



RESISTANCE in the **MIDDLE EAST**

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ZIONISM VS. SOCIALISM

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POLAROID HITS GAZA

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Editorial

can ZIONISM be reconciled with SOCIALISM?

In the United States today, a movement of Jewish youth has developed in conjunction with the anti-war movement and with the growing politicization of young people in general. This trend assumes several forms whose content is characterized by such appellations as radical Zionist, left-wing Zionist, or perhaps socialist Zionist. The basic premise of all these tendencies is an identification with the anti-imperialist struggles of the third world and even a tacit recognition of the counter-revolutionary role which Israel plays in the global arena vis-a-vis the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. But in every case, the nature of Zionism and what Zionism intrinsically suggests is not probed, or if it is the study is superficial and misleading.

The most prominent sector of the radical Zionist movement (and also the least radical) is that which claims that Israel is socialist and should be defended on that basis in spite of mistaken policies toward the Palestinian nation. To understand whether or not any society is socialist or capitalist, one fundamental tool must be employed: An analysis of the class structure of that society with special consideration to that class which owns and controls the means of production.

Israel's economy is unique in several ways. In the first place, it is largely artificial, meaning that a large percentage of its income is obtained, not from sale of indigenous products, but from direct and indirect foreign subsidy. What this implies is that the classical model of capitalists extracting surplus value from the working class is not presently as clear as in other advanced industrialized countries. Even so, a capitalist class can be discerned.

Resistance in the Middle East is a forum for socialist perspectives on the Middle East situation primarily directed toward American audiences.

The second largest, and fastest growing bank in Israel is the Israeli Discount Bank which is privately controlled. The banking sector in general has been characterized over the last ten years by a phenomenal growth of assets and soaring profit rates. Those men at the helm of the major banks in Israel do not limit their activities to banks, but also have extensive control of the economy in general. A case in point is Daniel Recanti, who is managing director of the Israeli Discount Bank as well as a director of the Israeli Discount Bank as well as a director of the Israeli Mercantile Corporation, Cargo Ships "El Yam," Delek Fuel Company, the Industrial Development Bank of Israel, and the PEC Israel Corporation.* Shades of David Rockefeller. This is but one example of a string of interlocks which permeates the Israeli economy.

Although foreign investment (direct) represents a small portion of the total investment in Israel, its position vis-a-vis "public" investment is interesting to note. In general, after the June 1967 War, gross investment reached 54.2 million dollars, and has continued to rise since. Foreign investment has also increased, due mainly to the outcome of the war, but also because of fixed labor costs and increased markets. American firms, including Monsanto, Xerox, Motorola, and Westinghouse initiated 106 millions in new projects in 1969 (Lockwood, *op. cit.* pg 11). In addition, certain so-called public firms have formed partnerships with American firms. Foreign subsidies, in general, be they "philanthropic" or economically oriented, all create an industrial base which permits foreign capitalism to intervene in the Israeli economy. This is not a situation which can be reversed as long as the Zionist State continues to exist with any form of artificial stimulus to the economy. The rub, however, is that without these stimulants the classic capitalist model would of necessity emerge with brilliant clarity, or the entire economy would collapse.

Many defenders of Zionism contend that the agricultural kibbutzim represent a socialist model

* *Imperialism and the Israeli Economy*, Larry Lockwood, p.9, Middle East Research Center.

of production in Israel. This is a fundamentally incorrect concept. In the first place, isolated pockets of socialism cannot exist in the context of a capitalist economy. This has been amply demonstrated not only by many kibbutzniks who have drawn away from socialist ideals, but also in the concrete growth of middle-man distributors for kibbutz products. Sometimes, according to Eisenstadt (*Israeli Society*, by S.N. Eisenstadt, New York, 1967, pg. 171-172), products reach the consumer after having increased in price by over 100%. This is necessary considering the existence of idealized agricultural units within a capitalist market economy.

As of late, the state of agricultural production has remained generally stagnant but the kibbutzim have not. Many have moved directly into the capitalist spheres of light industry (plastics, furniture, etc.). "The kibbutzim are following a pattern set in the country at large. So intensive is industrial growth Japanese-style, as the Israelis put it, that the country now heavily depends on Arab labor to operate the machines and build houses, schools, and roads." (*New York Times*, Sunday, November 21, 1971). In these cases, the kibbutz is an employer like any other employer, forsaking the ideals of socialism, and exploiting the labor of those who work for them.

It is important to remember that whether or not a country is socialist or capitalist is fundamentally a class question, i.e., which class controls the means of production and for whom. For example, in the United States the post office was at one time under public (sic) control as well as most city transportation systems (in New York and Boston, for example). No one could possibly claim that because of this America is socialist. By the same token, viewing the Israeli economy as one dominated by government side by side with private investment, is a superficial analysis, and is certainly no basis for concluding that Israel is socialist.

One important argument used by left-wing Zionists in the defense of Israel is that although Israel is not socialist, the "seeds" of socialism have been planted and the major obstacle to their fruition is the Arab threat. This analysis conveniently ignores Israel's relationship to imperialism, both today and historically.

Since its inception Zionism has been essentially a petit-bourgeois mobilization. It arose as a defense against modern-day anti-semitism, and assumed that Jews were unassimilable with the only solution to this problem being the creation of a separate state. By failing to understand the materialist basis for history, Zionists saw modern-day anti-semitism as inevitable rather than having its roots in a broad historical process: the ruin of feudalism and the decline of capitalism. Because Jewish nationalism had no coherent social basis it was forced to seek allies not with the forces of socialism but with the

forces of reaction. This initially meant constructing ties with the Turkish Sultan, then the Germans, the British after World War I, and finally with American when United States imperialism had replaced British hegemony after World War II.

Some left-wing Zionists would say that this is true but that it is simply a sad historical fact. In other words, the right-wing of the Zionist movement held sway. This is, in the first place, a belittling of the role of the "socialist" Zionists, but more importantly, it fails to grasp that within the context in which Zionism was conceived it could have been no other way. Imperialist control was largely complete by the beginning of the 20th century and in order for the Jews to gain a homeland a section of some already colonized country was necessary. Jews did not constitute a social force capable of exacting this demand through intimidation. As a matter of fact, the overwhelming majority of Jews, including those who formed part of the world proletariat, did not even view themselves as a nation or want a Zionist state. The approach had to be through conciliatory overtures to imperialism.

The creation of Israel in Palestine meant the ouster of the Palestinian majority. As long as the State of Israel exists it will, of necessity, maintain a dependence on Western imperialism, the only force willing and able to take a stand against any and every aspect of the neo-colonial liberation struggle.

