



RESISTANCE in the **MIDDLE EAST**

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**PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT & THE
MIDDLE EAST REVOLUTION**

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DRAFT RESISTORS IN ISRAEL

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THE HAPPY KINGDOM OF IRAN

4
FALL
1971



Editorial

the Palestinian Movement and the Middle-East Revolution

Thirteen months ago the strength and revolutionary spirit of the Palestinian Liberation movement shown like a beacon throughout the Arab world. To read their publications, to talk to their representatives, to hear of their exploits, to feel their pride, was to watch a people in the process of a rebirth of nationhood.

In the three short years after the 1967 war the movement had developed a breadth and cohesiveness that was nothing short of phenomenal. Yet today they are in eclipse, desperately attempting a retrenchment. For since the September 1970 massacre Jordan's King Hussein has been slicing off parts of the Resistance, last July cornering the last 3000 in the Ajlun forest near Jerash, Jordan.

The visible signal for the counter-offensive against the Resistance was the announcement of the Rogers Plan (see *Resistance in the Middle East*, number 3). This in essence was a political scheme arranged by Washington and Moscow to fix a mutually profitable stability in the Middle East by cutting the ground out from under the Resistance, which until then was a serious disrupting factor not subject to their control.

When Egypt accepted the Rogers plan in July 1970 it expelled the 689 Palestinian students from the University of Cairo and closed down the two Resistance radio stations. Still, a large part of the commandoes clung to their policy of non-interference in the affairs of Arab governments. They chose instead to maintain a condition of dual power in Jordan where Palestinians outnumber Jordanian bedouins three-to-one, and this prompted Hussein, with American support, to move against them.

Against superior US weaponry the commandoes were

almost cleared from Jordan this summer. Lebanon, using US aid earmarked for "internal security" repeated the same process. And after a rightist coup in November of 1970, the new leadership in Syria sought a rapprochement with Egypt and openly displayed their lack of sympathy of the commandoes. The result of that rapprochement--the federation of Egypt, Syria, the Sudan, and Libya--was a reactionary alliance whose aim is to put down any revolutionary movements that might threaten those regimes.

These circumstances, taken together, have resulted in a serious reversal for the Palestinian movement, the significance of which goes far beyond its local geographic setting in the Middle East. This reversal has effects on virtually every level of the progressive political movement around the world, including the anti-imperialist struggle in this country.

Taken in its most restrictive context, the setbacks in Jordan resulted in the immediate loss of a physical base from which political and military offensives against the area's most accessible reactionary regimes (Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon) could be launched. Although small groups of fedayeen still operate in the mountains northwest of Amman, the visible part of the movement has been effectively separated from its main constituency in the camps and villages of Jordan. This has had the additional result of separating the Palestinian people themselves from their main sources of medical care, education, and defense, to say nothing of the effect on their dignity as a People struggling against their status as a subjugated minority in exile.

The repercussions on other revolutionary movements are serious as well. Besides losing an invaluable training and political base, insurgencies in other areas of the middle east and africa have also lost a focal point which gave meaning and coherence to their own struggles by its success and prestige. Instead of the gradual ascendance of the more leftward elements in the Resistance that was evident before the setback, what remains is a divided and considerably weaker movement with its bourgeois elements most prominent and purportedly speaking in the name of the Palestinian people. The picture this presents to other areas in the middle east makes the job of the Left in those countries incomparably more difficult.

This loss of an inspiring and encouraging example also has another side. This is the "second wind" given to reactionary elements in the middle-east and elsewhere by the apparent success achieved against the Palestinian Resistance. The spectacle of an accelerating popular movement being put down by Hussein with the material and political support of the US and Israel, and without interference by other "progressive" Arab regimes, has given confidence to reactionary forces in other parts of the middle-east.

The Libyan-supported coup attempt in Morocco and the attempt via another unsuccessful coup to sever the Sudan from Egyptian-Syrian trusteeship and Libyan interference, resulted in the strengthening of the monarchy in Morocco on the one hand, and the utter suppression of the communist party in the Sudan, on the other. Meanwhile purges and trials of leftward leaning leaders in Sadat's Egypt have started, and a new wave of repression has hit Iran where widespread arrests of worker and student leaders have been reported. Inside Israel the removal from front-stage center of the Palestinian movement for self-determination in their own homeland, has deprived the Israeli left of their most graphic illustration of the fundamental contradiction lying at the base of the "Arab"-Israeli conflict.

But the scope of the reactionary alliance being forged in the wake of the repression of the Palestinian movement is not restricted in sig-



David Levine in the N.Y. Review of Books
Oct. 7, 1971

nificance to the Middle East. The reassertion of American influence in the Arab world together with the encouragement of a "working relationship" between Israel and her Arab neighbors are ominous signs that two principal aims of US foreign policy are about to be realized. The first is the continued secure exploitation of middle eastern natural resources (oil) which now provide American companies with over two billion dollars a year in profits. The second is the securing of a western bridgehead (Israel) for American economic imperialism in the area.

That Israel is eager and willing to act as a bulwark for US economic interests in the middle-east is of course consistent with the class nature of Israeli society. For the same reasons the Arab regimes are aiding and abetting this process. The net effect is a setback not only for a revolutionary movement in Palestine, or for revolutionary groups in the Middle East generally, but in fact for progressive elements in this country as well.

The bitter lesson that the Palestinian resistance is learning is that the solution to their disenfranchisement at the hands of a bourgeois nationalist ideology like Zionism cannot itself be expressed in isolated nationalist terms. It must instead relate to the needs of all the people in the area, Palestinian, Israeli, Jordanian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian. The lesson that the North American movement must learn is essentially the same, that is, that our perspective must be sufficiently broad so as to include meaningful support for those fighting on different fronts but engaged in the same struggle.

The sudden shift in focus that took place in September of 1971 when the movement in this country "discovered" the revolutionary potential of the Palestinian Resistance caught American radicals off-guard and insufficiently prepared to follow through with meaningful support once the furor had passed from the headlines. But the histories of the Viet-Nam-ese and the Algerian revolutions, to take two recent examples, serve to remind us that the last chapter in the struggle of the Palestinian people has not been written. A proposal has already been made for a united front in Jordan in order to strengthen the unity of the Jordanian-Palestinian movement in its struggle against the area's reactionary alliances.

We should also be reminded of the great responsibility that we in this country have to our middle-eastern brothers and sisters to oppose the violence that has been, and will be visited upon them in the next phase of their struggle. This means vigorous support for their cause, as well as vehement opposition to those policies of our own and allied governments which participate in or act in collusion with this violence. Perhaps then we too will appreciate the full significance of their slogan, "Revolution until Victory."

INSIDE ISRAEL

FROM THE UNDERGROUND

*Letter from the Israeli Black Panther leader
Sa'adiah Marciano to the citizens of Israel.*

Somewhere in Israel,
September 26th, 1971.

Citizens,

I am addressing you from my hiding place. I shall not tell you here about the police violence during the demonstration and in the detention cells. Let us leave that for later.

Golda Meir's discriminatory regime has declared war on us and is trying to force us underground.

Why?

Golda's government was so scared by the latest mass demonstration in Zion Square (Jerusalem) which followed the devaluation of the Israeli pound (by 20%) declared by (finance minister) P. Sapir-- a direct blow to the families of the poor.

The tremendous support we received from the poor in Israel brought Golda's discriminatory government to conclude, "They are dangerous to the regime. They must be put down at once. If we don't finish them now they might finish us."

For this reason Police Superintendent, Turgeman received instructions to finish us off once and for all. For this reason did the (Jerusalem) detectives break into the Panthers offices without any legal warrant, arresting us and beating us up in detention.

Do they really believe they can finish us off that quickly?

Do they really believe this?

Here in my hiding place I have plenty of time to think. I want to tell you something personal which keeps haunting me.

