of Latin America."  
 Harvey O'Connor, *World Crisis in Oil*

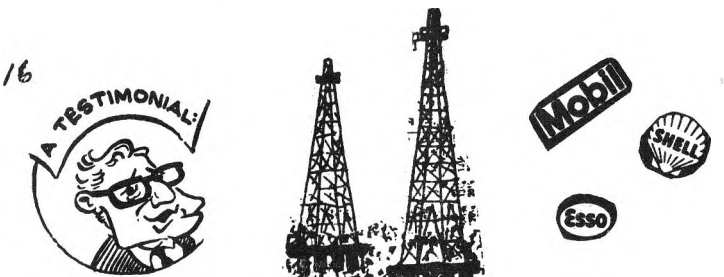
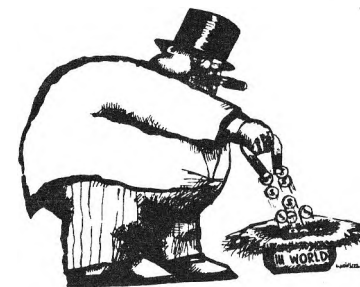
In the Middle East, the future also seemed ominous for the cartel. After the Hashemite monarchy was overthrown in Iraq in 1958, the government of Colonel Karim Kassem began to consider nationalization of the prestigious Iraq Petroleum Company and sought advice from Soviet petroleum experts. Under Petroleum Minister Abdullah el Tariki, even the Saudi Arabian government began to demand a 60 percent share of ARAMCO's crude oil profits, in keeping with the Venezuelan arrangement of 1958.

Such factors as these served to dissipate the optimism that had existed at the beginning of the decade or after the cartel's 1953 "victory" in Iran. It is little wonder that, in 1958, a special report issued by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund could emphasize the fragility of the highly profitable West European market for Middle Eastern crude:

"Nevertheless, the economic situation of the industrialized nations remains precarious. If Asian, Middle Eastern, and African nationalism, exploited by the Soviet bloc, becomes a destructive force, European supplies of oil and other essential raw materials may be jeopardized."

*Foreign Economic Policy for the Twentieth Century* (Garden City, New York, 1958), Rockefeller Brothers Fund, page 16.

The post-Suez profits squeeze, together with escalating discontent in oil-producing nations of both hemispheres, signalled the beginning of a new era for the oil baronage. For this era, all available resources would be mobilized in a campaign to overcome the contradictions that had arisen from an insatiable hunger for oil from the colonial world. The strategies that were developed, as we shall see, directly underly today's "energy crisis."



## II. THE CARTEL PLANS FOR A NEW ERA

### A. The First Phase (1960-1967)

Following the closure of the Suez Canal, one of the initial symptoms of the oil barons' displeasure was a flurry of military ventures, such as the use of American marines to quell a nationalist uprising in Lebanon or the stationing of British troops in Jordan and Kuwait for encirclement of Iraq's nationalist regime. In 1959, the U.S. established bilateral pacts with Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan in order to bolster their regimes and to develop a supplementary force for confronting Arab nationalism.

The post-Suez counter-offensive, however, could not depend upon military and political maneuvers alone. Creation of a more secure production-and-transport network was also a fundamental aim. Though the petroleum cartel could not wholly abandon the Suez route, long-term plans involved reduction of its role, with the result that by June, 1967, only 40 percent of Middle East oil transports passed to Europe via Suez.

Expansion of land routes and discovery of new oil resources west of the Canal were basic to such a stratagem. In the first instance, efforts were made to augment capacity of the ARAMCO and Iraq Petroleum Company pipelines whose terminal points were in Lebanon. Construction of a new pipeline from Iran to the Turkish coast (still uncompleted) was started in the early sixties, and Israel was encouraged to begin building a pipeline from the Red Sea through the Negev Desert (finished in 1969).

Nevertheless, pipeline construction costs meant that development of new oil fields would receive greater emphasis during the new era. The most notable expansion occurred in Libya, where oil was first discovered in 1959. Libya's output, by 1965, surpassed 1 million barrels per day, with American firms controlling 90 percent. Similarly, Algeria, despite the presence of a nationalist regime that demanded high royalties and a partnership arrangement in oil ventures, was yielding half a million barrels per day by 1965.

The industry's desire to bypass Suez is equally indicated by the fact that, in 1963, Standard Oil of Indiana and Phillips Petroleum hastened to reach agreement with the government of Gamal Abdel Nasser for exploitation of fields in Egypt's Western Desert. At the same time, Italy's Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI) signed a contract for development of oil in the Sinai Peninsula (occupied by Israel since 1967).

Of course, even the most optimistic predictions about North African oil supplies could not exclude continuing dependency upon the Arab Gulf region. Here, the cartel undertook a significant re-shuffling of output patterns. In spite of the 1963 coup d'etat that gave power to a subservient regime in Iraq, the cartel-controlled Iraq Petroleum Company refrained from stepping up operations. Instead, emphasis was given to the "dependable" fields of Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, along with an intense search for new sources in the formerly ignored sheikhdoms along the Gulf.



Major firms now displayed a new willingness to grant higher revenues to local regimes and to open the door to smaller "competitors." For example, Iran was encouraged to use some of its royalties in creating the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC), which drilled its own fields in the Kermanshah area and established offshore joint ventures with lesser American firms, such as Phillips Petroleum and Richfield Oil. Similarly, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were encouraged to form their own national companies that now own and operate local refineries and engage in foreign investment. Major and minor firms alike pushed into such new areas as Qatar and Abu Dhabi. In Abu Dhabi, where there had been no drilling prior to 1958, output exceeded 200,000 barrels per day by 1965, causing the Western press to describe it as "another Kuwait."

Rapidly expanding output in the Arab Gulf region can be partially explained in terms of the industry's hope for eventual development of the Cape of Good Hope supply route as an alternative to Suez. By 1962, the almost dormant American and British shipbuilding industries were being galvanized by demand for larger and faster tankers. In the United States alone, more than sixty contracts were awarded for "jumboizing" conventional ships in 1962. Concurrently, efforts were made to develop high-speed engines, even for vessels above the 50,000 ton category, so that, by 1964, the first specimens of present-day "super-tankers" were beginning to appear.

Despite the long-term promise of various methods for assuring continued extraction of super-profits from the Middle East, the industry began an intensive hunt for new fields in other parts of the world. For example, close attention was paid to western Nigeria, where output nearly matched Libya's until the Nigerian Civil War began in 1967. Major and minor firms alike also made exploration deals with the colonial occupiers of Angola and Mozambique, despite the rise of dynamic liberation movements. In the Far East, new priority was given to Indonesia, where the Sukarno government had nationalized foreign holdings during the fifties. After careful groundwork by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency, Indonesia's army overthrew Sukarno in 1965, bringing to power a clique of generals who immediately re-opened the door to the oil cartel.

Nevertheless, aggressive efforts to de-emphasize the Suez Canal or develop new transport methods did not solve the most critical problem—namely the profits squeeze that had first appeared in 1958. Together, British and American firms controlled seventy percent of the world oil trade, and the Middle East continued to provide nearly two-thirds of their overseas profits, as it had since the end of World War II. In the golden year of 1956, the seven largest American oil companies showed a 14.2 percent ratio between profits and invested capital. Ten years later, their over-all profits were \$1.4 billion higher than in 1956, but the ratio of profits to invested capital was 12.2 percent even though industry spokesmen termed 1966 a "good" year (See Table E).

In part, the majors' lagging profit ratios resulted from increased competition throughout the world:

"Relinquishments of portions of old concessions, nationalizations, and development of offshore drilling techniques have complicated the concession map of the Middle East and North Africa. As a corollary, the dominance of the majors has declined: in 1965, they accounted for about 75 percent of production

17 outside North America and the communist countries, compared to 90 percent in 1952. . . . Between 1957 and 1965, the average payment of Eastern Hemisphere host countries for a barrel of oil dropped slightly, from 78¢ to 76¢, but profits retained by the big companies plunged from 77¢ to 40¢ as the growth of competition including increased oil exports from the USSR to non-communist countries forced oil prices down." *United States Interests in the Middle East* (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1968)

The situation profoundly affected two vital areas—financing of new undertakings and funneling of dividends to shareholders. During the early sixties, dividend payouts equivalent to 60 percent of profits were common among the largest American corporations, but, after 1965, payout ratios began to fall. In 1966, the nation's seven largest oil firms showed a payout ratio of 55 percent.

Lower returns to shareholders can be traced primarily to structural changes instituted in the post-Suez era. Such steps as development of new fields or expansion of tanker facilities were associated with a phenomenal increase in assets. By 1966, the seven leading American firms listed assets of \$43 billion—nearly twice as high as in 1956. Such an increase, during a decade affected by reduced profit ratios, could not have occurred without an effort to restrain dividends.