Recently Zionism has tried to attract young socialists by attempting to render Marx "more profound". Concretely, this has meant a revitalization of Borochovism by those who do not even believe it but who view it as a useful tool. A complete analysis of Borochovist thought will not be attempted here; any gaps can be filled by reading Moshe Machover's article in the March 1971 *ISRACA*. A cursory outline and critique is necessary, however.

Borochov suggests that the Jews constitute a nation, unique because they lack a territorial foundation. Due to internal competition within each country the Jews are isolated from the rest of the populace, i.e., they are restricted either overtly or *de facto* to certain areas of production. This certainly is not the case anywhere in the world today; the internal competition which does exist is not competition between Jews and members of the "host" country. In every country of the world, and especially in the advanced industrialized countries, the assimilating factors with respect to the means of production, i.e., those factors which compel Jews to compete on the same basis as other workers, far outweigh any isolating tendencies. In addition, the majority of Jews in these advanced industrial countries have moved from the ranks of the proletariat into the petite bourgeoisie.

The Jewish proletariat is the central focus of

Borochov's analysis, meaning that the future of the Jewish "nation" is a function of the militant Jewish working class as it exists in each respective country. This differs markedly with bourgeois Zionists which place national interests above class interests and who speak of a Jewish proletariat as a force to be created within the Zionist homeland, or even fail to mention class antagonisms at all.

Because Jews are isolated from major industrial jobs through the national competition spoken of earlier, Borochov adds, they can play no major role in the fight for socialism in their respective countries. It is the proletarians engaged in the primary, most important sectors of production who will lead the struggle and these forces are non-Jewish. In a Jewish state, however, Jewish proletarians will hold the lifelines of production and will be able to organize directly against their own national bourgeoisie.

It must be recalled that Borochov is writing of Tsarist Russia, where such an analysis might have been plausible, if not accurate. The fact is that six years after Borochov's writing it was proved that the Jewish proletariat could play a significant role in the bid for socialism when it actively participated in the Russian Revolution.

There are two levels on which Borochov is rendered useless. Firstly, at the time of its possible relevance it was an incorrect strategy, and secondly, the objective conditions for a proletarian Zionism are nowhere apparent in the world today. Even in Israel, Borochovism died long ago, and one cannot help but view with contempt those who are trying to exhume this anachronistic and irrelevant analysis.

A fourth argument advanced by the Zionist left has been that Israel and Palestine both constitute nations, and that both have equal rights to self-determination. This is asserted without raising the ideas of socialist revolution. What must be grasped is that the right of the Zionist state to self-determination absolutely denies the right of the Palestinian nation to the same. As long as the Zionist state remains intact, its class structure will determine that Israel continues to abrogate the basic rights of the Palestinians, especially through its links with imperialism.

Those left Zionists who defend Israel are not only part and parcel of the oppression of the Palestinians, but also are betraying those within the Zionist state who are under attack; i.e., the working class, Afro-Asian Jews, and true Israeli socialists.

The capitalist Israeli economy has been far from a benefactor to the Israeli working class since the state's inception. Statistics show that the surplus value produced by the Israeli proletariat

has increased enormously over the past 20 years, while real wages have declined. This has meant combinations of speed-up and lay-offs, a recognizable aspect of economic life in, say, the United States, but opportunistically ignored when referring to Israel. It would appear that the Israeli working class has not ignored these measures and since 1948, strikes have intensified both quantitatively and qualitatively. One might ask if the so-called "radical" Zionists are aware of the attempts by the Israeli government to curb strikes altogether?

A much more brutal form of oppression is also an integral part of Israel's domestic policy. This is the discrimination, on every level, against Afro-Asian Jews. "Initially these Jews were brought from the Arab countries in order to replace the existing cheap Arab labor by cheap Jewish labor. Afterwards they came simply to enhance the Jewish population and over the years they became the majority of the Jewish unskilled and semi-skilled working class. Since Zionism is bent on keeping Israeli society purely Jewish they cannot be replaced by Arabs and 'move-up'. Nor can they be replaced by the new Jewish immigrants which are coming only from European or American highly skilled white collar workers." (*Resistance* Number 3, Summer 1971, page 6).

The Black Panthers, a group of militant Afro-Asian Jews, have been outspoken leaders in the fight of poor Jews for better conditions and an end to exploitation. The Israeli government has been ruthless in its attempt to silence the Black Panthers, using policies ranging from the breaking up of demonstrations (May 19, 1971) to jailing members of the organization (see the letter from Black Panther leader Sa'adiah Marciano in *Resistance*, Fall issue, number 4, 1971).

Members of the Israeli Socialist Organization (MATZPEN) have also been suppressed within Israel. Besides constant harassment while leafletting, MATZPEN members were arrested after the May, 1971 demonstration by the Black Panthers. In addition to illustrating the repressive character of the Zionist state, this act also points to the racism which permeates Israeli society; the notion that whites were somehow behind the rising militancy of dark-skinned Afro-Asian Jews.

In conclusion, it must be said that radical Zionists are certainly faced with a multitude of contradictions. Left Zionism has served as a cover for Israeli policies, policies which become more brutal as time goes on. Zionism is inconsistent with the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle. This is an inherent characteristic and not merely the result of poor policy making or an incorrect strategic and tactical appraisal. A decision faces all those who support third world struggles but rush to defend Israel. This decision is between socialism and Zionism. The two are mutually exclusive--there is no middle ground.

HUSSEIN'S PALESTINE 'PIECE' PLAN

As *Resistance* goes to press, Jordan's King Hussein--the "butcher of Amman"-- has carried out what the *New York Times* refers to as a "bold move," (March 15). Hussein is proposing "what appears to be a reasonable and moderate plan for the self-determination of the 700,000 people on the West Bank," according to U.S. State Department sources, and it is rumored that his plan leaves room for inclusion of the Gaza Strip.

As the rumors circulate with dizzying speed, those in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people cannot afford to lose sight of fundamentals. A closer glance at the alleged contents of the plan shows that Palestinian self-determination is hardly a priority for the king who has relentlessly sought to liquidate the Palestinian Resistance since its inception. Hussein, from the safety of his palace, envisions a "federal kingdom"-- in which both the East and West banks of the Jordan River would have their own parliaments. However, both regions would still be ruled by a central government headquartered in Amman-- with Guess Who? as king.

Hussein is rumored to have a "head of state" in mind for the West Bank. Bahjat al-Talhouni, Hussein's man for the West Bank, is a former premier of Jordan. He supposedly resigned from the cabinet as Hussein initiated his strongest attacks upon the Palestinian Resistance in September, 1970. The *New York Times* (March 15) conjectures that al-Talhouni's reputation among Arab leaders may be somewhat "cleaner" than Hussein's since he is less overtly connected with the 1970 slaughters or subsequent attacks upon the Resistance.