Amongst the thousands of letters we receive from the poor and oppressed in Israel there was one from a family by the name of Va'anunu. This was a few days before the demonstration. This family has 12 children. They live in one room. The kitchen and the toilet are in one cubicle two yards by two yards. Here is what the social worker wrote about this family, "They are severely overcrowded. They have no space for sufficient beds for all children. All children are forced to sleep in one bed. The overcrowding and unsanitary conditions foster disease. The children are frequently ill. Often they have to be taken to the hospital. As a result they miss school and lag in their studies. Two months ago the whole family contracted a contagious disease (impetigo). Despite the medical treatment given to the entire family the disease keeps recurring because of the severe overcrowding. This is a source of infection for the whole neighborhood..." The social worker concluded her report by saying, "A rehousing for this family is imperative for there is no other hope for their health, and no other hope for the children to make any progress..."

But Golda's discriminatory regime refuses to be impressed by this reality; P. Sapir, the finance minister, keeps saying that there is no poverty in this country. The authorities rejected all the family's appeals. Later that day I saw one of this family's children searching for food in the dustbin outside a luxurious house. I could not stop my tears. I knew that the story of the Va'anunu family is the story of the second Israel, the oppressed and neglected Israel consisting of tens of thousands of families. This story have I re-learned in the Mousara quarter in Jerusalem, which is a university for poverty. That child got out of me what that sadist, police interrogator Mushitz never managed to: I cried like a child. At that moment I vowed to myself: All my efforts will be dedicated to war on this outrageous reality, the reality of the little child named Va'anunu, or Va'annin, or Shara'bi [Oriental Jewish names. trans.] who searches for food in the dustbins of the flat of an Epstein; against this vicious reality which for-

ces this child to grow up as an unskilled labourer to serve the children of Rabinowitz [European Jewish name. trans.]. I have sworn that no power in the world will deter me in this war. Neither the libel of journalists nor the murderous beatings in police stations nor the hunt which Golda's police mounts against us as if we were criminals. When we stopped the traffic in Zion Square in Jerusalem it was like a hope. My comrades are as determined as myself. Together we have sworn: No more poverty. No more deprivation. If in the framework of the present regime it is impossible to put an end to poverty and deprivation then we shall put an end to this regime.

Citizens. From this hiding place I appeal to you. Demonstrate your solidarity with us. Come this Saturday night to the Russian Compound [location of the Jerusalem police headquarters and detention cells], the families of the detainees will be waiting there for you.

There we shall all demand:

RELEASE THE DETAINEES
AN END TO POVERTY
AN END TO DEPRIVATION

-----On behalf of the mobile Hq. of the Black Panthers organization, Sa'adiah Marciano. Sept. 28. 1971.

Latest developments.

On Friday, September 10th, Marciano and his comrades - following legal advice - gave themselves up to the police in public, in Zion Square, in front of journalists and TV cameras. They are now held in the notorious detention cells in the Russian compound pending their trial on charges of "interfering with public order; obstructing traffic; assaulting policemen; violence; etc. etc."

to Israel from California

Several hundred Jewish radical students demonstrated outside the hall where Foreign Minister Abba Eban presented the Israel Medal of Valour to California Governor Ronald Reagan on Saturday night.

Governor Reagan was honored at an Israel Bonds dinner for signing a bill permitting a state-controlled finance company to purchase Israel Bonds.

See the back page.

DRAFT RESISTERS

[The following are excerpts from a petition circulated by the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad (ISRACA).]

The following two documents, written by Israeli draft resisters, were sent to us from Jerusalem with the request to give them all publicity and support possible. The Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad produced the following translation and invites anyone who feels strongly about these issues to join this campaign.

Tel Aviv, August 2nd., 1971.

The Minister of Defence, Mr. M. Dayan,
Ministry of Defence,
Hakiryah, Tel Aviv.

Sir,

We are a group of young people on the eve of being drafted into the army. After prolonged deliberations we came to the conclusion that we cannot serve in this army.

Young people are dying in this country because of internal politics and not for noble values (as a recent research by Dr. Shlomo Aronson and Mr. Horowitz shows.) An Israeli journalist who served during the last three Israeli wars stated, "for each soldier who dies in Suez, there is someone who becomes rich in Tel Aviv."

We refuse to serve in an army of occupation. It has been demonstrated in history that occupation means foreign rule; foreign rule begets resistance; resistance begets oppression; oppression begets terror and counter terror. WE WERE NOT BORN FREE IN ORDER TO BECOME OPPRESSORS. Oppression is not a good reason to die for. The cynical attitude of this government towards the lives of young people strengthened our refusal to become candidates for death notices. We do not want to be commemorated in some literary volume. We have no intent to hurt the government but we do not want the government to put us in a state wherein nothing can hurt us anymore.

We are determined to refuse to take part in the oppression of another people. WE RESIST TO INFLICT UPON ANOTHER PEOPLE WHAT HAS BEEN INFLICTED UPON OUR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS.

We are fully aware that all mass-media in Israel are under government control and we are only four people who refuse to take orders from a regime that means nothing to them.

We herewith enclose our drafting orders:

Name	Identity Card No.	Drafting date
Reuven Lassman	5173790	15.8.1971
Dov Gal	6452580	15.8.1971
Giyora Neumann	6494474	15.11.1971
Irith Ya'acobi	5173715	31.11.1971

Tremendous pressures were exerted on the four draft-resisters....

As a result of this pressure all the four had to run away from their homes. Dov Gal broke down and agreed to be drafted on the condition that he will be allowed to plead insanity in the army.

Reuven Lassman was arrested, secretly, on 5.9.1971 and taken to the notorious military prison No. 6 near Atlit. After a trial and prison sentence he will be drafted by force and imprisoned by the army.

The following petition was sent to us from Jerusalem on September 9th:

TO ALL YOUNG PEOPLE

The case: Detention of draft resister Reuven Lassman.

The regime has gone wild. Occupation. Exploitation. Social discrimination. Violation of the rights of the individual. Detention without trial.

All these have become commonplace in Israel. Latest addition to this list: an attempt to force active support of official policy on people whose conscience is opposed to that policy.

"We are unwilling to serve in an army of occupation, ... we were not born free in order to become oppressors", wrote Reuven Lassman with his three comrades in an open letter to the minister of Defence on 2.8.71.

On September 5th Reuven was arrested because he refused to betray his belief, refused to take part in oppressing another people. Two state agents came and without notifying anyone, neither parents nor friends, handcuffed him and took him away. A similar treatment awaits his comrades or anyone who refuses to serve in an army of occupation or to take part in other immoral activity demanded by this government....

ARAB PRISONERS' REVOLT

On October 1, 1971, a prison rebellion erupted in the jail at Ashkelon inside Israel in which one Israeli officer was killed and ten other guards were wounded. This particular jail holds 480 commandos who have been sentenced to terms of between 15 years and life.

The rebellion began when one officer and a prison guard entered a cell, housing 20 inmates. While the Israeli officer was bending down, the prisoners attacked him with their fists and broomsticks. When the other inmates learned of the incident, they joined in the struggle, resisting guards with their fists and sticks, and smashing doors, windows, and furniture. The fighting inmates were shouting, "Long live Palestine. Long live our brothers at Attica. Death to the fascists."

At a press conference following the quelling of the rebellion a prison administrator revealed that 18 prisoners, the leaders of the rebellion were transferred to other jails, some will be transferred soon, and some were put in isolation. No mention was made of the number of inmates killed or wounded.

From Maariv, Oct. 1st, 1971 and from the Iraqi daily.

Please sign the following petition and send it to P.O.Box 2234, Jerusalem, Israel; or to ISRACA, 219 Putney Bridge Rd. London S.W. 15.

TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND MINISTRY OF DEFENCE,

We, the undersigned, demand the immediate release of draft-resister Reuven Lassman from prison. We recognise the right of young people to refuse to serve in an army of occupation.

Labor Faces

New Threat

In order to halt the wave of social agitation, the Israeli government decided in its meeting of September 12 to adopt certain measures designed to prevent strikes in the public services field. The basis has been created for a series of laws which would regulate the right to strike and would give an official category to work agreements which have already been signed in the public sector.

Under the terms of the law, workers and management would be obligated to submit to compulsory arbitration of conflicts, if already existing work regulations included such a possibility. The rules governing the conduct of strikes have been defined in a precise fashion. Penalties will be enforced against those who flout the present regulations.

General Dayan, minister of defense, as well as Shimon Peres, the minister of communications and the minister of religious affairs demanded that workers who strike in violation of existing agreements be given prison sentences. On the other hand, the two Mapam ministers opposed the law-making project, declaring that it would unduly limit the possibilities of workers' strikes for just causes.