Table E PROFITS PICTURE REMAINS BLEAK for SEVEN LARGEST AMERICAN OIL FIRMS

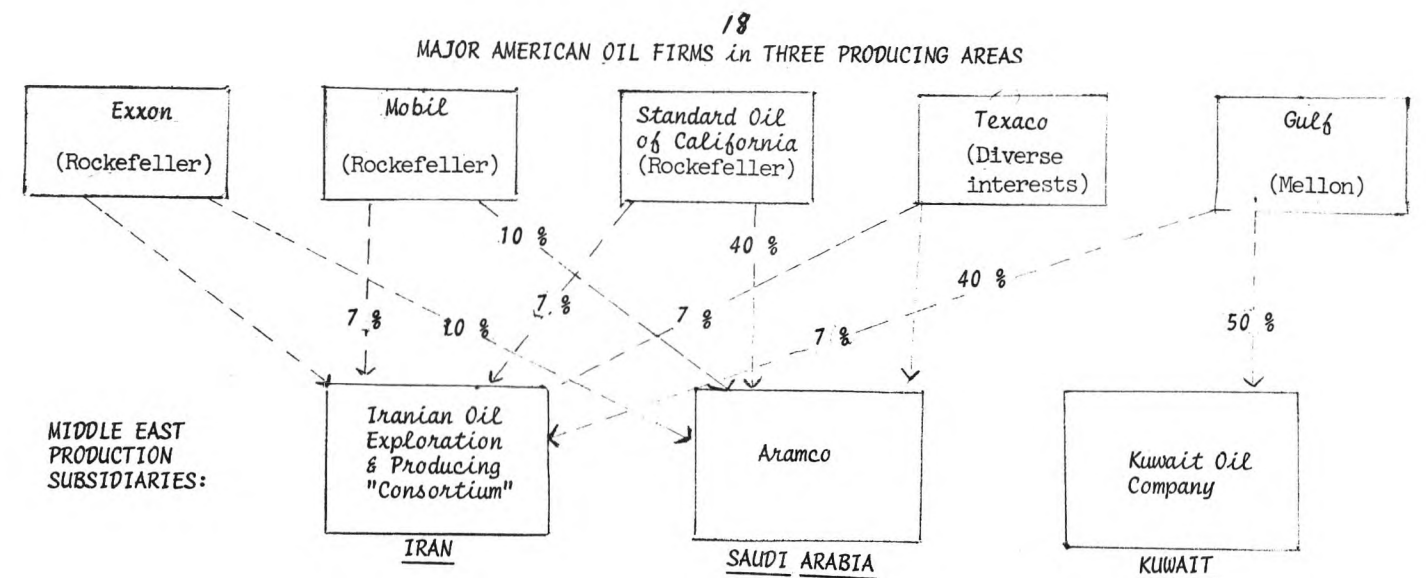
	RATIOS of PROFITS to INVESTED CAPITAL			
	1956	1961	1966	1971
Std. Oil N.J.	15.8%	9.0%	8.9%	7.8%
Mobil				
Texaco				
Gulf				
Std. Oil Indiana				
Std. Oil Calif.				

	RATIOS of PROFITS to INVESTED CAPITAL			
	1956	1961	1966	1971
Std. Oil N.J.	15.8%	10.7%	12.2%	12.6%
Mobil	12.0%*	7.8%*	9.7%*	11.2%* a
Texaco	16.5%	14.5%	15.9%	13.4% a
Gulf	14.8%	11.0%	12.3%	10.2%* a
Std. Oil Indiana	7.1%*	6.6%*	9.1%*	9.6%* a
Std. Oil Calif. (Shell-U.S.)	15.8%	11.7%	12.1%	10.4%*
Over-all averages	14.2%	10.5%	11.9%	11.9%

\*—Firms whose profits ratios were below averages for years indicated

a--Firms whose long-term debts have been equivalent to more than 10 percent of assets since 1966

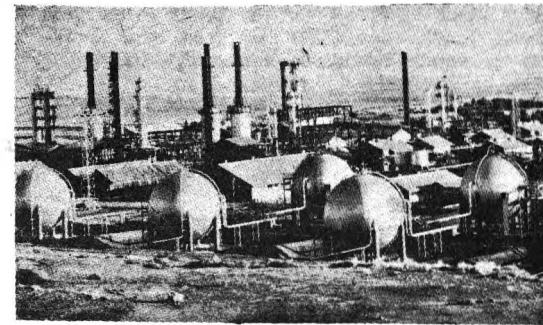
The table of profits/invested capital ratios has been prepared according to financial data given in successive yearly issues of *Moody's Industrial Manual*.



At the same time, one finds that retained earnings had not sufficed to finance rapid expansion. Like other areas of American industry during the mid-sixties, oil companies were compelled to underwrite some of their activities with borrowed capital, thereby departing from traditional reliance upon "internal financing." By 1966, the seven leaders' long-term debts represented more than eight percent of assets. Such a level may appear inconsequential, but its meaning becomes clear when intensified borrowing since 1966 is considered.

Despite their enormous world-wide privileges, the petroleum cartel's most eminent members had fallen prey to the general trend of capitalist decay. Since the yearly rate of profit could rarely be kept at the high levels of earlier periods, further growth was becoming increasingly dependent upon credit. By 1966, the oil industry, similar to other sectors of American capitalism, was entering a period in which it would face painful choices between continuing ambitious expansion and ensuring the short-term happiness of shareholders and creditors.

At the same time, new obstacles were beginning to appear, such as increases in Soviet oil exports. Within the Middle East, the left-wing Ba'ath regime in Syria began to develop its own newly-discovered oil resources and initiated construction of a national pipeline. At the end of 1966, the Syrian regime became involved in a dispute with the Iraq Petroleum Company over IPC lines across its territory. In the course of the dispute, the government closed these pipelines for several months and began to contemplate nationalization.



Nationalised oil installation in Kirkuk.

RECOMMENDED READING ON THE OIL CRISIS

- O'Connor, Harvey, *World Crisis in Oil*, (New York, 1960)
- Engler, Robert, *The Politics of Oil*, (New York, 1960)
- Magdoff, Harry, *Age of Imperialism*, (New York, 1966)
- The Rockefeller Empire in Latin America* (North American Congress on Latin America pamphlet)
- Case of the People vs. Standard Oil* (Pacific Counseling Service pamphlet)

In June, 1967, when the "Six Day War" brought Israeli forces to the eastern bank of the Suez Canal and severely damaged this still-important oil route, the cartel's post-1956 fears came true. Though the tanker fleet was now large enough to prevent shortages in Western Europe, as had occurred during the 1956-57 Suez closure, transport costs shot up, causing West European nations to suffer a direct balance of payments loss greater than \$1 billion per year.

As will be shown subsequently, the new blockage of the Suez route has had an effect far greater than the petroleum cartel has cared to admit. In essence, the Suez closure, now in its sixth year, has served to accelerate the complex dynamics of a crisis whose antecedents pre-date 1967 but is now cast before the public eye under the name "energy crisis."

World Youth Festival

The Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students was held in Berlin. 25,646 delegates and guests from 140 countries attended the festival. Anti-imperialist solidarity was expressed in behalf of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as solidarity with Arab peoples, and the struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies. Solidarity greetings were extended to all the peoples in struggle throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. The rights of the Palestinian Arabs for self-determination was strongly voiced. Warmest solidarity was also extended to the people and youth of the Arab Gulf and South of the Arab Peninsula in their struggles against Imperialism, reactionary intervention and the oil monopolies.

Baghdad Observer, August 7, 73



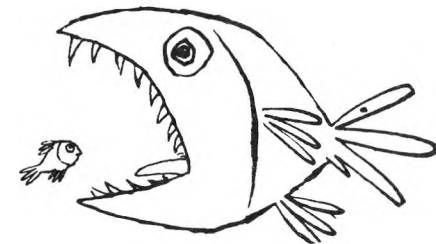
19 PROSECUTION OF IRANIAN STUDENTS UNSUCCESSFUL, BUT...

Early this year, the Iranian regime "celebrated" the tenth anniversary of the Shah's "White Revolution" by proclaiming long, loud and alone (except for his imperialist backers) all the successes of land reform, industrialization, and educational programs for its citizens. At the same time, Iran was making its historic \$3 billion arms deal with the U.S. and concluding its "favorable" agreements with the oil monopolies. The students in Iran's universities demonstrated to expose these propaganda, lies and easy deals. During the two months of protests, 28 students were killed by the Shah's U.S. trained army and police force, and hundreds were sent to prison and the Shah's torture chambers.

The regime's propaganda was also extended abroad. A World Affairs Council meeting was held in San Francisco, March 8, 1973, to discuss the "successes" of the "White Revolution". Heated confrontation by Iranian students against the vile lies of a member of the Iranian consulate took place. The Shah's spokesman claimed that 68 political opponents of the regime had not been executed because of their politics, but because they were "opium or heroin smugglers". The confrontation led to indictments of 6 students by the FBI in what was obviously a joint U.S.-Iranian conspiracy attempt. Four members and supporters of the Iranian Students Association in the U.S., with two others named as defendants, were arrested for allegedly "assaulting a foreign diplomat".

The charges were totally fabricated to hamper the ISA efforts in exposing the brutal, dictatorial and corrupt nature of the puppet regime of the Shah, and the U.S. government's role in keeping the regime in power. The nature and intent of the charges was immediately exposed when it was proven that one of the defendants had been in Illinois on the night of the alleged incident. Secret grand jury charges against another defendant were later dropped when he was proven to have been in another city that same night.

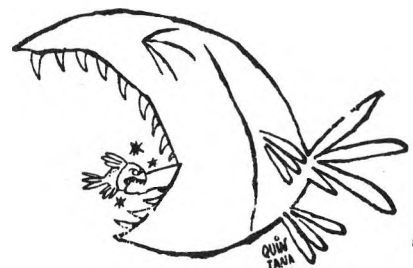
Exposed in their efforts to harass the ISA, deprived of their chance to convict all six defendants, and faced with strong public pressure, the U.S. attorney was forced to drop felony charges against all the students—charges which carried sentences up to three years in jail and \$5,000 in fines. In order to end the tedious trial which had prevented the functioning of their normal activities, the two defendants chose to end the case by pleading guilty to a petty offense charge of "intimidating a foreign official". The two made it clear in court that what they had done was simply to express



their political views and to verbally challenge the views of the Iranian government. They stated that the heated discussion was clearly an exposure of the deplorable social and economic conditions in Iran and the lack of the basic democratic rights.