The proposals for a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank, whether they emanate from Amman, Tel Aviv, or Washington, have no connection with Palestinian self-determination, or with a realistic solution of the Middle East crisis.

Even though the West Bank, before 1967, accounted for most of Jordan's gross national product, the region's economy has historically been a "dependent" system. Before 1948, the West Bank, as part of Mandate Palestine, relied upon the markets of Haifa and Jaffa-Tel Aviv as outlets for its agricultural production. During the Jordanian occupation (1948-67), the region depended mainly upon tourism and sales of agricultural products to Amman. Lacking raw materials or a sound industrial base, a West Bank mini-state would inevitably be an economic and political dependency of either Jordan or Israel.

In this sense, its "independence" would be an artificiality--particularly if ties with the Amman government are to be set up, as Hussein proposes. Self-determination for the people of the West Bank is inseparable from self-determination for all Palestinians. Hussein's proposal, even though it may offer short-run privileges for a wing of the West Bank bourgeoisie, would mean acceptance of the Zionist presence in the rest of Palestine, and, hence a denial of the rights of Palestinians.

The West Bank bourgeoisie, the new object of Hussein's maneuvers, has also been the target of Israeli flirtatiousness. Under the auspices of the Israeli occupiers, elections are scheduled next month in Hebron, Ramallah, and other important towns. Whereas Hussein had previously urged his West Bank supporters to boycott the elections, he has now "come to his senses," realizing that abstentions may produce victories for the layer of the bourgeoisie that favors ties with Israel. For months, it has been rumored that a growing number of West Bank leaders feel that their future lies with Israel and no longer with King Hussein.

In this sense, his "bold move" may be a desperation maneuver, designed to pre-

vent the consummation of an alliance between the Israeli occupiers and a wing of the West Bank power elite. At the same time, Hussein cannot perpetually endure the isolation that his murderous attacks upon the Palestinian Resistance have enforced upon Jordan. Today, his kingdom survives largely by the munificence of the U.S. State Department, because some Arab nations have refused to trade with Jordan since September, 1970.

To Israel's "establishment," continuation of the occupation or control over a "Palestinian Bantustan" becomes more and more of a necessity. Faced with an intensified strike wave by Israeli workers, Israel's entrepreneurs have an insatiable thirst for low-paid labor from the West Bank and Gaza. It is to be noted that as early as 1969, even the Histadrut's giant construction enterprise, Solel Boneh, was drawing 20 per cent of its work-force from the occupied territories. Although tortures, curfews, mass arrests, and other barbarities committed by the "liberal occupation" have forced thousands to leave the West Bank, there is little doubt that Israel's manpower experts want to maintain control over the population.

It is difficult to determine the appeal of the Palestinian Resistance to West Bank workers and peasants at this point, but it is clear that a prolongation of Israeli military and economic control offers no hope of improving the population's material conditions, no matter what privileges Moshe Dayan may allot to the mukhtars and the merchant class. In this sense, time is on the side of the Palestinian Resistance, even if Israel temporarily succeeds in maintaining its military cordon around the region.

The fallibility of Israel's "military fences" has been most convincingly shown in the Gaza Strip, which is also proposed as a component of Hussein's "federal kingdom." Here, without strong material support from the outside, Resistance cadres have operated clandestinely since June, 1967, principally under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Confronted by sustained "terrorism," and mass passive resistance, Israeli military authorities have unsuccessfully sought to carry out mass deportations from the area.

Coveted by Israel for its rich agricultural land, Gaza also represents a link with the Sinai oil-fields, whose 1970 output was \$35 million. In essence, Israel's leaders would like to keep Gaza, but not its population. The Gaza dilemma, which requires Israel to pour millions into maintaining its occupation force, is a question whose dimensions are far greater than the borders of anyone's "mini-state." It is clear that the Gaza population,

many of whom are refugees from the 1948 war, will continue to be a thorn in the side of amateur map-makers.

Furthermore, Hussein's "bold move" cannot be fully understood without a realistic evaluation of the prospects of the Palestinian Resistance. Although *The New York Times* (March 15) has reported negotiations between Hussein and four former leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, his proposals and similar proposals for the isolation of the West Bank have consistently received energetic condemnation from the major Resistance organizations.

Today, in the aftermath of Hussein's massacres, the Resistance is still far from victory, but there is no basis for the premature obituaries delivered by many "friendly critics" from their safe havens in Paris or New York. If it is to be acknowledged that struggles against oppression do not proceed in perpetual forward motion, if it is to be acknowledged that the material conditions that gave rise to the Resistance have not been erased, if it is to be acknowledged that the Palestinians are no less capable of strategic and tactical innovations than other oppressed peoples, then it is impossible to conclude that the Resistance will have no influence upon future events in the Middle East.

Although many of the Resistance's pre-1970 bases in Jordan have been eliminated, the present score-card is not as bleak as some persons care to pretend. In the past year, the Jordanian National Liberation Front, which maintains fraternal relationships with several Resistance organizations, has arisen and has carried out a number of successful military operations against Hussein's army (See *Palestine Resistance Bulletin*, November 1971.). At the same time, Resistance leaders meeting in Lebanon (*The New York Times*, January 21, 1972) have announced their intentions to carry on the struggle to re-establish bases in Jordan.

During the past two months, sharp conflicts along the Israeli-Lebanese border have attested the Resistance's ability to continue military operations against Israeli forces. A series of commando operations, including a rocket attack upon the town of Safad, sparked an Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in mid-January. Most recently, Israel initiated a second invasion, backed by air attacks against Syrian and Lebanese territory.

This invasion, as described by Israeli officials, was designed to halt "continuing terrorist activity against Israeli defense forces" (*The New York Times*, March 2). For the first time since 1968, Lebanon has moved units of its army back into the mountainous region near the Golan Heights. Although Lebanese of-

ficers have stated their intentions to "pacify" the area, which the commandoes have now evacuated, there is considerable question as to how long this situation will be maintained. Whereas some organizations, notably Sa'iq, have stated that they will respect the presence of the Lebanese army, there are no indications that the Resistance will unilaterally forfeit a region that can be used as a major staging point for incursions into Israel.

The condemnation of Hussein's "mini-state" proposal by Resistance leaders (*New York Times*, March 15, 1972), as well as the content of the proposal itself, should leave no doubts that the "Palestine Question" will remain at the center of the Middle East crisis. In its

call for a three-part division of the Palestinian population (inside Israel, on the West Bank, and in Gaza) and the separation of these parts from the refugee populations in other countries, this proposal and others are vain illusions that may be temporarily enforced upon the Palestinian masses from the outside, but will never be accepted by the masses in the long run.