The government put the ministers of labor and of justice in charge of preparing the text of the new laws in coordination with the Histadrut's leadership which, under pressure from the Labor Party, gave its approval to the law-making project. On the other hand, the government rejected two proposals by the Independent Liberals (Herut) and the National Religious Party which called for compulsory arbitration in vital industries and services.

The businessman's Association stated its satisfaction with the law-making project, while the workers committees have strongly condemned it. The secretary of the committee of dockworkers of Ashdod, M. Peres, said: "We the workers, will know how to deal with the new situation. If we don't halt this project, we will slow the work-rate. They can't make us work with whips. Why do they enact laws against workers and not against price increases?" The secretary of the merchant seamen's union also denounced the law.

In the meantime, the customs officials' strike continued in all ports and in all airports

except Lod (The workers at the international airport resumed work after injunctions were issued by the Tel Aviv district court). The decision to continue the strike was reached on Sunday by a meeting of the national council of customs workers. Under this situation the minister of finances could be obliged to call an extra meeting of the Cabinet in order to put an end to the strike.

Finally, the wave of protests against increasing prices continues everywhere in Israel. A large demonstration, organized by the worker's committee of the local textile plant, took place on Monday in Bet-Shean, and similar demonstrations occurred else-where on the same day.

Le Monde, August 29

GAZA STRIP

THINNING OUT THE NATIVES

Security roads being bulldozed through Jebeliyeh refugee camp in the Gaza Strip "go straight, through Lydda, Jaffa and Haifa", the camp commandant said. He was referring to the home-town groups in which the refugees still live after 23 years of exile. A young Palestinian explained bitterly: "We are the Arab diaspora. Like the Jews, we dream of going home again."

It is a fading dream, even if a negotiated peace between Israel and the Arab states is reached. The immediate prospect for several thousands of the refugees is another uprooting so that over-crowded camps can be thinned out and better policed. Up to date about 2,000 families (10,000 people) have been moved, mostly from Jebeliyeh and Shati camps and the evacuation is continuing at the rate of 30 to 50 families a day. Rafiah, the Strip's biggest camp with 40,000 people is now being cleared.

A CHOICE

Those whose stone houses are knocked down are given the choice of going to El Arish 60 miles west, where 450 of the houses deserted by fleeing Egyptians in 1967 have



been taken over, or finding their own accommodations. So far 300 families have moved to El Arish, 100 have been given shelters in smaller refugee camps and the rest have moved in with relatives or rented bits of land to rebuild their huts with the stones, doors and windows carried away from the demolition. Some families have gone to the West Bank.

The Mukhtars told me they had protested that the forcible demolition of houses to widen roads amounted to collective punishment. Nobody wanted to go to El Arish they said, and one day the Egyptian owners of the houses there might return. They also claimed that no compensation was being given, though Israeli officials produced receipts showing that between 80 and 200 pounds sterling had been paid, according to the additions refugees had made to their free homes.

The Mukhtars maintain that all the refugees want to stay in the Gaza Strip until they can return to their original homes. Asked whether they seriously believed that would ever be

Fist raised, an Arab refugee in the camp at Jabaliya in the Gaza Strip voices anger over demolishing of houses.



The New York Times/Richard Eder

Possible, since their old property has been changed out of recognition in what is now Israel, one replied: "We will not go anywhere else, even on the West Bank. Nor will we accept compensation for our land. We would be paying ourselves from its yield."

Hints of brittle relations between the Israelis and the International organizations have fed refugee fears that the road-building work is only the first phase of a sweeping re-settlement plan which would change the status quo in the Gaza Strip. Arabs point to a new town being built between the strip and El Arish, a road from Hebron, fencing to protect paramilitary farms, harbour improvements and reports of proposals for future Jewish settlements to stimulate industry.

The Times, September, 3, 1971

editorial note: In the Gaza Strip, operation "Diloul" means to thin out, as one thins out a forest, or to use the language of an Israeli officer, "to thin out these jungles (the refugee camps)." One of the main purposes of this costly security project has been to clear away the winding paths and alley ways which rendered impossible any largescale intervention by troops in case of disorders.

**We have learned subsequent to this article that the first stage of operation "Diloul" has been accomplished. 15,000 inhabitants have now been removed from their homes in Jabaliya, Shati, and Rafia.*

*** On the West Bank, interrogations and arrests of villagers continue to grow at an alarming rate. In fact, the recent crackdowns are the largest conducted in that area in 3 years according to the Jerusalem Post, September 12, 1971. Ninety villagers, in this month alone have been arrested in the Hebron area on suspicion of collaborating with the Palestinian Resistance. It is reported that all together around 400 residents of the West Bank have been detained on different political charges in the last 4 months.*

FOR WHITE JEWS ONLY

The black Jews who immigrated to Israel from Liberia a year ago and are staying these days in Dimona and suffering from economic hardship, tried to supply themselves with food without paying for it (10.3.71).

Several tens of families, women, men and children entered the supermarket in Dimona and collected food items in their bags. The supermarket workers were surprised to realize that the families had no intention to pay.

The supermarket workers called in the police. After a long discussion with the families, the policemen convinced them to return the food.

It was reported that the late groups of black Jews who came to Dimona are not recognised as "immigrants" but are classified as "tourists" with Israeli visas only. They did not get apartments and are not allowed to get a job without special permission.

Most of the families are staying in the apartments which were supplied to the first families who came to Israel two years ago. It was reported that in some cases 4-5 families live in one apartment.

The families talked to the foreign television men and told them that they are Jews who returned to their fatherland. But here the government is refusing to recognise them.

Two years ago the group's leader said, "We are Jewish. We have always been Jewish, and we have come to Israel for the same reason any Jew comes here."

Two months ago, however, a group of their leaders declared, "We are Hebrew Israelites. We are the descendants of Cush, who is mentioned in the book of Genesis, Chapter 10... We are the real owners of the land of Israel, not the Jews. We do not need entry visas. We have come because God has commanded us and because there is no room for us in America..."

About these people, the Ministry of Interior announced, "We have already had troublesome immigrants and have digested them in the course of time. But these people are not

immigrants, and the law of return does not apply to them. With our resources being overstrained anyway, we do not see why we should solve a problem which is not ours but of another country-- the U.S."

Later, three groups totalling 24 persons, who came in the first week of Oct. to join the Dimona community, were turned back on arrival at Lydda airport, and orders have been issued to the police to adopt the same policy in the future.

Sources: *Ma'arive, 10.4.71*
The New York Times, 12. 23.1969
The Christian Science Monitor, 10.13.1971.

ASYO... Arab Customers Only

Arabs on the West Bank and inside Israel are feeling an increased amount of emigration pressure. Arab youth, particularly the educated and skilled youth has been the focus of direct government propaganda and private business campaigns. The expressed purpose of these campaigns has been to encourage a quick exile from the country which is intended to last forever. Unofficial Israeli policy has several aims. One is to clear the area in order to make room for more desirable citizens, (western Jews or Ashkenazim), many of whom are skilled or educated. Another aim is to alleviate the potential political force represented by skilled and educated Arab youth who have not been able to find jobs in their respective fields because of almost total discrimination in business, public service jobs and government positions for which they would be qualified.

On the other hand, another sector of the Arab population has proved of great value to the Israeli economy. For example, unskilled jobs in construction and agriculture are presently being filled by cheap Arab labor. By 1969, in Jerusalem, 20% of the employees of Histadrut Construction Enterprises were Arabs from the West Bank. In 1971, 80% of Israel's fruit pickers are Arabs from the Gaza Strip. Before the six day war, Arabs living inside Israel held a disproportionately high number of unskilled industrial jobs, whereas skilled jobs

were virtually monopolized by Israeli Jews. It should be noted that Arabs were not allowed to join the Histadrut until recently.