On September 7, 1973, the two defendants were sentenced in the harshest manner. One defendant, Parviz Shokat, was sentenced to six months in jail and \$250 fine, the maximum penalty being 6 months in jail and \$500 fine. The other, Kambiz Ghaemmagham was given three years probation and \$250 fine. The three other defendants were set free. The stiffness of the sentences, however, can only be seen as U.S. government cooperation with the Iranian regime in suppression of the Iranian Student Association's activities exposing the character of the dictatorship

Source: Farsi and English leaflet—Sept. 13, 1973 I.S.A.U.S., P.O. Box 4000F, Berkeley, California, 94704.



REVOLT IN SUDAN

A two week state of emergency was called in Khartoum where students demonstrated and workers rioted against the government. Feneral Jaafar Numeiry interrupted his stay at the Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Algiers to return home to Khartoum. The schools and universities were closed and a state of emergency was called.

Students had petitioned against suppression of political freedoms, and as a result, 3 were killed, and hundreds of suspects rounded up. At the same time, the powerful railway workers were demanding release of political detainees. The participation of workers was taken very seriously by the regime. "The new and dangerous element if the participation of trade unionists in the disorder stated a Sudanese official, and Numeiry accused "retrograde and reactionary forces in collusion with the communists".

Le Monde, September 11, 1973

LE GRAND RABBIN KAPLAN:

la responsabilité de la guerre KALEIDOSCOPE  
Jews and Arabs contribute here

to Israelis American Jews give like crazy' to aid Israel. ISRAELIS ARE A GOLAN VICTORY

for Israel were being recruited through the American Zionist Youth Foundation at 515 Park Avenue and at Brooklyn College, among other locations. Applicants between 18 and 25 years of age... fast that we need to count... to update its \$25-million plan... RALPH BLUMENTHAL... to replace Israeli... yesterday as New York... continued... ort for... 'spokes... in the... reported... d.

JUDEA AND SAMARIA

Israelis these days are speaking more assuredly of "Jewish rights" in Judea and Samaria. They are referring to the 26 thousand square miles of land belonging to Egypt and Syria, together with the West Bank. The "fait accompli" consensus conjures up visions of stagecoaches lining up for a dash on to the West Bank to stake claims. 275,000 acres of West Bank land have already been officially confiscated, especially in such areas as Hebron, where 120,000 Arabs live, and the 'Samaritan' highlands, where 100,000 Arabs live. Israeli politicians speak privately of an "orderly transfer of population to the East Bank of the Jordan" that would follow Israeli settlement of the West Bank. Minister of Finance, Pinchas Sapir, has said he favors "creating new borders to include as few Arabs as possible."

Washington Post, June 5

KIRYAT ARBA ZEALOTS

Jewish settlers of Kiryat Arba, which overlooks occupied Hebron, are demanding that Israeli civil laws be applied to the entire West Bank so that private parties could more easily buy Arab land. The village's residents currently flout Israeli laws by employing Arab labor at sub-standard wages. In many cases, the settlers employ children 8 and 9 years of age to carry out hard labor necessary for expansion of the settlement. \* Hebron families have protested that at least 250 dunams (60 acres) of their land has been taken over by the military for the expansion of Kiryat Arba. In Bethlehem, the land controversy is becoming particularly acute, as more land is confiscated from residents.

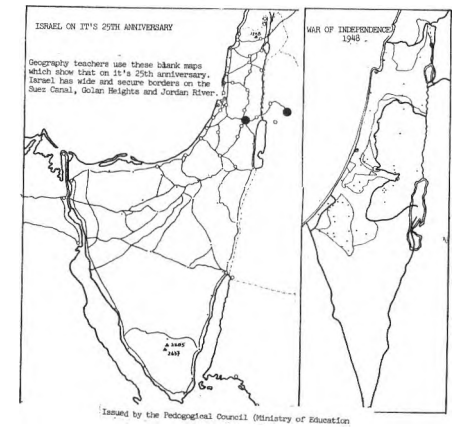
Jerusalem Post, August 30

PRISON STRIKE

In Nablus, 400 Arab prisoners protested against daily wage of 35 agorot (10 cents) for making handicraft items for tourists. Grievances also included a demand for edible food. Prisoners refused relatives' visits and demanded an immediate investigation of conditions.

Jerusalem Post, August 20

\* KALEIDOSCOPE MATERIAL HAS BEEN ADAPTED FROM SOURCES LISTED BENEATH INDIVIDUAL ITEMS.



DAYAN'S PLANS FOR OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

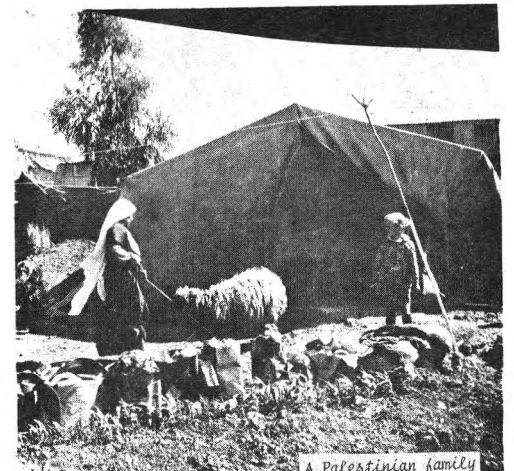
General Moshe Dayan is not known in Israel for subtlety in politicking. Recently he demanded of the Labor Party: "Either settle the occupied territories or eliminate me as a candidate." Without further ado, the Labor Party accepted a four-year plan proposed by Dayan. This plan calls for: 1) Widespread Jewish land purchases; 2) Expansion of the eastern and southern sides of Jerusalem, with construction of a new Jewish suburb at Nevi Shmuel; 3) Encouragement of industry in the Rafiah area (northern tip of the Sinai Peninsula), with construction of a deep-water port, Yamit, on the coast.

Christian Science Monitor, August 21

ARABS INSIDE ISRAEL: ARRESTS AND TORTURE

Israel's well-known Arab opposition lawyer, Felicia Langer is now defending 8 more political prisoners who were petitioning in the Golan Heights against the annexation. According to their relatives and lawyer, they have been mercilessly tortured. Political harassment continues to escalate against Arab members of Rakah, the Communist Party. After a recent visit to Moscow, Ghazi Shbeita was arrested and charged with 'communication with the enemy'. He had spoken with party comrad and Palestinian poet, Mahmud Darwish. Few Arab members of Rakah have escaped 'house arrest'. Seven Arabs were arrested and tortured in Tirah village for supposedly having their names on a list, captured by Israeli terrorists in Lebanon in April.

Israel & Palestine, July 1973



A Palestinian family



### CHANGING NAMES

21

The Arab village of Anata in the occupied territories has been given the Biblical name Anatot. Light industry will be encouraged, and the village "will contain other industry and services of a noxious or pollutant nature. The cabinet secretary said yesterday that 2000 dunams had been closed by the army several months ago, and the inhabitants left were very few in number."

Jerusalem Post, September 9

### WHERE HAS ALL THE MONEY GONE

General Moshe Dayan, now demands that the Histadrut bring Arab labor from the Gaza Strip under its control. Of course, separate Arab unions in Israel or in occupied territories have always been illegal. How this "unionization" would affect Arabs is a question whose answer is rapidly rising to the surface. On May 13, Haaretz pointed out the benefits to its Israeli advocates:

"Desire for financial gain is one of the factors, if not the principal one, that urges Histadrut (Federation of Labor) officials to bring Arab workers from the territories under their auspices... The hidden goal is to gain control of I.L. 130 million that has accumulated in the employment fund for Arab workers from the territories and to transfer it to a number of Histadrut insurance funds... The top echelon of the Histadrut is worried that, should the present situation go on for a long time, it might cause a liquidation of the construction workers' and agricultural workers' insurance funds. Today, more than half the construction workers in the country are Arabs. Approximately a third of them come from the territories and the rest from Inner Triangle villages. Likewise is the situation in agriculture. Arabs work inside the Green Line\*\* in protected trade branches. A Histadrut committee for affairs of workers from the territories will be appointed...

If so, it remains unclear what the Histadrut has done with the 130 million pounds it has been accumulating..."

\*\*—The "Green Line" refers to pre-1967 "borders".

\*\*—Since 1967, Arab workers have been forced to pay portions of their wages into Histadrut insurance and medical funds, even though they are not members.

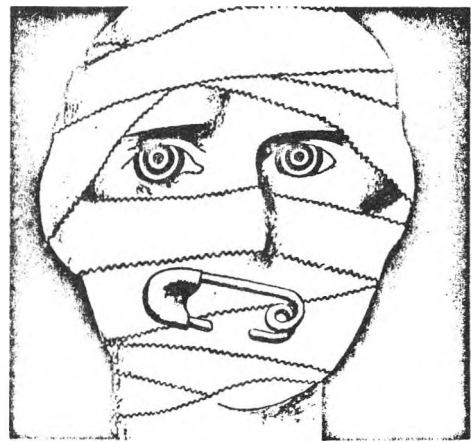
ISRAELEFT, July issue

### LESSONS OF ALGERIA

Y. Ben Porath, who is General Moshe Dayan's principal economic advisor (In 1966, he published a book entitled *The Arab Labor Force in Israel*, portraying Israel's "success" in integrating the Arab minority into its post-1948 labor force), has recently stated pessimism with regard to Israel's domination of the Gaza Strip:

"The risk arising from an Arab labor force living in miserable hovels near large farms unknown to government inspectors is a problem 10 times more dangerous than all the other hazards, political and military combined... Anyone who has not taken to heart the lessons of Algeria is simply blind or has taken leave of his senses."