This factor doubles the responsibility of those who support the principle of Palestinian self-determination. Not only must they intensify their efforts to expose and attack the "old" foundations of the Palestinians' oppression, but they must unmask any "new" attempts by imperialism to thwart the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

النص الكامل لبياني اللجنة الوطنية العليا لطلاب جامعة القاهرة

EGYPTIAN STUDENTS DEMAND:

[Editorial note: The following is a translation from Arabic of the statement issued by the students of Cairo University, meeting in Nasser Hall. The Arabic text appeared in "Al-Thorah", an Iraqi daily. It is interesting to note that the students' demand that they be allowed to join the Palestinian organizations has been deleted from the Iraqi text.]

The students of Cairo University now meeting in the University Hall repudiate the Government's policy of concealing the truth from the people, and the condescension inherent in the use of such empty phrases as "patience," "inertia of struggle," "defensive attack," "endurance," "face to face combat," "victory," etc., etc. We have been aroused by the multitude of obscure statements in the last proclamation of the Government, and therefore ask the President of the Republic [Sadat] to attend our meeting and answer our questions, as well as to listen to our demands.

We ask:

1) On what basis was the decision to go to war taken on the first of December 1971, considering that the preparations to build an internal front were not even under way. We say that we are going to build such a front. Were we really

going to enter war in our present state of preparedness?

2) What is the real meaning of the "excuse because of fog"?

3) It is said that the amount of aid coming from the Soviet Union to Egypt is conditioned by certain circumstances. Then we hear in the President's own speech that there are high level talks between us and the Soviet Union. What is the nature of these "circumstances" and these "talks"?

4) It has been obvious for many years that the United States is our principal enemy. Why haven't practical (meaningful) measures been taken against U.S. interests in Egypt specifically, and the Arab countries generally?

5) What was the meaning of changing the previous cabinet a few days after the People's Council unanimously agreed on its program? Wasn't that cabinet a cabinet of war?

6) We question why there is not a clear political line in foreign policy of the Union of Arab Re-

publics [union of Egypt, Syria, Libya and the Sudan].

We Demand:

1) Total rejection of "peaceful solutions" in all their forms and more specifically the rejection of the following:

- i) Security Council resolution #242
- ii) The Rogers Plan
- iii) The so-called "Egyptian initiative."

2) The severing of relations with Jordan; and clear positions against all reactionary regimes which protect imperialist interests in the Arab world.

3) We demand that a very clear, unequivocal position be taken against Iran.

4) We repudiate the attempts to distract the people from the atmosphere of struggle by diversions such as football (soccer), adventure type programs, and all the other various propaganda distractions.

Finally:

We state that as we present these questions and demands, we will remain meeting in Nasser Hall until the arrival of the President to give us some answers. [see accompanying article, "Sadat Occupies the Liberated Territories", this issue].

ALL DEMOCRACY TO THE PEOPLE.
ALL SACRIFICES FOR THE STRUGGLE.

Conference of Students of Cairo University.

National Committee.

Notes:

1. The students are referring to official government propaganda phrases which were calculated to obscure Egyptian policy.

2. In January Sadat is reported to have explained a defeat by the Egyptian Air Force in June 1969 over the Gulf of Suez by saying that the pilots had been unable to see the enemy because of fog. However, fog over the Gulf of Suez in the summer months is highly unlikely. In addition one wonders why the fog didn't bother the Israelis.

announced the formation of a new cabinet, labeling it the "confrontation cabinet". An analysis of the new cabinet shows that, far from embarking on a confrontation policy, Sadat has intensified his policy of "peaceful negotiation". In this context, the rhetoric about war is simply a means of persuading the Egyptian people to accept new economic hardships which are created in order to enrich the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

The new premier is Aziz Sidky. In the 1950's he was Nasser's minister of industrialization. Known as a rank opportunist, Sidky represents the technocratic layer of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. He was educated in the United States and is notoriously pro-American. Last May 16 he was the

first major Egyptian leader to denounce the left-Nasserite Ali Sabry group as traitors. According to the January 18 Le Monde "Many Egyptians, notably the new and old bourgeoisie...see him (Sidky) as a man well qualified to lead Sadat's liberalization policies to their ultimate conclusion with respect to private investment and initiatives of private capital."

The new government immediately released, amid exhortations to the people about "belt-tightening", a ten-year economic plan. Sidky vowed to punish "slackers"--an apparent reference to the trade union movement--and demanded "blood and sweat" from the Egyptian population. The message was clear: the regime was demanding that the Egyptian workers and peasants sacrifice their economic aspirations to a nonexistent struggle against Israel's occupation.

The student movement has been engaged in agitation demanding a real policy of confrontation with Israel since the beginning of this year. On January 19 the movement turned to mass action with the occupation of the Nasser amphitheatre at Guizeh. The students demanded to meet with Sadat to explain his policies and when this did not occur and all negotiations were cut off by the government, the students passed a series of resolutions and took to the streets the next day.

The resolutions amounted to a comprehensive attack on the foreign policies of the Sadat government. They included: calling upon the regime to reject the November 22, 1967, United Nations resolution on the Middle East conflict, which has been the basis of all negotiations aimed at selling out the Palestinians; to reject the Rogers Plan and terminate all Egyptian initiatives on the opening of the Suez Canal; to mobilize the home front; to guarantee free expression on campus; to free the Palestinians arrested for assassinating Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tal; free the steelworkers who were arrested for striking at Helwan; break diplomatic relations with Jordan; support for Palestinian resistance organizations and the recognition of the right of students to join them; and take a definitive stand against the Iranian government.

A demand that the U.S. corporations be nationalized was reiterated but was rejected by a government representative as "illogical". (It should be noted that Sadat had declared on January 19 that a "state of war" exists between the United States and the Arab people. This would be the first war in which any action against the enemy's economic interests in one's own country is considered illogical).

After deferring the march of January 22 because of a show of police force, the students continued to hold the amphitheatre. On January 25, the police and the army were ordered in. They attacked the students with clubs and tear gas, with many students being injured. After a period of street fighting, students seized Liberation Square in the central plaza. They erected metal barricades and stopped traffic. A fresh assault by soldiers with tear gas forced the students to retreat. It was hours until the demonstrators were finally quelled by overwhelming force. At the end of the day, Sadat banned all demonstrations in the capital.

These demonstrations marked a pronounced advance in the student movement, not merely because of the militancy, but because they were not undertaken in haste, but evolved during a week of sustained mass activity and organization. In addition, the fact that the majority of the people favor the student's demands is beyond doubt. The January 26, Christian Science Monitor reported, "Travelers from Cairo said labor leaders in the Helwan steel works, the Nile Delta textile mills, and other big industrial centers were ready to join the student revolt."