Today, Arabs from Israel and from the occupied territories do belong to the Histadrut, but the relationship is exploitative rather than being a case of a trade union defending the interests of its members. For example, until the present, members from the occupied territories have been forced to pay for Histadrut medical insurance, although they have been excluded from receiving its benefits because they are not Israeli citizens. Furthermore, members are not allowed to form caucuses and like Israeli workers, would not receive support from Histadrut leadership if they were to call a strike. Although Histadrut's policy boasts of equal pay for equal work, Israeli Arabs are not able to get equal work, therefore, the pay is also unequal. Job stability and permanency is lowest among Arab workers. For example, thousands of Arabs from the occupied territories work on road construction which is temporary and unstable employment.

At present, Israeli and West Bank Arab workers have not found effective ways to unify and to fight their oppression. Only the small Rakah (Arab Communist Party), has spoken out clearly in the Knesset, in behalf of the interests of Arab workers.

Recently, a committee of Arab students in Jerusalem and a committee in Tel Aviv have begun an educative campaign concerning Israeli efforts to permanently exile the skilled and educated Arab youth.

The students have singled out one large company (based in Switzerland) to symbolize Israel's large scale efforts to force them permanently out of the country. The A.S.Y.O. Company (commerce Trust Limited) is instrumental in getting cheap Arab labor for France and Germany where there are critical labor shortages. In the past, Spain and Italy have furnished much of the cheap labor for France and Germany. In turn, these migrant hiring practices cause widespread unemployment among the French and German workers.

The company's manager in Haifa, Ygal Trivon, reports that he has registered more than 600 Arab technicians, half of whom are from Israel. Haaretz, a daily Israeli newspaper, reported that the company guaranteed 2000 jobs for the first year. The company's conditions appear attractive. After the potential employee pays 50 Israeli pounds, the A.S.Y.O. company pays for everything else...passport and visa, one way ticket, work permit, and place of work, even lodgings for the first few days.

The Arab students, however, warn of a very different reality facing them than the one advertised by the Company. They recall the "Canadian immigration scheme" of 1966 where most of the newly arrived immigrants to Canada could only find jobs as waiters, construction worker's helpers, and wood choppers.

WANTED:

Three young persons who were distributing leaflets in Jerusalem were arrested yesterday morning for investigation by the police. The three, one of whom was Arab, were handing out leaflets which read: "Wanted: Golda Meir, Moshe Dayan and Pinhas Sapir."

The leaflet stated that the Prime Minister and the two other ministers are wanted for crimes of violence against the Black Panthers, for robbing the families of the poor, for character assassination of striking workers, and for deceiving voters with empty promises.

On the leaflets were two signatures: "Achad-Ha'am" (one of the nation) and "The Socialist Organization of Israel."

From Ha'aretz, Oct. 1st, 1971

ALLAH EXISTS

Colonel Khaddafi (Libya) said in another part of his interview with Al Hawedess that he stood for: "socialism based upon Islam, the unifying force of the Arab world," and that he would respect "private property and Islamic traditions." At the same time, the Libyan chief of state emphasized that, after the deaths of three Soviet cosmonauts in July, he had sent a message of condolence to the Soviet leaders, repeating that "Allah exists." But he complained that Radio Moscow had never broadcast his message.

Le Monde, Aug. 30, 1971

REPRESSION IN IRAQ

Repression against the Communist Party and other opposition forces in Iraq dates from the seizure of power by the Ba'ath Party in July, 1968. The Ba'ath leaders, at that time, had guaranteed that the "tragic events of 1963" (an euphemism used for the massacres of Communists that took place after the Ba'ath coup of February 8, 1963) would not be repeated. However, the Ba'ath militia, which operates under the nickname "The Green Arm-bands" quickly reappeared. Their first victim was Hani Nasser, who had been minister of foreign affairs in the E. Bakr government (July 21-30, 1968) and had not restrained his criticisms of the new regime. Since then, the campaign to liquidate "spies," highlighted in January, 1970 by the public execution of fourteen Iraqis, among whom nine were Jews, and later by the execution of nearly a hundred persons accused of conspiracy against the regime, has served as a pretext for intensified repression directed against Communists, members of the Arab Socialist Movement, the Arab Socialist Workers Party, and the "Syrian" wing of the Ba'ath.

The Communists, who are the only truly organized force in Iran aside from the Ba'ath and the Kurdish Nationalists, seem to have been the principal victims of the Ba'ath militia, which has been granted a legal status as the "national security apparatus."

A Communist Party report in June, 1971 stated that nearly a hundred members had been tortured to death in the dungeons of the fortress known as Kasr El Nihaya. Others had been executed without trial, as in the case of Ahmed El Khuddari, member of the party's Baghdad committee and one of the leaders of the teachers' union. He had been kidnapped on March 20, 1970, nearly a week after the agreement with the Kurds was signed, at a moment when the situation in the country seemed to have eased. His body was later found with eighteen bullet wounds. Although the official press praised him as a "well known patriot", no measures were taken to find his assassins.

In its June 1971 report, the Communist party listed 410 persons (students, intellectuals, and workers) who have been held in Kasr el Nihaya for three years or more. This same report listed such tortures as burnings with hot iron, injection of water into the intestines, crushing of bones, electric shocks, and rape.

Le Monde Diplomatique, August 1971

SUDAN

On February 12, 1971 General Nimeiry announced on the radio that he had decided "to smash and destroy the so-called Sudanese Communist Party." Then the most severe repression that the C.P. has ever faced was initiated. The blows struck against the C.P. were disconcerting and highly precise for a reason:

Moawya Ibrahim, who had been responsible for the party's underground apparatus before he joined General Nimeiry, delivered long lists of party members to the government. The organization of Communist youth was practically destroyed; the C.G.T. (labor union) lost its best cadres; the members whom the party had sent to the southern provinces in order to organize a pro-autonomy movement, were arrested and sent back to the north; all public services and government branches were purged; the police and the army were also purged of Communists and sympathizers.

General Nimeiry, on May 25, outlined that which he expected to be the final blow. He announced the dissolution of the C.G.T. and all other labor unions, of the peasant associations, the women's associations, and even of charitable societies in which Communists could conceivably be present. He put Moawya Ibrahim in charge of creating a new set of labor unions on a corporative basis, similar to that which exists in Portugal. Finally, he announced that the Sudan would have a single party--the Sudanese Socialist Union.

The central committee of the Communist Party met to examine the situation, which they considered extremely dangerous. Until that point, the C.P. had refused to raise the banner of revolution against a government which it still considered "national and anti-imperialist." Nimeiry's speech of May 25 rendered this analysis indefensible and



Contacts with local and foreign communists (Design of Behrendt in Het Parool, Amsterdam)

it spurred the party to action. The Central Committee's May 30 resolution was distributed in leaflet form:

"The Communist Party calls upon the working class and all national and democratic organizations to create the means for fighting against the political and military dictatorship, in order to replace it with a National Democratic Front."

Abdel Khalek Mahjoub, who was still under arrest would later approve the document and the decision as a means of avoiding the party's destruction. Colonel Hashim El Atta was put in charge of carrying out the plans. His mission, which he was not able to complete was, in the terms that Mahjoub used during his trial, "to transform the 10th of July movement into a 'people's revolution,' to transfer the power of the Revolutionary Council to the National Democratic Front,

which would be an alliance of workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, progressive army officers and soldiers, and nationalist bourgeoisie." The "Commune of Khartoum" was nipped in the bud, but the Sudanese Communist Party, if one can judge from their underground publications since the counter-coup, seems more ready than ever before to continue its struggle.

Le Monde, August 22

Recently, the North Vietnamese strongly condemned Sudan for its repression. In Nhan Dan organ of the National Worker's Party, created by Ho Chi Minh in 1945, the protest was voiced in these terms: "The persecutions and massacres of communists and other progressives in the Sudan are an obvious crime against the struggle of the Sudanese people and of all Arab peoples against Imperialism and for independence and democracy."

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH SUDAN

The Middle East conflict is riddled with such questions as "How can Sudan be waging a war against imperialism if it oppresses the Blacks in Southern Sudan?" or, "How can Iraq consider itself anti-imperialist if it oppresses the Iraqi Kurds?" Since the rise of the Palestinian resistance and the exposure of Israel's brutal treatment of Arabs both inside the occupied territories and its pre-1967 boundaries, the question of national minorities within the Middle East has received unprecedented attention. For this reason, it is important to provide a brief consideration of the "minority" question of Southern Sudan.