Le Monde, English weekly edition, April 11-12



Shawqi Khatib and Rami Livneh

Shawqi Khatib, a Palestinian Arab, member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance was sentenced to 15 years on June 24. Rami Livneh, also a member of the RCA and son of a Rakah member, was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Both were charged with having contact with Ahmed Khaldi, suspected member of the Palestinian Resistance who had visited Israel 2 times. Livneh presented a dramatic rebuttal to the court, reiterating his commitment and those of his comrades to struggle against the Zionist state for a government of the Arab and Jewish masses. Meli Lehrman (sentenced to 7 years) was charged with failing to report evidence relevant to the original Syrian 'spy ring'. Others sentenced were Hassan Jabrin, Salah Jabrin, Ahmed Masri and Deab Sunsum for periods from 3 to 6 years for having been members of an 'illegal' organization. Druze poet and student Naim Areida was sentenced to 6 months. *Israeleft*, July issue

Letters and contributions of support should be sent to:

- 1) Ram & Danielah Livneh, 131 Derech Kibbutz Galuyot, Tel Aviv, Israel
- 2) Shawqi Khatib, Deir Hannah, Lower Galilee, Israel (Notification of support should be sent to Advocate, Felicia Langer, 4 Koresh Street, Jerusalem, Israel)

Resistance has made available copies of Rami Livneh's eloquent speech given during his trial. Please send 40 cents for a 7 page photostatic copy.

### MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL AMBITIONS: GAZA & SINAI

Military authorities in Northern Sinai have ordered eviction of thousands of Beduin tribesmen "in order to protect the Gaza Strip and State Territory against hostile sabotage activity." Much property, and houses and crops in particular, have been destroyed. Earlier expulsions had led to energetic protests by progressive Israelis. The current plans to expel the Beduins from the area include a resolution that would deny any employment in local settlements to Beduins for "security reasons." Hiring decisions would be in the hands of the military governor, who is urged to "use all means at his disposal to prevent employment."

Projects currently planned include construction of an international airport in the Pithat Rafiah area, for which 60 dunams have already been confiscated (Presently, Sharm el Sheikh, in southern Sinai, is well under way in its construction of another international airport. Its new Ophira Field would be fully capable of handling and refueling services for planes from other countries). A large transports terminal is also planned in the area of the Santa Katerina monastery in Sinai.

Jerusalem Post, July 24

### GEORGIAN IMMIGRANTS REVOLT

In Israel on July 12 the international campaign for "human rights" for Soviet Jews was laid bare as a mammoth deception. "Some 2000 Georgian immigrants from all over the country entered Ashdod Port and paralysed most public offices in town yesterday. They were protesting against removal of 47 temporary port workers who started a 4-day hunger strike," (*Jerusalem Post*, July 13).

The demonstrators occupied buildings which symbolized the causes of their plight—the town hall, the local rabbinate the labor exchange, national insurance institute offices, public health clinics, absorption ministry offices, and the Jewish Agency headquarters in Ashdod. Fears of public scandal among Zionist leaders prevented a force of 500 policemen from intervening, even when a group of demonstrators attacked a clinic, wounding four and destroying its interior.

In a state of frenzy, Shimon Peres, a former army general who is now Minister of Transport, personally intervened. He ultimately signed agreements that included: 1) Rehiring of 34 Georgians who had been fired after six months as seasonal citrus workers; 2) Unemployment compensation to fired workers from the date of dismissal to the rehiring date, which was to be automatically set back one month; 3) Substantial wage increases for Georgian workers. All this was done during the absence of General Aharon Remez, the Director-General of the Ports Authority, who later stated his disapproval.



Immigrants from Georgia block the entrance to Ashdod Port in yesterday's demonstration.

Ashdod industrialization and labor council officials, along with Mayor Zvi Zelker, protested the Peres decision arguing that the matter was not "strictly ad hoc," but could be a "dangerous precedent."

In an attempt to veil the causes of the seizure of Ashdod by Georgian immigrants, Peres began announcing plans for expansion of a profitable assembly plant for trucks and buses that was set up by the U.S. firm Mack Trucks, Inc., fully owned by the Signal Oil Corporation. Z.C.R. Hansen, the chairman of Signal Oil and of Mack Trucks stated: "We are very much for free trade and we will do business with anyone that wants to do business with us. Our company is personally involved in Israel. Last year we sold \$4 million worth of Israeli bonds," (*Jerusalem Post*, July 15)

It is indeed doubtful that such measures to integrate Soviet workers into the "mother country" will be fruitful. Use of immigrants as cheap labor for assembling buses and trucks, intended mainly for export, can only heighten glaring contradictions between exploiters and exploited in Israel.

The director of the Jewish Agency, retired general Uzi Narkiss, recently explained to a curious audience that Georgian immigrants were not used to being dismissed from jobs. He warned against looking at them as "refugees," noting that many of them had previously enjoyed a higher living standard in the Soviet Republic of Georgia than they found in Israel, (*Jerusalem Post*, July 16).

### BLACK PANTHERS ON THE MOVE



The Black Panthers in Israel have entered into a campaign to protest the lack of adequate housing, and unfair housing practices. Housing sit-ins have occurred, resulting in severe retaliation from the police. In dramatic protest, 40 young members of the Black Panthers held a demonstration at midnight at the police station in Hertzlia against the arrest of a 21 year old woman and mother who had demanded adequate housing in Tel Aviv.

Vediot Aharonot, in *Israeleft*, September 2

40 year old Yitzhak Ben-Shushan from Acre was imprisoned for holding a sit-down strike in front of city hall. Upon his later release, he immediately resumed the strike. Knowledge of his arrest created another protest. This time, 30 Panthers blocked the city administration building in Acre. Ben-Shushan's imprisonment was then ended.

Ma'ariv, August 15, in *Israeleft*, September 2

Placards stated "Murderous police", "Stop the Gestapo Methods", were raised at a Black Panther demonstration on behalf of Meir Kurkas, 26, who died while at the Ashdod police station. All businesses in the city were closed during the funeral.

Vediot Aharonot, August 17, in *Israeleft*, S. 2

### ARAB WOMEN STERILIZED

*Corriere della Sera*, an Italian daily from Milan has reported sterilizations of Arab Palestinian women without their knowledge. The demographic hysteria over increased Arab births has been voiced most frequently in the Israeli media. Dr. Cevan Bedirsky, an Israeli, accused other Israeli doctors in the maternity ward of Naharim hospital of sterilizing Arab women in the course of Caesarian childbirth. Israel's daily *Ma'ariv* contacted the doctor who confirmed the statement attributed to him by *Corriere della Sera*. Women of the Arab Liberation Front have called upon their sisters, and all progressive women's organizations to help put an end to these barbaric actions, and to denounce Zionist policies which embody such racism and sexism apparent in these despicable deeds.

Vanguard, September 1973

### ISRAEL TRIES TURKISH KURD

In Lebanon, 10 men with citizenship in Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Qatar were captured and brought to trial. This has been the first case of its kind where men were captured beyond Israel's border and brought to trial according to Israeli law which defends such actions as 'the right to protect internal security' at any place, any time. On August 8, a 23 year old Kurd from Turkey, living in a Lebanese refugee camp was sentenced to 7 years for belonging to 'an unlawful organization,' and for undergoing military training with a view to 'harming the state! Buluk had fled from Turkish fascism, and was sympathetic to the socialist underground movement

Jerusalem Post, August 8, 1973





"Aerobatic Daredevils" (Act or No?)

Defense Minister Moshe Dayan delivered a speech to pilot graduates at the largest Israeli air force show ever held and announced, "We are on the threshold of a new era which will see technological advances on the ground as well as in the air."

"A formation of Mirage fighters flew over the main grandstand followed by Fougas forming the Hebrew letters for "25". They were soon followed by formations of light observation planes, Super Frelon, Bell 206 and Bell 205 helicopters and a straight line of massive CH 53 troop-carrying helicopters. Transport planes followed--Nords, Dakotas and Stratocruisers, to be taken over by fast-flying formations of Super-Mysteres, Skyhawks, Mirages and Phantoms."

"While the helicopters were being loaded two more of the armoured giants performed aerial ballet, twisting and turning in perfect unison. Skyhawk bombers screamed in to bomb a target a kilometer from the crowds. A second Skyhawk then straffed the area with rockets, followed by Phantoms which, after sending dozens of rockets into the area, dropped napalm bombs on what was left of the targets."

Jerusalem Post, July 13

ARAVA DISPLAYED IN MEXICO

Central and South American countries have been very impressed with new Israeli military hardware. In Mexico recently, the short-take-off-and-landing (STOL) plane known as the Arava was publicly exhibited.\* Israel Aircraft Industries, a government firm known for such diverse ventures \*\*as the luxurious Commander jet for executives and the Gabriel sea-to-sea missile, as well as "other unmentionables," describes the Arava in these terms:

"The twin turbo-prop Arava is the most cost-effective solution to the problem of surveying and controlling vast expanses of territory, particularly in a counter-insurgency environment."

\* Mexican pilots for the Arava are trained in Israel  
 \*\* Israel is supplying El Salvador with 25 fighter jets, the first in that countries history.

ISRAEL AND LON NOL

The present Cambodian ambassador to Israel stated on July 5 that Israel may be asked to aid Lon Nol's battle against liberation forces. He stressed that he hoped American aid would be forthcoming as long as fighting goes on. Present Israeli assistance to Cambodia includes supplying of a MACE-like chemical product called "PROTECTO-JET" which was invented in Israel and used by security forces there. "PROTECTO-JET" will soon be sold on the American market to local police forces.