Sadat's domestic and foreign policies have now been challenged by both the trade union and student movement. The high degree of organization and combativity shown by the students during the week of confrontation, their determination to forge links with the Egyptian workers, and the character of their demands all represent critical challenges to the Sadat government. In Egypt today, there is certainly the possibility that Sadat may see his dream of a modern capitalist Egypt come true in revolutionary fashion: an Egypt as "modern" as France was in May, 1968.

Sadat

Occupies The Liberated Territories

[Ed. note: The following article is based on material presented by Jon Rothschild, which appeared in Intercontinental Press, Feb. 7, 1972]

On January 24 the Egyptian general staff scored its first battle victory in twenty years, but it was not against Zionist occupation troops; the vanquished were students from Cairo's two leading universities. The government attack came in response to student demonstrations against the right-wing maneuvers by the Sadat administration.

On January 13, Sadat stated in a television speech that this would be the "year of decision" for war or peace with Israel. On January 16 he

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ISRAEL AND THE ARMS DEAL

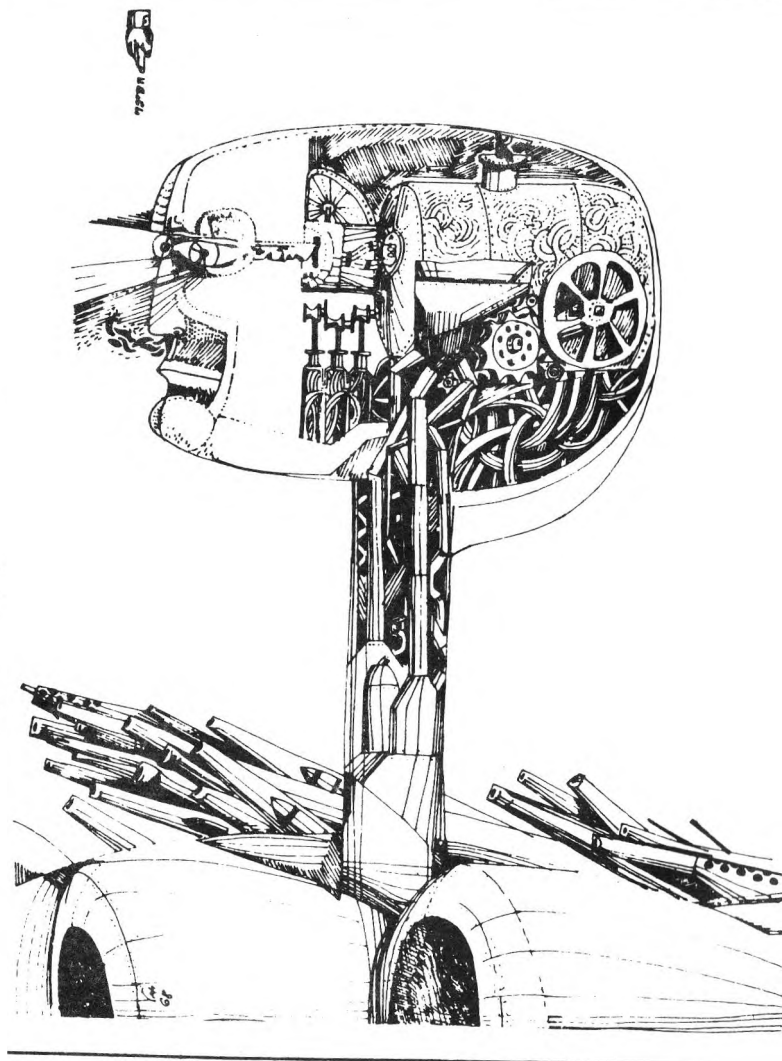
It is well known that Israel purchases large quantities of arms from the United States, but Israel's militarization is seldom understood in broader terms. The out-worn myth that "Israel pays for what it buys" only serves to conceal the process by which U.S. military aid to Israel operates as a direct subsidy to our own arms merchants, such as McDonnell Douglas (Phantom jets), and the process by which Israel itself, with a few billions from foreign investors, is becoming a leading exporter of weapons.

For 1971/72, Congress has voted at least 400 million in direct arms credits, while another \$50-100 million can be indirectly used by Israel to buy small-scale equipment that serves military purposes. The 50 Phantoms released to Israel in 1971 cost \$312 million, but Israel's total arms imports since 1967 have tended to go as high as \$800 million per year. In other words, there is generally 300-400 million in arms imports each year that is not covered by direct or indirect U.S. aid. How does Israel resolve the problem? Moshe Meirav, head of the Bank of Israel's Foreign Exchange Department, has explained that there is no problem:

Budgetary policy is scarcely affected, whichever way the penny drops. If the U.S. authorities lavishly doubled their military credit but did not allow us to purchase Phantoms or alternative specific materials, then part of the sum would be unused. It would not even figure in Mr. Sapir's estimates. If, by contrast, the Americans were to approve an additional 25 Phantoms and open a new credit line of \$150 million, then the Defense Ministry's budget must automatically increase by 11.756 million... In reality the Finance Minister would take the news with equanimity because a foreign loan for the purchase of foreign material does not put the public account into deficit, nor does it create new inflationary pressures.

Interview with Meirav by David Krevine, Jerusalem Post, Dec. 26/71

Unwittingly, Meirav has explained that "debts" arising from Israel's arms purchases are merely a book-keeper's fiction. Whenever arms purchases run higher than direct military aid, the difference is made up, not from Israel's own budget, but from "non-military" gifts and loans received from the U.S. In this sense, U.S. aid to Israel must also be



From ISRAC, Number 2, March 1970

interpreted as a form of guaranteed income for the American companies that provide Israel with arms.

The only "difficulty" that Israel encounters is interest payments on foreign loans, but Mr. Meirav has explained "Still, the economy is growing. As it grows, its capacity to service loans mounts... A money grant helps bridge this dangerous gap (in ability to pay interest), reinforces Israel's credit-worthiness, and makes her a more secure customer for larger financial advances in the future. Like the ultra-soft loans made over to developing countries by the A.I.D. (Agency for International Development), assistance is also an investment." (*Interview*)

In August, 1971, the *New York Times* (Aug. 4) disclosed that the U.S. was considering a plan to deliver more than a hundred jets to Israel during the next four years. Since 1967, 80 Phantom F-4's and 120 A-4 Skyhawks had already been delivered. This plan to "modernize Israel's air force", the *Times* stated, would be limited only by McDonnell-Douglas' difficulties in stepping up production to meet this demand, as well as new demands for Phantoms from West Germany and Iran. (It takes nearly 22 months to produce an F-4, which sells for nearly \$6 million).