Although many mistakenly portray the conflict as a clash between an "Arab" majority and a "Black" minority, the reality of the conflict is primarily religious and economic. Whereas Northern Sudan is populated by Nilotic peoples who adopted Islam and the Arabic language during the Middle Ages, the Nilotic peoples of Southern Sudan have largely maintained a subsistence economy and tribal religions. In modern times, missionaries converted a minor portion of South Sudan to Christianity. Since the economy of that region is pre-feudal, it is very difficult to show that the South Sudanese revolt is a national liberation struggle in the classic sense. For example, some tribes seek independence from Khartoum,

others do not.

Early this year, the Sudanese Communist Party, one of the largest in the Arab World, sent many of its cadres to the South in order to advance a program which would have allowed the region to exist autonomously within a greater Sudanese federation. There are indications that the "autonomy program" was winning wide support before General Nimeiry, in May, ordered Communist Party members to return to the North (*Le Monde*, August 22). It is important to note that the Sudanese Communist Party had previously announced its full solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and, unlike Communist parties in other countries, had condemned the Rogers Plan.

On the other side of the coin, the nature of the South Sudanese revolt was brought into serious question in April by the capture of Rolf Steiner, a veteran of Hitler's S.S. who had later led battalions of European mercenaries in the Congo (1962) and in the Biafran conflict (1967-69). Steiner, who will soon be tried in Khartoum, has allegedly confessed that Israeli officials had provided him with money and arms in order to stimulate tribal revolts against the Khartoum government. *Palestina*, an Italian magazine, has reported that ex-President Obote of Uganda, which borders Sudan on the South, had discovered that Israeli and Ugandan

officers were training members of the Anya-nva, the South Sudanese rebel force. Ugandan General Idi Amin, who suddenly overthrew Obote in January 1970, and had been trained in Israel, was one of the officers allegedly involved. Obote also claimed that South Sudanese rebel forces were using bases and training camps situated in Ethiopia and Chad, two countries where Israel has been training the army and police for operations against indigenous guerrilla movements. (*Israel's military aid to Ethiopia and Chad has been well-documented by the Africa Research Group's pamphlet David and Goliath Cooperate in Africa.*)

These allegations, as well as a glance at the map, put into question whether Israel's support of the Anya-nva is purely humanitarian. Its more than amicable relationships with Ethiopia and Chad, which border Sudan on the East and the West, lead us to realize that the stakes in Southern Sudan may be very large. The creation of a pro-Israel entity would, on the one hand, effect control of the River Nile, and, on the other hand, would strengthen right-wing African regimes which are daily encountering greater opposition, not only from their own peoples, but from progressive movements throughout Central Africa.

It is noteworthy that many of those in Israel or in the United States who so loudly advance the slogan of "Self-determination for the South Sudanese blacks" have never found time to protest against General Nimeiry's protracted persecutions of members of the Sudanese Communist Party. At the same time, the same figures who also concern themselves with the plight of the Iraqi Kurds have never said a word about suppression of the Kurds by Turkey and Iran, two countries with which Israel maintains good diplomatic relations. Similarly, they have never protested the Iraqi government's persecution of the Iraqi Communist Party, which has done much to advance the principle of Kurdish autonomy.

For these reasons, the validity of those Israelis and Americans who pretend to promote the "Kurdish" or "South Sudanese" causes must be called into serious question. The question of "national self-determination" cannot be used by those proponents of Zionism who refuse to apply the true definition in their own relationships with the people of Palestine. Oppression of minorities has existed in the Middle East both before and during the rise of modern imperialism and it has recently become very clear that "progressive" regimes, as in Iraq or Sudan, do not, in and of themselves, constitute a solution to the forms of oppression faced by minorities. Rather, we emphasize that the most practical solutions have been advanced by Marxist organizations within the Middle East, noting consistently that neither Israel nor the United States has ever said a word in protest against anti-Marxist pogroms in the Middle East, whether they are carried out by feudalists, such as King Hussein, or military leaders, such as Nimeiry.

MOROCCO

For a brief period last July, Morocco was pulmetted from relative obscurity to the front pages of the Western press. A segment of the army had led an abortive and bloody coup against King Hassan as the monarch was celebrating his fortieth birthday at his plush ocean palace in Skhirat. What actually took place is not clear; few know what occurred and those who have lived to tell have created fantasies to discredit the leaders of the coup.

When the radio station in Rabat was seized and the "socialist republic" declared, crowds took to the streets, tearing down King Hassan's big brother posters, and chanting, "the monarchy is dead, socialism is here." Their joy was premature; to the glee of other national leaders who survive through the force of arms, Hassan's loyal troops managed to crush the rebels. President Nixon, whose country maintains an air force and communications training center in Morocco (in return for the use of two small bases in Sidi Yahya and Bouknadel as communication centers of the Sixth Fleet) expressed the gladness of the American people to see order re-established in Morocco. He was joined by other comrade-in-arms as Franco of Spain, Yahya of Pakistan, and Selassie of Ethiopia. The Algerian government gave support to the king when it became clear that the coup had failed, but its press maintained an embarrassed silence. Israel maintained an official silence, but its press printed many articles crowing over the results of the coup and the fact that its failure prevented the Straits of Gibraltar from falling into Moscow's hands.

International congratulations aside, things will not be the same for the Moroccan people. His aura shattered, King Hassan will have to rely more and more on the force of arms to perpetrate his rule. Conspiracy trials and political kidnappings are becoming increasingly a part of everyday life. For the Moroccan people this is an ironic twist; the cry of Yahva-l-Malik (Long live the King) was the most important slogan in the struggle against French colonialism. Today it is heard only when the crowds are bussed in for ceremonial purposes. But it has a false ring, for the Moroccan worker and peasant know well that they are as colonized today as they were fourteen years ago.

During the French protectorate years of 1912-1956, Morocco was a colony in the classic sense of the word--an area where French (and allied) companies

the hands of the neo-feudal Moroccan lords. And while these landlords are making nice fat profits to spend in the Restinga resort, Morocco this year took out a loan from the United States to buy wheat to head off starvation!

The importance of the two peasant uprisings cannot be underestimated. It was the Moroccan peasant who bore the burden of the independence struggle, and it will definitely be he who will bear the final burden of freeing himself from exploitation. But the intellectual movement in the cities is also important because it is usually from there that the first stimulus for change comes. There the movement is led largely by students with labor support. In 1965, Casablanca, the industrial capital of Morocco and the largest city, was cut off from the rest of the country as the "forces of order" moved in to quell a general revolt inspired and led by students. A State of Exception was declared, the constitution was sacked, and monarchy rule became absolute.

In 1970, a new constitution was presented for vote by the people. The new constitution in fact was no constitution at all but a formal prolongation of the State of Exception. The two most powerful parties in Morocco, the Istiqlal (Independence) and the National Union of Popular Forces (a 1959 socialist splinter of the Istiqlal) merged to form Al Kutla-l-Wataniya, a national opposition bloc (a totally unexpected move as antagonism between these two parties was not always confined to words) that urged "no" for a vote. In addition the labor unions took a negative stand as well. And when the vote came in, 98% of the country had voted yes! There is no question the vote was rigged, but by how much? The two parties have since boycotted elections, lending parliament the image of a national farce.

To top it all, the universities and the majority of high schools have been shut down by strikes this year (which led the government to make conspiracy charges).

The formation of Al Kutla-l-Wataniya has thrown the political situation into a totally new scene. Party rivalry is dead; the Istiqlal has been drawn left of its traditional position, and the NUPF now enjoys a stronger communications means through the Istiqlal's two powerful Arabic and French dailies. The situation is such that the regime stands alone and can only rely on the monarchy's traditional prestige.

What this will eventually bring is hard to say. There is talk of a new constitution to appease the political parties. But the question is not

could sink in investment and count on tremendous returns.

Over the 40 year period a total of 1500 million old francs were invested by large financial organizations. Their profits were not bad, for example the Moroccan sugar company (controlled by the Marseille St. Louis Refineries) in 1952 could count a net profit of 200,000 francs per worker per year, nearly three times the salary of the worker.

In agriculture, peasants were encouraged to sell their lands at low prices; those who refused were taken to court and an expropriation decree "in the cause of public service" was issued. In this way two and a half million acres of land were colonized by about 6000 owners.