Israel & Palestine, August, 1973

Israeli generals rarely die, it seems, nor do they fade away; rather, they quickly move into the largest industrial enterprises, the universities, or the political arena. The highest percentage of retired top officers is found at the managerial level in private and "public" industry. For example, General Meir Amit, former head of Israel's security services, now heads Koor, a large construction entity currently engaged in building bases for the U.S. Navy in Iran, aside from its prolific activities in African and Asian countries. Similarly, there is General Haim Herzog, who, aside from being the military commentator for Kol Israel, is a financial entrepreneur and a director of several firms, or former air force chief, General Dan Tolkowsky, who is general manager of the Israel Discount Bank Investment Corporation.

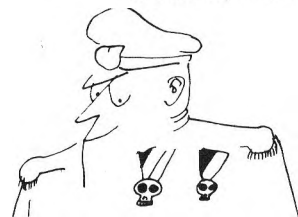
In education, three large universities list generals as chief executive officers, and two others have former generals as presidents. General Amos Harev presides over the prestigious Haifa Technion, and General Elad Peled is director of the Ministry of Education.

In politics, former officers are now seeking to fill parliament. The Labor Party ticket includes former chief of staff Itzhak Rabin as well as Major-General Aharon Yariv, who headed Israeli intelligence operations. General Amit of Koor Industries is busy proposing a two-party system for Israel, with a view toward forming a united alignment of right-wing parties. His platform centers upon the "need to combat terrorism" and encouragement of land purchases by Israelis in the occupied territories.

General Ezer Weizmann (General Moshe Dayan's brother in law), a former air force chief who is now active in the ultra-right Herut Party has stated: "A military takeover could never happen here." However, it is clear that some of his colleagues seek innovations in Israeli society. General Shlomo Lahat, a right-wing candidate for mayor of Tel Aviv, is running on a hard anti-strike platform: "I am for compulsory arbitration and I oppose strikes. In this matter, I do not make any distinction between vital and non-vital sectors of the economy. In Israel, all sectors are vital. It is necessary at least to establish a period of two years with no strikes. We should see what that could provide." (Maariv, July 20).

The ongoing process of military advances into civilian life has been very appropriately termed "Generalese" be perceptive Israelis.

Adapted from New York Times, August 25  
 Le Monde, September 17-18



NORTH YEMEN

NEW CIVIL WAR IN NORTH YEMEN

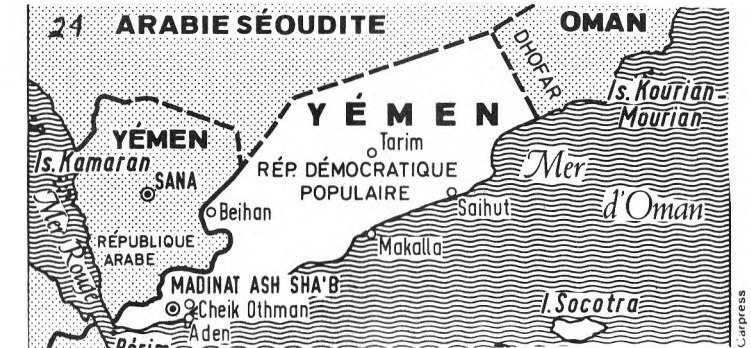
For many years, the imamate of Yemen was largely ignored by European and Arab nations alike. In the 19th century, Britain had taken the port of Aden and a large chunk of Yemeni territory along the Indian Ocean, but the imams in Sanaa were then allowed to rule undisturbed and to insulate their kingdom from the outside world. However, in 1962, the status quo was dramatically reversed when nationalist army officers overthrew the imam al Badr and proclaimed a republic. Royalist forces, with help from Saudi Arabia and Britain, soon began a civil war against the new regime, whose supporters received extensive military aid from Egypt. As the civil war continued, the people of Aden and occupied South Yemen intensified the struggle against British rule, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front.

In November, 1967, a coup d'etat in the North brought to power the cadi Abder Rahman Iryani, who brought about a conciliation with the royalists and their Saudi backers. Following the seizure of power by the revolutionary wing of the National Liberation Front in Aden and South Yemen, many opponents of the new regime fled to the North and used it as a base for continual attacks upon the new People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Because the existence of the PDRY radically altered the "strategic balance" of the Red Sea area, the exiles were able to obtain lavish support from the Iryani regime, Saudi Arabia, Britain, and the United States. However, domestic opponents of the cadi have been a serious obstacle to this counter-revolutionary alliance.

In September, 1972, the conflict along the border between the "two Yemens" escalated sharply, but the peasant militias of the PDRY successfully beat back a series of offensives from the North. Two months later, a cease-fire was signed in Cairo, and the two countries agreed to take steps toward political unification—a demand that the National Liberation Front had advanced since the earliest days of its struggle against the British.

During the past year, the ceasefire and the unification agreement have provided notable advantages for progressive forces within the North, and, by extension for the PDRY. Marc Pellas, writing in *Le monde diplomatique* (August 28, 1973), has described the situation as follows:

"The revolutionary forces of North Yemen are certainly less numerous than those of the army and the tribes. But their consolidation in many parts of the country and



LE SUD DE LA PÉNINSULE ARABE.  
 La tension croît de jour en jour.

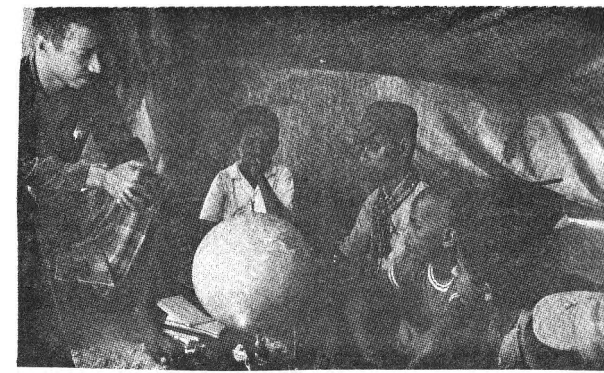
the gains they have made have already permitted regroupment of progressive forces---combattants and non-combattants---including a good proportion of the nationalist republicans who have abandoned the idea of making peace with a repressive regime whose short-term policies seem clearly aligned with the interests of Riyadh and Washington."

The regroupment of forces opposed to foreign domination has been accompanied by an intensification of armed actions against the regime and the creation of liberated areas within North Yemen. At the same time, the regime itself has experienced important internal crises, such as the resignation of Prime Minister Mohsen al Aini last December. Having opposed Saudi proposals that increased wages for North Yemen's army be paid directly by the Saudi embassy in Sanaa, al Aini stepped down. Since then, his successor, Abdullah al Hirji, has entered such overt collaboration with Saudi Arabia that the regime's domestic base of support has been heavily compromised.

Al Hirji has not only accepted more than \$25 million in Saudi military aid, but has ceded portions of North Yemen's territory to King Feisal. He has also permitted Saudi forces to occupy the important Red Sea island of Kamaran, whose inhabitants had voted to unite with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Now, a permanent Saudi base is being built on Kamaran.

All military matters of the regime are tightly directed by a Saudi "committee" based not in Sanaa, but in Riyadh. One of its members is a permanent American military "adviser." A special communications system links Feisal's palace in Riyadh with the Sanaa headquarters of North Yemen's chief of staff. Aside from the regular army of North Yemen, the Saudis oversee large "irregular forces," consisting of North Yemeni tribes and exiled reactionaries from the South. For operations against progressives inside North Yemen, the Saudis also rely upon a special death-squad, called Sabaa, which has carried out hundreds of assassinations and is responsible for torturing of political prisoners.

King Feisal's support is accompanied by Iranian advisers for al Hirji's security services; moreover, Iran has provided large quantities of arms purchased from Israel. Other contributors to the regime range from Kadhafi's Libya to Franco's Spain, but the United States is, by far, the most prodigious. In the past year, American aid has exceeded \$60 million, with the major portion destined for renovation of the regime's army. During the renovation process, 144 army officers suspected of nationalist sentiments have been removed from their posts, and some have been executed.



SCHOOL IN LIBERATED DHOFAR



Concurrent with the escalation of foreign support to the cadi Abdullah al Harji, there have been thousands of assassinations and executions. In May, 1200 persons were arrested in Sanaa following the assassination of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Othman, a cabinet minister. Although the Sanaa regime attempted to attribute his death to "commando infiltrators" from the PDRY, it is probable that the sheikh was executed by guerrillas belonging to the Organization of Revolutionary Yemenite Resisters, which has been carrying out military operations against the regime since 1970. Recently, the ORYR has created a common military organization with the Yemenite Democratic Revolutionary Party. On May 26, the two groups stated their common objectives to be:

- 1) Struggle against the feudalists and comprador bourgeoisie, and defense of liberated areas.
- 2) Recovery of the lands stolen by Saudi Arabia and creation of a democratic people's republic.
- 3) Accomplishment of the unification of the "two Yemens" in the interests of the working classes.

In an interview published in *Afrique-Asie* (July 9, 1973) Abu Shehab, an ORYR spokesman stated that heavy fighting had taken place at the end of May in the central region of North Yemen. Government casualties exceeded one hundred, including two high officials and several tribal chieftains. Now, there is intensified emphasis upon formation of a national front that would include other organizations which politically oppose the al Harji regime, including the Labor Party, the Democratic People's Unity Party, and the two Yemeni wings of the Ba'ath.