On January 14, 1972, the *Times* reported American plans to "provide technical and manufacturing assistance to Israel's arms industry." State Department and Defense Department officials were reportedly considering steps that would enable Israel to build its own JA-79 jet engines (which are used in the Phantom). At the same time, Israel would be assisted in its efforts to develop an improved steering mechanism for the Super-Mirage fighter, a plane that Israel itself is building. Plans also exist for the improvement of diesel engine transmissions in a new tank that Israel is developing. The *Times* described the American position in this way:

To the extent that Israel could build tanks and planes and other advanced weapons, they point out there would be less occasion for outcry in the Arab world over shipment of United States arms to Israel. And a more advanced arms industry would put Israel in a better position through sales to other nations, to finance more of her own defense needs.

Accordingly, Israel's own arms exports in 1970 earned nearly \$75 million, "ranging from the Uzi sub-machine gun to the Gabriel anti-shiping missile. Within the next few years, Israeli officials say they hope to at least double this total." (*NY Times*, 1/14.72)

The lucrative arms export business is dominated

by Israel Aircraft Industries (I.A.I.), which after the Six-Day war, was organized as a partnership between government capital and private capital. I.A.I. produces not only the Gabriel missile, but the Arava short-take-off and -landing plane, which would be highly useful for counter-insurgency operations. On Jan. 28, 1972, the *Jerusalem Post* reported that other countries had placed enough orders to permit the export of 36 Aravas during the first three months of this year. The Arava has already received certification from the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (and is **expected** to compete heavily with Britain's De Havilland Twin Otter, in the category of quick-landing, quick take-off military planes.) The Gabriel anti-shiping missile is reported to be the only operational missile of its kind. Al-Schwimmer, the president of I.A.I. stated that "the company has books during the current fiscal year and expects to double this volume during the coming year." (*JP*, 1/28/72).

In some cases, the United States itself is a potential customer of Israel's growing arms industry. On January 7, 1972, the *New York Times* reported that Etan Harlew, an Israeli engineer, had acquired a patent for RAGE, (Radiation Amplification for Gamma Emissions), a gamma-ray weapon that "primarily is a commando weapon to be carried into the heart of enemy territory by small, highly trained units" (*Harlew*, *NY Times*, 1/7/72). RAGE, which could be used to knock out military posts "with only minimum harm to civilians" is presently being **evaluated** by the U.S. Defense Department.

Still another example of Israel's potential services to the U.S. war machine is provided by the statements of Dr. Abraham Harel, head of the research and development division of Tadiran, one of Israel's leading electronics firms:

"Today, Tadiran is one of the world's leading communication systems, rivalling and successfully competing in the world markets with some of the largest electronics firms. Using the experience it has gained in manufacturing and marketing numerous types of modern military equipment under license from leading American companies, and meeting tough U.S. Military Specifications, Tadiran has embarked upon its own development programs. (Israel Economist, article by Harel, August, 1971)

Israel's rapidly expanding electronics-and-aircraft sector is, of course, organically linked to the "war merchants" of the United States. Since the 1967 war, Israel has attracted such large U.S. "science and defense" firms as Sylvania, Westinghouse, Zenith, and Laurence Rockefeller Associates. North American Rockwell has furnished much capital to the aircraft sector. For this

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INSIDE ISRAEL

Interview: A DRAFT RESISTER

[Editorial Note: The following are excerpts from an interview with Giyora Nuemann, a draft resister in Israel. It has been translated from Matzpen, Feb. 1972.]

Question: Why did you refuse to be drafted?

Answer: In the last four years we have been living in a very peculiar situation--the reality of occupation. The state not only controls an area larger than itself, but rules an enormous population by means of military laws. Behaving in the territories as a typical occupying power, as is natural and logical, the state is oppressing this population. In addition, I don't believe in the possibility of a liberal occupation. Because of these conditions, I refuse to serve in the army which applies this policy, since occupation, every occupation, and oppression are against my political beliefs and my conscience, and I am not willing to take part in this activity.

Q.: Are you a pacifist?

A.: I am not a pacifist. Pacifism is a world outlook which objects to violence in principle, even in the case of self defense. This does not mean that I view violence as a positive thing, but there can be a struggle in which violence is used where the struggle is just.

Q.: Don't you think that the army has a role in defending Israeli citizens?

A.: I don't think that the army can defend its citizens while occupying and oppressing other people and threatening the population centers of other countries. More than not being a defense, such a reality threatens us with greater catastrophe in the future.

Q.: Nevertheless, from a practical point of view, don't you think that the mere existence of the **Army** prevents the invasion of Israel by foreign troops?

A.: My resistance to the draft is not an act which stands by itself. It is part of a world view, which attempts to include the historical reality of the conflict in the Middle East.

In short, I see Zionism as the main cause of the conflict. This includes other institutions of Zionism, from the Jewish Agency to the state and the **Army**. What is at stake from a principled historical point of view is emancipation from the structure, establishment and regime of Zionism. Whoever presents the "problem" as "they want to butcher us" is deceiving himself and others. The basic problem is getting rid of Zionism.

Q.: Thus you would have refused the draft even if Israel had no occupied territories and populations?

A.: I find it difficult to answer this question since I determine my behavior according to a given and existing situation. In principle I would not have lived in peace with Zionism even if it had given back to the Arab states this or that part of the occupied territories (e.g. the occupation of 1967). That is because Zionism is expansionist in nature--a movement of ceaseless occupation, colonization and settlement which I morally and historically oppose. Concretely, I don't know what I would have done, had the situation been different.

Q.: What do you actually want to achieve by refusing the draft? Do you simply mean to avoid the draft or do you have other aims?

A.: There is no doubt that one of my aims is simply not to serve. But this act is part of a much wider struggle, a social struggle whose ul-

timate goal is socialism. From a practical point of view this is an act of demonstration. I want to encourage people to think about this matter. I want to shake them and bring them to look into things which until now were accepted without question.

Q.: Can you be more explicit?

A.: The atmosphere in Israel concerning the political situation is really shocking. The people live their lives calmly and quietly--eating, drinking, sleeping, loving, joking, and going to concerts, without relating at all to what is happening a few miles away--occupation, oppression, the expulsion of populations, making refugees into refugees once again, "thinning out" civilian populations, and the utter disregard of even the most elementary rights of human beings. The existence of one individual in the society who does not blindly accept these attitudes might bring others to think about these issues.

Q.: Do you hope that your action will bring other young persons to follow you? Are you aware of the possible result?

A.: I would like to see more and more people thinking like myself on political subjects, although it does not have to be expressed in resisting the draft. On the other hand I undoubtedly would like to see more people refuse the draft, but I have no illusions. Concerning the possible results, as you call it, I already **mentioned** that I consider my action as part of a wider struggle.

Q.: Nevertheless your theory of social struggle seems utopian, while a mass draft resistance has a much more practical meaning. How do you settle this problem?