The revolution of 1956 was supposed to finish all this yet strangely no such thing took place. Today there are 90,000 Frenchmen in Morocco. They have 16 billion francs invested there, controlling over half the industrial potential of the country. They retain ownership and continue to exploit a half million acres of colonized land. Twenty thousand Frenchmen are involved in educational institutions, representing the most important cultural colony outside of France.

Frustration with this state of affairs reached a peak last year when several local peasant uprisings took place. In the town of Settat, 70 kilometers south of Casablanca, several hundred peasants took over land that the government was giving to an American company specializing in breeding (later found to be Ying Ranch). The governor of the province called upon troops to dislodge the fellahin from the land they had seized. It is said that about a dozen peasants were killed and 50 wounded, but the figures are hard to verify because of the news blackout imposed by the government.

The second insurrection was near Souk-Al-Abba, forty kilometers north of Rabat. Same story. A group of fellahin learning that the feudal lord that had taken their land was leaving, armed themselves and decided to recuperate their loss. Six dead and a larger number wounded according to official sources.

The Moroccan fellah suffers not only from having failed to regain his rights, but by a host of other nuances brought about by the new *pied noir* of 1971 Morocco. Loans for the small farmer are hard to obtain and newly irrigated land from dams being built more often than not end up in

Continued on page 17

THE HAPPY KINGDOM OF



IRAN

bathrooms, servants' quarters and kitchenettes. A \$275 million micro-wave communications system linked the invited heads of state to their capitals.

Recently, in response to a world wide public pressure, built and directed by the activities of the World Confederation of Iranian Students, the government released some token figures on these expenses (\$16.8 million). Unofficial sources, however, have estimated the costs of this five-day affair to be from \$100 million to \$600 million. In any case, let us compare such figures with figures from the 1971-72 budget of the country. At a time when forty percent of the Iranian families live in one room only, this year's budget for all rural and urban development is about \$60 million. According to A.I.D. (U.S. Agency for International Development) reports, tuberculosis, and dysentery are endemic in almost every part of the country and trachoma, smallpox, venereal diseases, typhoid and diphtheria are common, while the total budget for health programs is only \$150 million. The education budget is \$400 million, when Iran has an illiteracy rate as high as 69.7%.

Originally, government officials refused to talk about the expenses of the celebrations, justifying them in terms of "the pride and glamour" that would provide for the Iranian people. Alam, Minister of Court, stated, "Even if we had no faith in anything, it would have been totally justified to sell rugs, blankets, and everyday needs in order to be able to have the celebrations." (*Ettela'at*, air mail edition, May 18, 1971).

Indeed, the Iranian people were given the chance to "participate" in the celebrations by paying extra taxes to the "national fund" for the 2500 year celebrations. The main source of the fund, however, was from the budget of the present 5-year development plans which are financed from the natural resources of Iran which are primarily oil.

The Iranian government's recent propaganda, about the 2500th anniversary of the Persian Empire, along with the publicity it drew among the Western news media, has misled a large number of people to the belief that Iran is a prosperous and stable country with a democratic government, or at least a benevolent monarch. This article is intended to clear up some of these misunderstandings and show the true nature of the present regime.

Numerous articles have described the details of the celebrations in length. (See for example, *The New York Times*, Oct. 3, 12, 13 and 15, 1971; *The London Times*, Oct. 10; *The Boston Globe*, Sept. 24; *Newsweek*, Oct 11.) To mention a few details here: fifty-four circular blue and gold silk-lined air conditioned tents were set up in the desert near the ruins of Persepolis to accommodate the Shah's guests. Each had a circular audience chamber with two bedrooms, two marble



YAHYA-L-MALIK

It is thus not surprising to see, as the London Economist put it that "many Iranians fail to see the purpose. It has helped provoke the growth of an urban guerrilla movement and of student unrest without the compensating advantage of being a focus for popular loyalty to the crown. The massive security precautions will prevent most Iranians who have not been personally invited from getting close enough to see the ceremonies at first hand." "The massive security" mentioned above includes three security circles. The outer, blue circle, more than seventy miles in diameter, was cleared of all suspicious elements--sometimes including entire tribes. It was patrolled by several infantry companies. The green circle about twelve miles in diameter, was protected by paratroopers. Journalists and official delegations were housed within this circle. The red circle, about 150 acres, contained the tent city and was protected by the imperial guards and various special units. Military airplanes flew overhead night and day to ensure the safety of all heads of states. In addition, over 2000 people had been arrested months in advance as a precautionary measure. Universities and high schools were closed to prevent any massive strikes. Parents of young militants who are in hiding or who have joined the underground were held as hostages.

Such elaborate security measures reflect the magnitude of the new wave of opposition inside Iran, which has surfaced in the past year. This new phase of struggle in Iran seems to have three major fronts: new series of workers' strikes in Tehran and other major industrial cities have started in spite of the strong secret police (SAVAK) and its continuous suppression of all opposition. In May 1971, government forces fired on striking workers in Karaj, near Tehran, in order to prevent them from marching towards Tehran. The second front is the continuous strikes and activities in universities and high schools across the country. Tehran University and Arya-Mehr University have been closed since last spring. The third, a new element in Iran's history of opposition forces in recent years, is small guerrilla groups, which have carried



out a number of operations since last February.

It is against this rising wave of opposition that the Shah is trying to buy off the loyalty of the people to his crown. Ever since the 1953 coup d'etat which overthrew the government of Mosaddegh, the Shah has had to deal with the problem of securing his monarchy. In the 1950's, all opposition organizations in the army and the universities were rooted out, and with the help of "advisers" from the U.S. the Shah built the present secret police, and proceeded to "stabilize" the country. Despite savage repression, mass executions, and air attacks on dissident tribes, the opposition remained active and the country was still "unstable" by the early 1960's. In 1961, the Shah started a series of economic reforms, the so-called "White Revolution". The reforms were basically aimed to speed up the capitalist development of Iran and to quiet down the mass discontent and growing opposition. In the words of Ali Amini, the Shah's prime minister in 1961, "We must not allow the people's anger to rise. It would sweep us all away, the Shah and the Aminis."

These new economic policies have permitted certain developments. In fact, in terms of growth of GNP Iran stands second only to Japan among the non-socialist Asian countries. The recent wave of opposition, however, indicates that new opposition is being born out of the specific conditions created by the White Revolution. The celebrations must be seen in this context as another effort to prove the continuity and stability of the monarchy in Iran and to stir pride and loyalty in masses of people. The angry response of the people to the celebrations and its expenses cast doubt on how successful this campaign has been.

On the international scene, the celebrations were to gain maximum prestige for Iran and the Shah's regime. In recent years, Iran has come to play the role of the guardian of stability in the Gulf area. She is to substitute for the British (as they withdraw all their forces from the Gulf by 1972) in ensuring that the Gulf will remain as part of the "free world", and that the rising national liberation movements in the south side of the Gulf do not disturb the passage of oil tankers through the Gulf. The U.S. is helping Iran to build up a strong army. Between 1965-1971, the U.S. has given \$2.6 billion credit to Iran for arms purchase. Recently, it was agreed that units of the Iranian Air Force will move into the Royal Air Force base in Bahrain when the British evacuate the base early next year.

(See Daily Telegraph, Sept. 29, 1971)

Another aspect of these celebrations was to attract more international investment to Iran. Once it is proven that the country is internally safe and regionally stable, foreign capitalists will feel more secure in investing their capital in Iran. Excluding the oil industry, by mid-1970 the total foreign investment in Iran was \$350 million. A large percentage of this invested capital leaves the country in the form of outflow to these



foreign firms. The figure of capital outflow between 1965-68 is as high as 30%. The high rate of capital outflow explains two things: the interest that foreign countries have in Iran and its "stability" and the lack of industrial development in proportion to capital investment. To keep the country stable and thus profitable for foreign investment, the Shah has to continue to spend a large percentage of the country's budget on keeping up the army and the secret police as well as creating different forms of mystification to justify his rule. For the Iranian people, whose labour provides the capital outflow for foreign capital, the 2500 years of monarchy means 2500 years of oppression. Their answer to these celebrations is what the slogan of Tehran University students was in their last demonstration last spring: "A hungry nation does not need the 2500th year celebration."