#### SYRIAN WOMEN VOICE SOLIDARITY

Sultan Qabus of Oman, in collaboration with British and other foreign military advisers, has begun an incredible campaign to stop the advance of liberation struggles in the Arab Gulf. Recently, 10 militants were executed and 32 received life imprisonment. 24 militants, including 8 women, received ten-year sentences. The League of Syrian Women immediately issued a message of solidarity, stating support for the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf: "We received with great pain the report on the arrest and trial of members of your patriotic people who faced the ugliest types of tortures at the hands of British intelligence officers. It is painful that colonial and puppet reaction are not even stopped from torturing pregnant women. We cabled Qabus from Damascus asking him to release male and female detainees. Shame and defeat for colonialism and its stooges! Victory is for the Omani people!"  
Saut al Thawra, July issue

25 Against North Yemen's revolutionary forces, the many-membered reactionary alliance (the regime, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Libya, Israel, Britain, the United States, and others) constitutes a powerful obstacle. An escalation of the present civil war is likely this autumn, since October 28 marks the end of the one-year "transitional period" established in the 1972 cease-fire agreement between the two Yemens. The persistent campaign of the al-Harji regime and its foreign sponsors to sabotage unification and to crush nationalist forces in the north has led directly to the present juncture. Abdul Fattah Ismail, secretary general of the ruling National Front in People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, has indicated that the deepening conflict to the North can end in only one of two ways:

*"The common point of the reactionary forces is that they oppose unity for Yemen and even unity within North Yemen. In this conflict, there are only two possible solutions: either control of all Yemen by the feudalists, or else a taking of power by the patriotic movement in the North which would produce a democratic unification of the two parts of the country."*

Material for the above article was drawn, in particular, from "Yemen du Nord" by Marc Pellas and from "Une situation explosive" by Sherif Rashid in *Afrique-Asie*, July 9, 1973.

#### PROTEST SONGS OF EGYPT

Ahmed Fuad Negm, an Egyptian poet and folk-singer, is awaiting trial along with 122 students. His poems have been smuggled out of prison and are gaining popularity among leftists in the Middle East and Europe. His wife Safinez Qassim is also in jail. Popular ballads composed by Ahmed Fuad Negm include stark anti-imperialist verses:

*Lord, son of a lord, son of a lord,  
Genuine aristocrat. No more Onassis, no more Ford.*  
His verses also strike at Egypt's "fat" bourgeoisie. The repertoire includes commentary upon Egyptian culture and famous romantic singers, such as Umm Kalthoum or Abdel Halim Hafez, whom he characterizes as opiates of the masses. Special targets of Ahmed Fuad Negm also include writers and intellectuals who have remained silent in the face of purges and jailings of hundreds of workers, peasants, and students.  
*L'Express*, July 15-22

Recently, Egyptian workers were arrested on the eve of trade union elections. They were rounded up "on the pretext that they are saboteurs, instigating other workers and taking part in anti-government organizations." Sadat has revived a law providing a 15 year prison sentence for those found guilty of launching communist activities. At the present time, 56 persons are on trial, including 52 students charged with inciting others to overthrow Sadat. This is the first time since 1952 Egyptian revolution that students were brought to trial. Surrounding the court building were hundreds of traffic policemen and plain clothesmen who blocked the streets in order to prevent friends and supporters from approaching to demonstrate their support.  
*Jerusalem Post*, September 16

NOTE: Because of mass petitioning among noted journalists and academics, Sadat has stopped the trials of the 56.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

In what was an obvious tribute to the "Palestinian front," the Israeli government issued two ultimatums by mid-week to the Lebanese government threatening an Israeli attack if efforts to liquidate the resistance were not immediately taken.\* And by Tuesday (Oct. 9), the U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, had found it necessary to visit President Franjeh to remind him that the Sixth Fleet, stationed directly off the coast, "would be willing to move" into Lebanon in case of an "aggression against his country." To the east, Palestinian feda'iyyin and the Palestinian Liberation Army engaged the Israeli air force in the massive air battles that raged from Aleppo south to Golan, inflicting severe losses on the enemy forces. Popular militias within the camps mobilized the population to defend civilians against the murderous bombing. The myth of the invincible Israeli soldier now destroyed, the myth of the U.S. Phantom's invincibility was shattered and the psychological shock of the terror hoped for by the enemy turned into a martial spirit of resistance.

#### The Liberation of Palestine

Within the West Bank and Gaza, Israeli tanks, armored jeeps and soldiers have been diverted from the front lines to patrol the streets and to man strategic points. Other units raided homes of suspected resistance fighters and manned increased intelligence posts. (Reuters, 10/10/73) By mid-week, work stoppages throughout the occupied territories as well as in Galilee and Haifa indicated popular mobilization underground was intensive (*Le Monde*, 10/10/73) and posed a severe threat as well to the economic production in Israel. The Palestinian popular mobilization followed a PLO Communique calling for massive civil disobedience throughout Palestine. (International Herald Tribune, 10/10/73) BBC Reports indicated Palestinian volunteers were crossing the Jordan River to man embankments and guerrilla fortifications should Jordan join the war. On Thursday (Oct. 11) the PLO issued a call to Jordan troops to disobey the King's orders and to fight. (*Washington Post*, 10/13/73) Israel promptly fired off warnings to Hussein and closed all but the Allenby Bridge. (*IHT*, 10/10/73)

As their brothers across the front lines launched innumerable rocket and mortar attacks on Israeli settlements in Galilee and Golan, feda'iyyin behind the lines attacked positions, according to a PLO Communique, in Tel Aviv as well. Earlier attacks on settlements from Lebanon hit Nazareth, several villages around Lake Tiberias and other areas in Galilee. (*Boston Globe*, 10/12/73)

The significance of the Palestinian liberation struggle in Palestine itself was underscored in an interview with the newly appointed PLO Spokesman, Bassam Abu Sherif (PFLP) published Thursday (Oct. 12) in the *International Herald Tribune*. Citing train derailments, rocket assaults and hit-and-run attacks throughout Palestine, he emphasized that the feda'iyyin were attacking everywhere rather than limiting their war aims, like Egypt and Syria, to land

\* In Lebanon, the Executive Committee of the PLO issued an appeal for calm and discipline among all fighting forces to be on guard "against any action that attempts to create discord among the ranks of the population or that could be exploited by agent provocateurs seeking to create diversionary battles." (*Le Monde*, 10/10/73) The communique refers to similar attempts by the Lebanese government to incite the fascist and reactionary elements against the Palestinian and progressive Lebanese masses

lost in the 1967 war. Given the liquidation plans underway in the push for a "peaceful" settlement (See page ) the Palestinian Revolution was fighting for its survival:

*"This is not the first time the Palestinian movement has faced a possible deal for liquidation. But the world should realize we are vaccinated against setbacks."*

While proud of the Egyptian and Syrian resistance against the Zionist counteroffensive, and of the destruction of the myth of Israeli invincibility, the Palestinians are only too well aware of the strong pressures of Arab Reaction urged on by U.S. attempts at pacification of the Middle East and by the realization that a "peaceful settlement" would involve the liquidation of the Palestinian and progressive Arab forces.

Palestinian successes on the battlefield, within the camps and urban working class areas of Damascus, Beirut and the Gulf as well as the mobilization of the population within Palestine, coupled with the direct attacks within the Palestinian homeland, indicate the revolutionary nature their forces are playing in the war

## a new HANOI

The massive Israeli bombing of Syrian cities began Tuesday, October 9th when 200 civilians were killed or injured in a raid on Damascus. Following are some of the news items on that raid.

CBS News reports 30 Russians killed when the Soviet Cultural Center in Damascus was hit by Israeli jets. Most of the people at the Center were Syrian students taking a Russian language course.

The heaviest hit areas included the fashionable residential district of Abu Rumaneh where hundreds of apartment buildings were destroyed or damaged as well as 15 homes. Among the targets: the Al-Shark Hospital, a building of the Doctor's Association and a teacher training institute. Among the dead were 30 Russians, a Norwegian UN Truce Observer, his wife and daughter and two Indians at the Indian Embassy. Also hit were the Polish and Pakistani Embassies.

--*New York Times*, 10/10/73

*Boston Globe*, 10/10/73

*Le Monde's* correspondent in Beirut, Edward Saab, reported that the attack included low-level bombing of the downtown areas as well. In the old city, the Israelis also bombed Ummayyad Square, packed with crowds of shoppers during the evening rush hour.

--*Le Monde* 10/11/73

The *New York Times* reported many of the killed or wounded were civilians who appeared to be in the streets when the raid took place without warning.

--10/10/73

The bombing continued the next day, and the next, until press time. The worst seige of the first week of the war occurred from Tuesday to Friday when innumerable attacks were repelled by Syrian air-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft artillery. Later in the week, rockets fired by advancing ground artillery added to the terror.



Landed on Yemen in Sanaa  
On the eve of military unification



On Wednesday, the 10th, the Syrian ambassador in Paris issued the following communique:

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"Following the barbaric aggression against civilian and industrial centers in Syria--attacks which so far have left 200 civilians dead and wounded, Israel today bombarded Homs, Lattakia and Tartous, destroying oil refineries, hydro-electric stations and factories, killing a large number of civilians, including dozens of workers.

"These criminal acts against civilians recall the massive American air raids against the Vietnamese civilian population and those of the Nazi forces against British and European civilians during the Second World War."

--Le Monde, 10/11/73

The idea that attacks on civilian centers were "accidental" was dispelled by the continued attacks on sensitive and highly populated areas: shopping districts, residential areas, hospitals and schools. Among these were at least two attacks on a hospital in the Damascus suburb of al-Mezza, crowded with civilian and military patients injured in the war:

26 people, mostly doctors and nurses, wounded when Israeli planes bombed the military hospital Wednesday.