A.: Look, it's not my duty to solve the problem of the Israeli State. I have no doubt that if what you describe happens on a large scale it

would be a heavy blow to the military strength of the State. But we must not separate the army from the social structure. The army is an integral part of the society, in our case Zionism. And I am fighting Zionism. Clearly, people who will resist the draft because of their political beliefs, will not see this act as the last thing in their political duty, but will form a force which will be able--or so I hope--to bring about a fundamental social change, a socialist revolution.

Q.: Do you think that the Israeli government should free you from the service because of your political resistance?

A.: I am demanding of the Israeli government to be freed from duty to the service. How it will do it--if at all--whether in a legal or technical way, is the government's problem. I am firm in my refusing, and will fight for my right and the right of others to resist military service because of conscience, principles and reason.

Q.: Are there any organizations or individuals working in support of you?

A.: First, I am a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization, better known by the name of "**Matzpen**." This organization is supporting my right and the right of other young people to resist the draft and has initiated action in support of myself and my friends. Demonstrations took place in Tel-Aviv near the Defense Ministry, leaflets were distributed and petitions were signed in Israel and abroad which were sent to the Defense Minister. By the way, in London there was a demonstration and petitions signed by thousands of people from England, France, U.S.A., and Australia, which were sent here, but somehow received no publicity, not even minimally, in the Israeli newspapers.

Interview: A BLACK PANTHER

[The following are excerpts from an interview with an Israeli Black Panther. It has been translated from Potere Operaio, Nov., 1971.]

Ques.--What are the factors that encourage an Afro-Asian Jew to join the Black Panthers?

Ans.- I'll answer you by telling you the story of my own life. I came to Israel from Iraq in 1951 and joined the army three days after I arrived. While I was being trained in the infantry, my **parents** and my three little brothers came to Israel. They couldn't find work and had

nothing to eat, so I asked the army to release me so that I could work and support my family. They refused immediately. I decided to desert.

Later, I was arrested and they sent me to a mental hospital. This is the usual way of dealing with a deserter. This happened in 1952 and since then I have never been to a doctor because I've always been physically and mentally healthy. I was declared not fit for military service as a mental patient. With

this on my record I could never find work and I have no civil rights. For 20 years I have never had medical insurance and have always been unemployed. In the meantime, when I learned about the Black Panthers, I felt that it was my duty to join them because it's best to struggle on the same side as people who are like me.

There are thousands of people like me who have not yet found the means of surviving in Israel. Situations like mine destroy people. A lot of people in my situation have gone mad out of desperation. Of course, leaving the country is almost impossible.

Ques.--What is your political program?

Ans.--Our organization was formed on March 3, 1971 by ten people who were out of work and had received very little education. They tried to organize a demonstration against poverty in Israel. The police attacked this demonstration violently and arrested the organizers. Later, when there was the first police release the

when there was the first demonstration of more than 500 people, we succeeded in making the police release the prisoners.

Our first efforts went toward attracting as much publicity as possible from students, "person - alities," etc. with regard to the problems of the Afro-Asian population. One study of poverty in the country showed that 512,000 people live in conditions of absolute poverty beneath the "tolerable limits. 80,000 children don't have their own beds to sleep in. 57 percent of the elementary school children are Orientals, but in high school, there are only 36 percent. In the universities 12 percent of the first-year students are Orientals and only 3 percent of the graduates are Orientals. You have to realize that 67 percent of Israel's population are Jews from African and Asian countries. 50 percent of our children have permanent diseases like TB or heart trouble or other sicknesses that come from our living conditions. For every kid in the middle classes, there are four poor kids who die before they are 10 years old.

We don't believe that the government can do anything to change our conditions. We agree with Matzpen, Siakh, and Rakah that there has to be a radical change of the whole system-- a system whose number one preoccupation today is what it calls "national security."

Ques.-- What is your basic strategy for confronting the capitalist basis of Israeli society?

Ans.--The solution of our problems will be reached by the same method of struggle in other capitalist countries--Revolution.

Ques.--In Israel there are other exploited people such as the Arabs who live there. Do you have plans for combining your struggle with theirs in order to fight the same bourgeois state?

Ans.--In Israel there are three layers of exploited people. The Arabs constitute the lowest layer, then the Jews from the Orient, and then the proletariat of Western origin. For the moment we are trying not only to organize and unify our own layer of the population and to form alliances. Although we are not yet sufficiently organized to unify our forces with those of the Palestinian people, it is obvious that in the long run we will unite with them because we're fighting the same struggle.

Ques.-- You've said that revolution is the only solution for you; we'd like to know what you think of organized violence against the present state of Israel.

Ans.--Until now we have not used physical violence, but it's obvious that when we have to, we will. What's more, we recognize that other organizations that share our goals will see it in their own interest to unite with us in the struggle to overthrow the government.

PSYCHIATRIC IMPRISONMENT

The following is a translation of an article which appeared in the back pages of "Haaretz", the popular Hebrew daily in Israel on January 30, 1972.

A YOUTH PUT UNDER OBSERVATION FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE "BLACK PANTHERS" DEMONSTRATION.

By Igal Laviv, "Haaratz" correspondent.

Mr. Hador, judge at the Jerusalem juvenile court last week sentenced the youth Eytan Grosfeld for two months in a closed borstal. He was put in an institution for young criminals in Mitzpeh-yam, not in the institution designed for observation, in Ness Zionah. The reason for bringing the youth to court and for which he has been sentenced, was his participation in the "Black Panthers" demonstration in Jerusalem last May. He was detained at the time and later released. Now he has been arrested again during a Panthers demonstration in front of the halls of the Zionist Congress. The police officer who brought the youth to court asked to have him locked away for three months.

The Director of the institution in Mitzpeh-yam, Mr. Z. Rosenzweig, said the youth was interned with a social group unsuitable and difficult for him. He mentioned that he had been locked up in accordance with a special fringe chapter in the law, and that his mental and social condition was very bad.

Relatives of the youth said that he used to take part regularly in demonstrations of the Black Panthers and left wing groups. In the borstal he had his hair completely shaven, an act which hurt him badly. His relatives claim that he was interned for things he had said in court against the government.

Polaroid Hits GAZA

A letter to the Editors:

This week the (Israeli) ministry of interior has begun the distribution of new identity cards to the male population of the city of Gaza, 16 years old and above. All men coming for registration are photographed on the spot by means of cameras which immediately develop color photographs. In the picture: a line of people waiting to receive identity cards. (Maariv Nov. 18, 1971)

Since 1967 Gaza has been under Israeli occupation. The Gaza Strip is notorious for the brutal occupational measures exercised by the Israeli military administration in order to crush the

The Arms Deal...