The People's Celebration is Yet to Come!

Lord, One Bomber Will Be Enough

Lord, they will all be there, tragic clowns in this circus of circuses, united in a world colosseum, never seen before. They will gather under the probable smile of U Thant, who in a special mission at 80 dollars an hour, will profit from the occasion by saying HELLO to the whole world.

Will a bomber be enough?

They will all be there. You have the list, and you know them: These T.V. politicians and princesses of Paris Match, they will number 5,000--kings of petroleum, emperors of steel, caids of the stock market, dictators of publicity, lords of cotton, cement potentates, magistrates of sugar, promoters of the brothel, governors of the press, sovereigns of soda, patrons of plastic, automobiles manufacturers--Masters of the World.

They will all be there except the pope.

The sarcastic chronicler concludes in hoping that a pilot, "lucid and generous" will decide on the third day of the ceremonies, to drop a cargo of bombs and napalm on the invited of Persepolis, in order, he says, "to save the world".

Jack Rollan

La Suisse, Geneva
August 20, 1971

MOROCCO Continued from page 14

one of constitution alone--it is one of a vast fundamental change in the structure of Moroccan society: a change in land policy to the principle that the land belongs to those who work it; the dismantling of the foreign industrial hierarchy and its local supports; and the termination of the French cultural influence. That would certainly be a good beginning.

KURDS Continued from page 18

Middle Eastern minorities struggling for survival through independence. The national liberation struggle of the Kurds may one day make vital contributions to the struggle of all Middle Eastern peoples against imperialist domination.

KURDISH

Liberation Movement

Another issue that is rarely analyzed seriously by the western press is the Kurdish claim to national independence. Kurdistan was mentioned in Sumarian records as early as 2000 BC and later in Greek and Roman documents. In the Middle Ages the Armenian Kurd, Saladin, became Sultan of the Turks. Later the height of Kurdish power was reached with an independent Kurdish kingdom that lasted until the 16th century, but then Kurdish rights were severely restricted by the Turks. Continued revolts resulted. In order to harness and divert the fierce independence of the Kurds, Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1890 organized elite Kurdish calvary units for attack against dissenters. This role of gendarme was also given to the Iraqi Kurds under the British, and may explain some of the resentment among the Turkish and Arab peoples.

In 1919, the Kurds sent a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference to plead for independence. Not only did the western imperialist powers ignore the proclaimed rights of the Kurds, but they divided Kurdistan up among Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran, all subjected to European control. At this same conference, the Balfour Declaration was also ratified, thereby denying Palestinian self-determination. After the conference, Kurdish revolts led by Sheik Said and Dr. Fuad broke out against the Turks. During the 20's, as the national liberation movement developed, the Turkish government killed thousands. The government declared that Kurds are not Kurds at all, but "mountain Turks." The massacres were so widespread that it was 1960 before the movement revived, influenced by the Iraqi Kurdish movement. Forty-nine intellectuals were tried and accused of trying to form a Kurdish state in Turkey. According to *Le Monde*, there are from 5 to 7 million Kurds in Turkey. Turkey's largest workers' organization, the Turkish Workers Party, has recruited many Kurds into its ranks. One of the founders of the party, assassinated in 1970, wrote: "Considering the Kurdish problem as a problem of regional development is nothing more than an extension of the nationalist chauvinist ideology of the ruling classes. Our duty is support for the struggle of the Kurdish people to obtain their constitutional rights and accomplish all of their democratic aspirations." Stress was put on the necessity of both Kurdish and Turkish members of the party fighting side by side. In Iraq, between 1958 and 1963 under Kassem, the Kurds were able to organize and have their own newspaper. But with the coup in 1963, repression

quickly became the rule under the right wing of the Ba'ath party. Although there are now 5 Kurdish ministers in the government, the state is trying to drive the Kurds off the land near Kirkuk where there are valuable oil wells. As repression grew, Barzani, a Kurdish nationalist and Mulla (holy man) trained in the Soviet Union, started an armed struggle, mostly getting arms from the Shah of Iran. The left wing of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria, calling for civil rights, made contact with the Iraqi Kurds. Under the leadership of Barzani, good Kurdish relations developed with the Iranian government, even though a guerilla struggle was going on there. Young Iranian Kurds had set up guerilla operations in western Iran. In 1968, the Iranian army smashed their first base and executed many, displaying their bodies in public in order to intimidate others. Some fled across the border to Iraq, appealing to Barzani for help. Barzani, motivated by his good relations with the Shah, promptly turned them over to Iranian police, who executed them on the spot. According to present-day bulletins of the Iranian Student Confederation, guerilla operations are continuing in Iranian Kurdistan.

In 1967, a section of the Iraqi Communist Party split, having foreseen Barzani's pro-imperialist direction, and set up guerilla operations in the swamps in the South. Many received training from the Palestinians. The Iraqi Kurdish guerillas have recently issued a statement condemning the five Kurdish ministers. "As representatives of the Kurdish proletariat, we condemn participation of Kurdish ministers who by their silence are supporting the bloody repression falling on our people in the same way that we condemn world revisionism's support of the bloody and fascist clique of the Iraqi Ba'ath.

Up until the 19th century, the Kurds were isolated from the rest of the world and from each other. After modern imperialism replaced the Turkish empire, the Kurds developed into a political force that has resulted in a national liberation movement. In the past 3 or 4 years, a radicalization of the Kurdish movement has taken place and the Kurds have begun to break out of their isolation, to connect their own liberation with the liberation of others in the Middle East ... Palestine. Unity has become a necessity to those

Continued on page 17

Egypt JIHAD AGAINST THE LEFT

Egypt is another country today that is quickly shedding any vestiges of a "progressive" veneer, left over from the days of Nasser.

In January, Sadat purged left-wing members of his cabinet, such as Ali Sabri, and he initiated far-reaching purges within the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only political party. He also set free many members of the Moslem Brotherhood, a right-wing religious organization that Nasser had suppressed during the fifties. Now this "brotherhood" organization has an independent press which regularly calls for jihad or holy war against leftists. Although Nasser had nationalized many private estates, businesses, etc., Sadat has decreed that these holdings must now be returned to the former owners. Sadat has introduced in the new constitution an article which forbids any confiscation of inherited property. From now on the state can only seize a person's property through a special judiciary process. Profit incentives have also been given to businesses by allowing them to export and import as much as desired. *Note** 2.5% of Egyptians receive 24% of the national income. 10% of the population consumes 50% of the goods.

In the recent election campaign, many of the Arab Socialist Union's possible candidates (13,000, *Le Monde*, October 4,) were either prevented from running for office by police or pushed out of office by higher officials. Police also heavily intervened in trade union elections

In July, the workers of Helwan, Egypt's only steel mill, carried out the first wildcat strike of substantial size in recent history. According to a French journalist on the scene, the strike was extremely disciplined, with the overwhelming support of the workers. Sadat flew to meet with the workers and granted their demands, but as the workers returned to their jobs, he imprisoned the strike leaders and refused to comply with his earlier agreements. At the same time Egypt's university students have issued declarations condemning Sadat's betrayal of the Palestinians and of the Sudanese communists.

*note** Maimoud Fawzi, Egypt's minister of defense, has recently been sentenced to death by an Egyptian tribunal.

My Kingdom for a



The Sultanate, of Oman, a beautiful backward state in Southern Arabia, is the latest recruit to the Arab League and the United Nations. But its admission to the League was not swift.

The trouble was that the Imam Ghaleb bin Ali, who led a revolt in 1955 against Sultan Said bin Taimour, was recognized as the rightful ruler of Oman by many Arabs. Though the old Sultan had been succeeded by his son, Sultan Qabus, there was still some doubt whether he was widely accepted as the real ruler.

It was therefore necessary for one of them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the other. So the Imam met the representatives of the Sultan.

For hours the Sultan's men did the talking, the Imam just listened. Alas, no progress.

Then came the breakthrough: the Imam, in his headdress and flowing robes, held up an imperious hand. "I will return to Oman," he said, "and swear allegiance to Sultan Qabus on two conditions." "Excellent," said the Arab League officials, "and those conditions are...?"