--Washington Post, 10/12/73

Two patients at the hospital killed when Israeli rockets hit the hospital Thursday, the 11th.

--Washington Post, 10/13/73

Together, the continual flow of reports indicated an Israeli policy of massive bombing of civilian centers aimed at creating shock and panic among the population--an advanced form of psychological warfare all too familiar.

UN observers report at least three Israeli attacks in the Golan Heights area in which heavy concentrations of napalm were dropped.

--Boston Globe, 10/9/73

#### DEATH RAINS ON ROAD IN BENHA

Some 50 foreign journalists from Asia, Europe and the United States were taken to see the victims and the bomb damage Friday [October 12] in the Nile Delta. Dr. Abdel Magied of the Benha Hospital, a modern three-story building, said the hospital received 67 injured in the bombing and 15 bodies. A nearby hospital received other victims.

The doctor at the Benha hospital said he had treated 5 children from a bus hit during the raid. At his hospital were some 20 persons injured in the bus, including a young woman whose arm was amputated and a man who lost a leg.

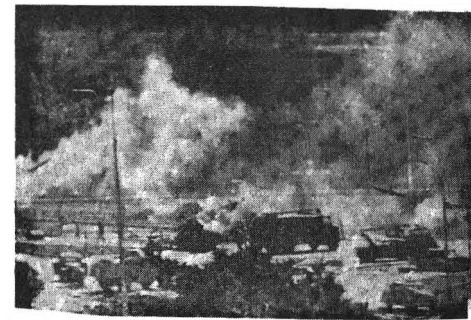
Beside the Cairo Alexandria road a donkey and several water buffalo lay dead in the mud thrown up from three bomb craters next to a creek.

Nothing was left of the bus but a few charred floor boards. Scattered among the wreckage were a child's dress, sandals and a book entitled *English - A Living Language*.

--Boston Globe, 10/14/73

In New York, Egyptian Foreign Minister Muhammad Hassanain Zayyat told the UN General Assembly that 500 persons had been "murdered" in the densely-populated Nile Delta, Port Said and Cairo suburbs.

--International Herald Tribune, October 12, 1973



Amawein Square, near the Radio-TV headquarters after Israeli raid on Damascus.

## HUSSEIN'S REAL ENEMY

King Hussein's true intentions with respect to the present war were clear as early as last June. At that time, he embarked upon a ministerial shuffle, a purge of his army, and a beefing-up of counter-insurgency equipment. These moves reflected an intensification of Hussein's long-term quest for a final settlement with Israel.

As U.S. shipments of critical arms and electronic equipment began to flow into Jordan, a royal proclamation was issued to all levels of the armed forces and police, stating the King's intentions "never again to get caught up in a war with Israel" and to "combat all provocative elements who seek to bring the country into a new military adventure." Pertinent sections of the proclamation defined Hussein's positions as follows:

#### On the Palestinian Resistance:

"Regarding the Resistance called Palestinian, our position is clear. Our wounds are not yet healed--these wounds which we have not forgotten--and we will not let the same stone strike twice.... Never again will there be any question of permitting this Resistance to re-appear in our country. This "Resistance" is led by a band of suspects and criminals who have exploited our people and our youth in order to play around with the lives and hopes of our simple men of good will."

#### On the United Front Between Egypt, Jordan and Syria:

"The entry of any Arab force--with the exception of those Saudi Arabian units already on our soil--that would occur before the reconstruction of our army is complete would mean the loss of this country and of its Eastern Bank. As long as there is no chance--and figures and documents support this--to defeat Israel, we will not naively or impulsively participate in another war...."

#### On Oil as a Weapon:

Such a threat, directed against a sector vital to its economic and public life, cannot but lead to a fierce confrontation with the United States and the other nations...that would lead to unprecedented support of Israel and a threat to the existence of all Arab States and the future of the Palestinian cause as well as, above all, to our own existence...."

Afrique-Asie's correspondent Mousleh Ali summed up the significance of the cabinet shuffles and the army "reconstruction:"

"After having sent specialists to train the Lebanese army in counter-guerrilla tactics, [Jordan] embarked on a plan aimed at creating disturbances in the south of Syria with the goal of justifying an eventual intervention of its troops on the side of 'the Muslims massacred by the Ba'athists.' The Syrian opposition to the Damascus regime, which had already to its credit the confessional troubles in Homs and Hama of the past few months, would thus be in Jordanian hands who in turn would benefit from Israeli support. The latter, of course, was not content to keep its arms crossed. Since the beginning of the Lebanese-Palestinian confrontations, it increased its pressure on the South of Lebanon, particularly after the Lebanese troops had evacuated the first line of defense extending from the old frontier post of Nakura up to the city of Tyre. The Israelis had profited from this situation by multiplying their patrols in the entire area and by surveying the fedayin movements. The Palestinian guerrilla leaders of course expected new Israeli operations whose principal objective would be to prevent the Resistance from gaining time to catch their breath and to prepare for a new confrontation with the Lebanese regime."

--Afrique-Asie, No. 33 (June 25 to July 8, 1973. (Emphasis added)

## The New Weapon: Oil

Elsewhere in the Arab World, the war has strongly affected oil production. On October 8, ARAMCO reduced the flow of oil through its pipelines by 50 percent "so as to minimize any possible loss of oil as a result of a possible break in the lines." (Associated Press, October 9). This anticipation came true a day later as sections of its lines were disrupted at various points, even inside Saudi Arabia, as had occurred during the 1956 and 1967 wars. Meanwhile actions in solidarity with the anti-Zionist struggle were carried out in Dhahran, generating enough pressure to push King Feisal toward a feigned "militant" stance. Fearing the masses and the oil workers in particular, King Feisal has now sent a few troops northward and has refused thus far to receive the new American ambassador, James Akins, who had formerly been the State Department's leading "energy expert."

On the eastern front, Israeli jets have destroyed Syrian pipeline facilities that formerly conveyed Iraqi oil to the Mediterranean coast. They have also hit the terminal at Baniyas, destroying at least twelve storage tanks. As a result, all shipments of oil from the Syrian coast to Western Europe have now halted (*International Herald Tribune*, October 11). Israeli attacks upon Syria's government owned refinery at Homs destroyed 80 percent of its facilities, thereby curtailing shipments to Eastern Europe.

Consequently, Saida and Tripoli in Lebanon are the only Eastern Mediterranean ports that continue to serve as outlets for oil from Saudi, Iraqi, and Arab Gulf fields. Sharp output reductions due to the closing of inland sections of some lines, however, are having a severe effect upon the market. European sources note that at least three percent of the weekly volume of world oil shipments has been eliminated.

Libya and Algeria are the only Mediterranean nations that are still servicing the European market. As a result, there will be increased dependency upon oil

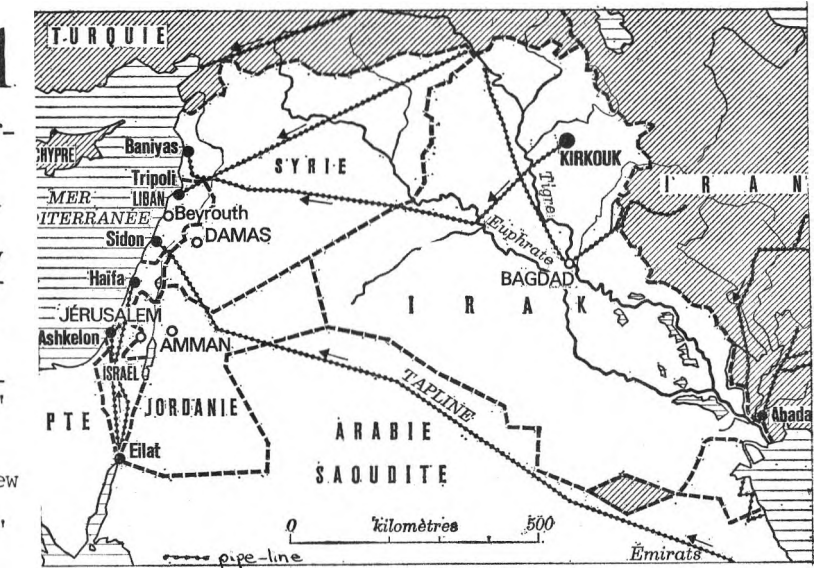
shipments aboard the super-tankers which must go from the Arab Gulf around the coast of Africa.

Following the Baniyas closing, Austria is already stockpiling oil in anticipation of coming shortages and price increases. Sweden is considering rationing of oil and gas, while West German officials have arranged special meetings with Arab ambassadors in order to discuss the imminent problem.

Escalation of the war by Israel and the U.S. is sure to awaken further Arab anger against foreign oil companies that have extracted billions of dollars during the past 50 years.

#### Palestinian Notables and Shaykhs Join Trade Unions in Call for General Strike

West Bank notables and religious leaders as well as the heads of Palestinian trade unions have called on their members "behind the lines" to strike at the Israeli economy by refusing "to work "in the enemy's factories and farms." in a long joint statement published in Jordanian newspapers, the shaykhs added that: "By this boycott you will be contributing to striking the enemy economy." *New York Times*, 10/15/73



#### U.S. Oil Tycoon Predicts Domestic Shortages

On October 10, Claude S. Brinegar, former president and a major shareholder of Union Oil of California, and now U.S. Secretary of Transportation, predicted that the United States may begin oil and gas rationing as a result of the "Mid-east" war. Although Brinegar did not give specifics, he pointed out that the U.S. now receives 260,000 barrels of refined oil per day from European refineries that depend upon Middle Eastern crude oil. His comments were given as the White House formulated a mandatory fuel allocation plan--the first since World War II. Under the plan, each of the 50 states will be required to form a fuel board that must report local oil needs to the Department of the Interior, which will now have the power of approving or over-ruling states' oil orders.