The Imam ticked them off on two raised fingers: "One: that I should have the Coca-Cola agency. Two: that I should have the Ford agency."

The League officials admitted Oman to membership, pronto. Under Sultan Qabus.

Reprinted from:
The Sunday Telegraph,
October 31, 1971.

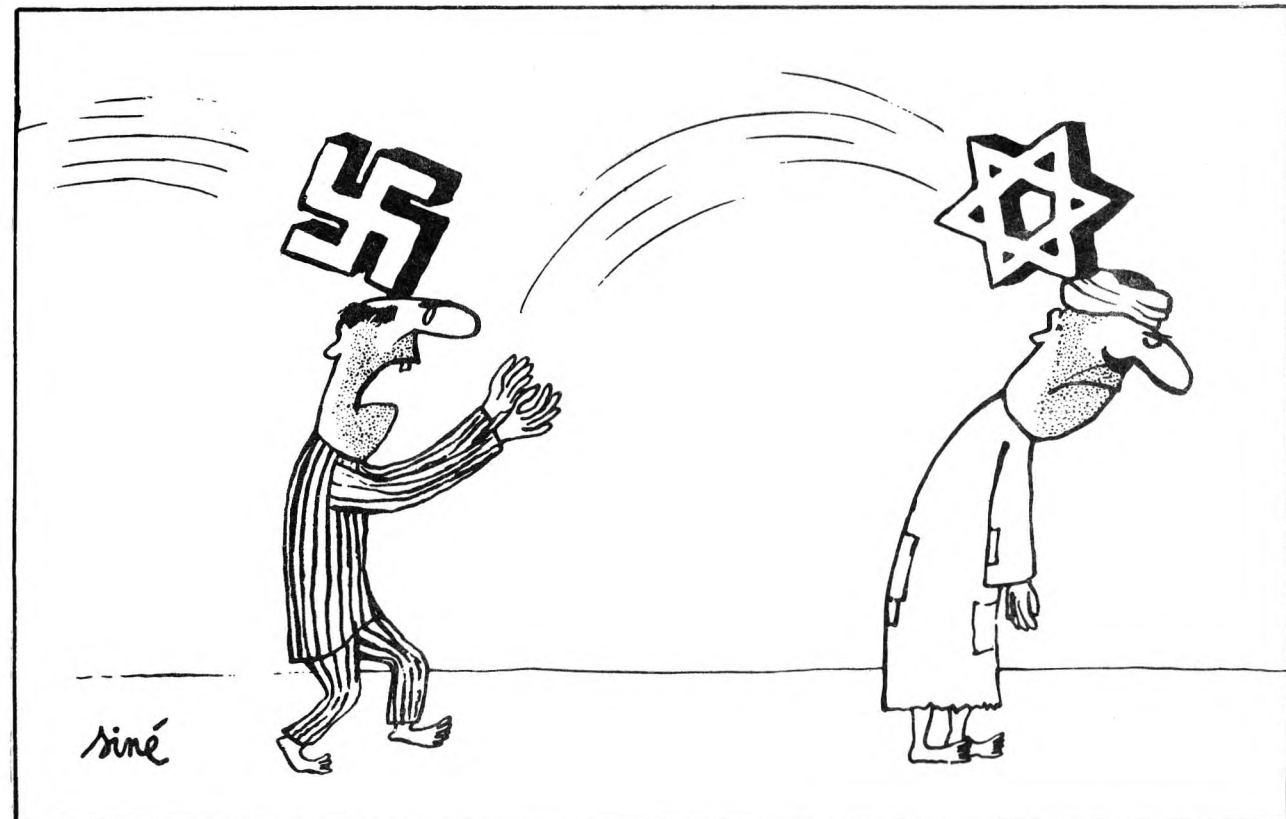
ON SOVIET JEWRY

Last December, the Soviet Union arrested and tried 44 Jews in Leningrad, presumably for attempting illegal immigration to Israel. The world was reminded once again that the ruling Soviet bureaucracy is fully capable of influencing and inflaming the most thinly disguised anti-semitism to reinforce its own domination and to stifle dissent. A world-wide press campaign was inaugurated, purporting to document the suppression of Yiddish culture, and residential discrimination against Soviet Jews. Whether the campaign has validity or not, those powers who have shouted the loudest in defending the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate from Russia, are precisely the worst criminals in their own relations to oppressed nationalities. The Nixon regime, busily propping up the Thieu regime in Vietnam has the effrontery to denounce presumed repression of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Even more appalling, however, the Zionist state of Israel has launched its own hysterical campaign to win the right of emigration for all

Jews from the Soviet Union. The very Zionists who have seized hundreds of Arab towns, ejected by terror a million and a half Palestinians, erected a whole new empire on occupied Arab lands in two major wars of aggression and who to this day speak of the whole Palestinian nation as mere "refugees," stand before the world as defenders of oppressed Jews in the Soviet Union!

But even if we were completely ignorant of Zionism's history and the genocide it launched against the Palestinian people, we would question any program that limited itself exclusively to the "Jewish problem" in the Soviet Union without defending the rights of all oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union. We know, for example that the Crimean Tartars, still suffering a 25 year exile from the Stalin era, were served notice that the December trials in Leningrad were merely a precedent. Yet Zionism does not speak of the democratic right to self-determination of all nationalities within the Soviet Union, but only the right of the "Jewish" nation to self-determination.



What is even more remarkable is that Zionism does not even offer a full program of democratic rights to Soviet Jews themselves. Indeed, the right to emigrate is only one democratic right among others such as free expression, cultural autonomy within the Soviet Union, etc, but these apparently are of little concern to Zionism. On the contrary, it is precisely the struggle of Soviet Jews for civil liberties within the Soviet Union that must appear the most dangerous, precisely to Zionism itself. Zionism since its very inception has insisted that anti-semitism is inherent in gentile society, and any illusory attempt to upgrade living conditions in the Soviet Union just might fly right in the face of the Zionists' program of immigration to Israel. For this reason, Israel must constantly shout that all Jews in Russia are Zionists, that they have no interest at all in staying in the Soviet Union to fight for their rights. We suspect, however, that very few Russian Jews have adapted the Zionist utopia of escape into Israel.

Finally, let us consider for a moment just a few of the painful consequences of Russian Jewish immigration into Israel. We know, in the first place the message that Black Panthers in Israel have delivered to the outside world. Hundreds of thousands of "oriental Jews" are already jammed and corralled into overflowing ghettos in Israel. A fresh new wave of Russian emigration could hardly relieve a desperately overcrowded housing situation.

But above all, fresh new waves of Russian immigrants would be set into colonial opposition to the Palestinian national liberation movement. So long as the "law of return" remains on the books in Israel, new settlers arriving from anywhere and for whatever personal motives will serve as a colonial occupying force. The very concept that any Jew around the world may settle and take up full citizenship in Israel but not the Palestinians, the original inhabitants, is a denial of Palestinian self-determination.

Finally, an attack on 30 Columbian University SDS'ers by the Jewish Defense League earlier this year raises another critical objection. Precisely at the moment when cold war anti-communist mythology is losing its hold on the American people, and when even President Nixon feigns a detente with the Soviet Union, Zionist organizations are inciting anti-communist terrorism against the American anti-Zionist left. Israel not only fails to meet the actual needs of the Jewish people in Russia, not only exacerbates the oppression of the Palestinians, but offers a direct anti-communist threat to the American left.



Several Jewish Defence League members seen being dispersed by the police during a demonstration near Damascus Gate. They were holding signs protesting against what they called "harrassment of Jews" by the Arab inhabitants of the Old City.

Ten Jewish Defense League members—all reportedly American citizens—were ordered out of the Old City by police yesterday afternoon after attempting to hold a demonstration near Damascus Gate. The youths were protesting what they termed "Arab harassment of Jews" in the Old City.

During the demonstration they distributed pamphlets "requesting" local Arabs to leave if they are "unwilling to live by JDL standards." They warned that the JDL will "exercise the democratic right of self-defense if the need arises."

The Jerusalem Post, Nov. 1, 1971

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Saturday, September 25, 1971
Century Plaza Hotel

Reception: 6:30 pm
Dinner: 7:30 pm
Black tie
R. S. V. P.

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