*Washington Post*, October 11





Pro-Palestinian Demonstration in New York. Times/Baron Silver

#### SUPPORT ACTIONS IN THE U.S.

As *Resistance in the Middle East* goes to press, we have received word of several East Coast actions undertaken in support of the Arab struggle. The first occurred in New York on Sunday, October 7, at the Israeli Consulate and demonstrators were viciously attacked by members of the fascist Jewish Defense League. Additional New York area demonstrations have occurred on Thursday, October 11, at the United Nations and on Monday, October 15, in Brooklyn, in the Arab-American community there. Another demonstration—a march in the Times Square area—is scheduled for Tuesday, October 16.

In Boston, over 70 persons held a picket line at the Air Force recruiting offices on Tuesday, October 9. The purpose of this demonstration, organized by the Ad-hoc Women's Committee to Support the Palestinians, was to emphasize the danger of a U.S. military intervention in the Middle East and to expose American/Israeli denial of the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people. After a march to Government Center in Boston, a spokeswoman underlined the genocidal nature of Israel's air attacks upon Damascus and reiterated the future dangers of U.S. intervention.

#### JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE ATTACKS DEMONSTRATORS, THREATENS TEACH-IN

In New York, on October 7, as approximately 200 Arabs demonstrated at the Israeli Consulate, they were attacked by a large force of members of the Jewish Defense League. The attackers, armed with pipes and wearing helmets, had easily slipped through police lines, although New York police later made token arrests of J.D.L.'ers. Whereas the F.B.I., the Immigration Service, and other official agencies have long attempted to deny the political rights of Arabs within the U.S., it is now clear that they have been joined by the J.D.L., whose leader, Meir Kahane, resides in Israel.

In Boston, at an October 9 teach-in on the Middle East crisis, which was sponsored by a coalition of Arabs and anti-Zionist Americans, the J.D.L. had previously made telephone threats to organizers. A bomb threat at the scheduled location forced the teach-in to be moved to a public lounge, where J.D.L. members showed up carrying bags of pipes and rocks. They attempted to surround the speakers, but a well-organized defense prevented provocations.

#### SOLIDARITY ACTIONS IN FRANCE

On October 10, a thousand persons demonstrated before the Egyptian embassy in Paris in order to express solidarity with the Arab struggle. The demonstration was cordoned off by heavy police squadrons. Most frequently heard slogans were "We are all *fidayin!*" "Nixon, assassin!" and "Zionists, fascists, assassins!" When demonstrators, who included many Arab workers and students, tried to march to the Arc de Triomphe, they were surrounded by motorcycle policemen equipped with clubs and guns.

On the same day, a large demonstration consisting primarily of North African workers was held in Lyon. A second Paris demonstration was planned for October 11 under the coordination of a united front of 12 left organizations. In a joint communique, the 12 organizations stated that responsibility for the war "belonged to the colonialist and expansionist state of Israel." They "saluted the Arab combatants against the Zionist enemy and affirmed the right of the Arab masses to recover their lands by armed struggle." Firm support was stated for "the Palestinian resistance against Zionism, imperialism, and Arab reaction as it bravely fights today in occupied Palestine and especially in Upper Galilee." *Le monde*, October 11

#### NEW YORK COMMITTEE TAKES ACTION

In New York, the Committee for Support of the Arab Liberation Forces (P.O. Box 51, Guttenberg, New Jersey, 07093) is calling for political and material aid to the Arab struggle. It urges friendly organizations within the U.S. to: 1) Send statements of support for the just struggle of the Arab people, 2) Expose and stop a possible U.S. intervention, 3) Help collect donations for families of Arab combatants killed during the war, 4) Organize campaigns for collecting medical supplies, 5) Organize blood donation campaigns.

The Committee's statement suggests that material and financial support can be sent through a) Interest Section of Egypt, 2310 Decatur Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. and b) Mission of Syria to the U.N., 150 East 58th Street, New York City. Blood donations can be given at Red Cross Centers, but donors are required to specify that their blood be sent to the Egyptian, Syrian, or Palestinian Red Crescent.

#### ARAB POPULAR FRONT

The radicalization of Arab masses was symbolized by the formation of the Arab Front for the Support of the Palestinian Revolution in November, 1972. The editors regret being unable to cover this in the considerable length it deserves in this issue. It will be covered next issue. Readers can refer to a *Resistance* pamphlet until then. (see Page 31):

CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS OF THE ARAB POPULAR FRONT FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION...80¢

The APF aims "to ensure freedom of action for the *fedayeen* in all the Arab countries, to oppose proposals seeking to liquidate the Palestinian cause... and to work toward the liquidation of the strategic and economic interests of imperialism in the Arab World."

#### BOOKS & PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE

Our staff has decided to make important literature on the Middle East available to readers, particularly for those who live in areas where this material is not often placed in bookstores. The present list is obviously incomplete. Suggestions for expanding and improving it are welcomed.

- A. El Kodsy; E. Lobel—*The Arab World and Israel* (Monthly Review). \$2.25
- Palestinian Resistance to Israeli Occupation*, edited by Naseer Aruri. \$2.95
- M. Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial Settler State*. \$1.75
- Arab-Israeli Reader*, edited by Ramparts, \$2.95
- "David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa" (Africa Research Group pamphlet), 25¢
- L. Lockwood, "Imperialism and the Israeli Economy," (pamphlet), 70¢
- Women in the Middle East: The Continuing Struggle* Women's Middle East Collective, 50¢
- R. Freed, *War in the Mid-East*, \$1.00
- G. Chaliand, *The Palestinian Resistance* (Penguin), \$1.75.
- H. Lumer, *Zionism: Its Role in World Politics*, \$2.45.
- "They Say All Women Must Be Commandos," (Radical Education Project pamphlet), 50¢
- "Israel and South Africa" (Madison Committee on South Africa pamphlet), 40¢
- "Historical Development of the Palestinian Struggle," (pamphlet of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), 35¢
- Leon, Abraham, *The Jewish Question* (Pathfinder) \$2.75

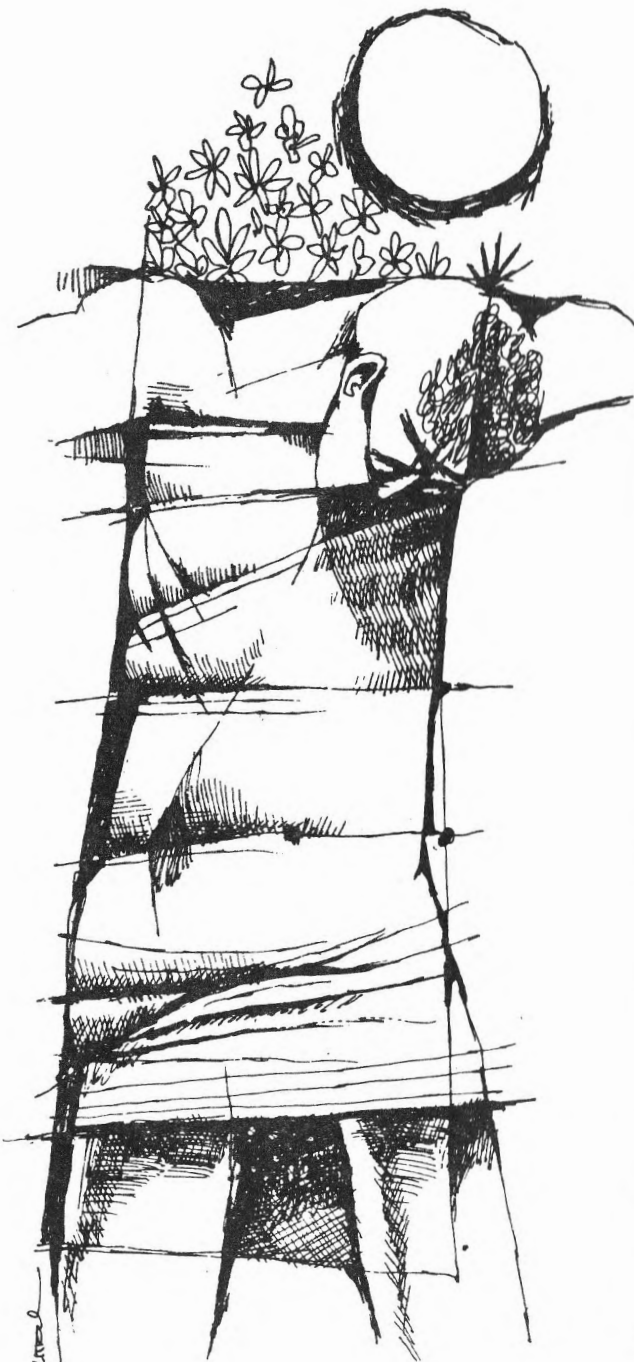
*Resistance in the Middle East* has xerox copies available of:

- a) Speech by Rami Livneh, sentenced to 10 years under false charges of espionage by the Israeli government-----40¢
- b) Conference documents (November, 1972) of the Arab Popular Front for the Support of the Palestinian Revolution-----80¢

RESISTANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS AVAILABLE FREE TO SISTERS AND BROTHERS IN PRISON

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION-----\$2.00 INSTITUTIONAL SUBSCRIPTION \$6.00





W. Z. ...

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