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reason, it would be misleading to interpret Israel's expanding arms exports as a purely "indigenous" development. Rather, they must be seen as an aspect of foreign capital's efforts to extract quick profits from relying upon Israel's highly skilled labor force. The result is that Israel's own production and consumption of arms becomes more tightly integrated with the profit drive of the American "military-industrial complex," which has feared a cut-back in revenues from the Vietnam War.

On the one hand, Israel's steady purchases of of such items as the Phantom jet (McDonnell Douglas) or the Hawk missile (Raytheon) are to be interpreted as a form of direct subsidy from the American taxpayer to the manufacturers, since these purchases are organized outside Israel's domestic economy. At the same



systematic and organized Palestinian-Arab resistance which takes the form of guerilla warfare and terrorist activities.

It is also noteworthy that by the consistent declarations of the Israeli government the Gaza Strip is not negotiable under any terms of settlement. What the Israeli occupation of Gaza may mean to the Palestinians is well indicated by the Israeli use of Polaroid cameras.

The "BOYCOTT POLAROID" campaign would do well to note that Polaroid is in use in post-1967 Greater Israel as well as in Africa.

Uri Davis
Roxbury, Ma.

time, the U.S. arms aid which does trickle into encouraging "Israeli self-sufficiency," permitting Israel to improve its balance of trade through highly profitable arms exports, even to the U.S. itself, (as with RAGE). Yet it is to be emphasized that a portion of these exports will be produced by Israeli firms that have relied heavily upon American capital or even by Israeli branches of American firms, such as Sylvania.

For the peoples of Africa, and the Middle East the two-way flow of capital and arms through Israel is an ominous sign. Israel's long-standing political and military collaboration with American imperialism is entering a more intense phase, under the careful guidance of the U.S. "military-industrial complex" and the Pentagon.

For the people's struggles to overcome imperialist technology, a supreme political awareness must steadily develop. The first steps are being taken by the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, and it is the task of the American Left to show its solidarity by relentlessly exposing the unholy alliance among "big Business, Big Guns, and Greater Israel."

Background: BAHREIN

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Bahrein is a complex of islands half way up the Gulf, near Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Its two main islands are Manama, the largest and Moharraq. They are linked by a causeway at either end of which are the two main towns. Manama is the capital, while Moharraq is the site of the RAF and civilian air base. The ruling family are the al-Khalifa, relatives of the Kuwaiti ruling family, the al-Sabah, both of whom occupied their states in the second half of the 18th century. Since 1956 the al-Khalifa have lived in a special village, Rifa'a-al-Gharbi, inhabited only by the ruling family and their Beduin guards; they are too afraid of the people to live in Manama itself. The 220,000 population of Bahrein are mainly of Iranian origin, but most have been born in Bahrein, speak Arabic and have Bahreini nationality. A minority of the population are of Indian and Pakistani origin; there are also Omani workers, and a 3000 strong British colony.

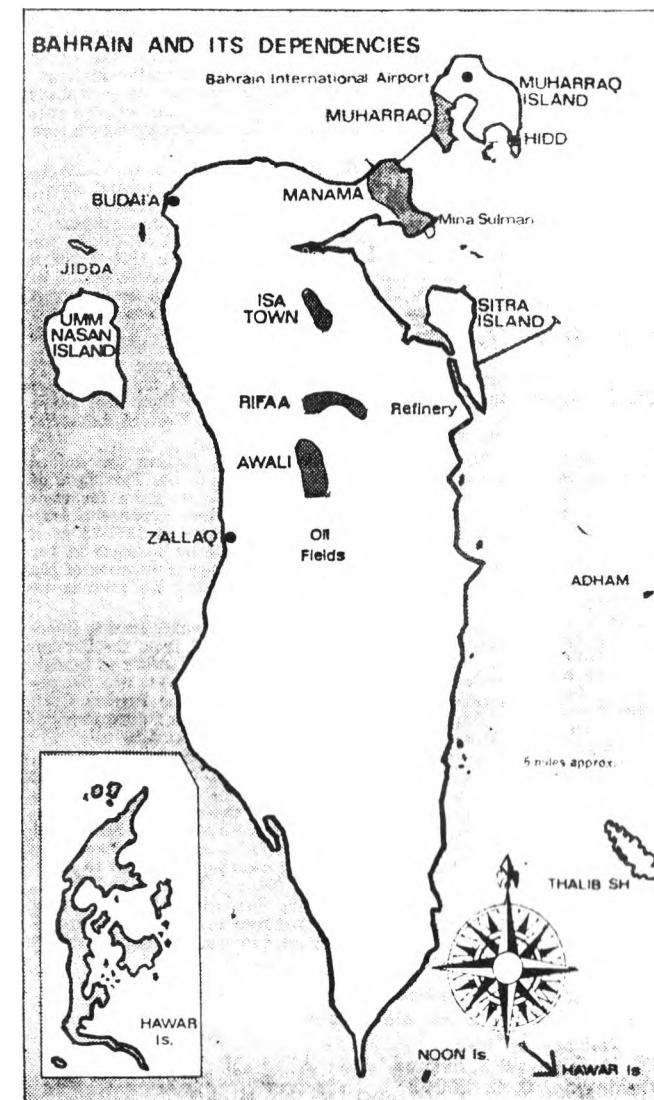


The New York Times/Jan. 6, 1972

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Before the discovery of oil in the 1930's, Bahrein's economy depended on trade, pearl-diving, dates (grown in the palm-plantations around Manama) and fishing. In the 1930's two US firms, Standard Oil of California and Texaco, set up the Bahrein Petroleum Company (BAPCO), which they registered in Canada to avoid the ban on non-British firms having rights in British colonies. BAPCO built a European town at Awali, near the oil fields in the center of the town, and a refinery on the northern coast. But Bahrein's oil production is low and will run out by 1990; Bahrein produces around 4 million tons of petrol a year and 2/3 of the 12 million tons of crude oil required for the production of the refinery comes by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. Other economic activities now include: an aluminum smelter, Alba, using gas from the oilfields to manufacture aluminum out of material brought from Australia; a satellite communications center, and a fishing project, run by a British company. British construction firms have also been riding the economic boom: Wimpey recently finished construction of a 35,000 population town, IsaTown. The problem is that the rents are too high and IsaTown is too far from places of work so the town is now half-empty.

Bahrein's history is marked by savage political repression. In 1954-56 a Committee of National Unity developed, calling for a share in power between the Sheikh and the people. It organized a famous demonstration against the visit of British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd and opposed the invasion of Suez, but its leaders were arrested and deported to St. Helena, and its demands were ignored. A State of Emergency was declared. The British run the CID and deployed a savage police force, few of whom were Bahreinis. Then in March 1965 BAPCO sacked 1300 workers in an attempt to crush the labor force and stock their installations with Indian workers. This



led to a general strike throughout Bahrein. The demands of the people included: the right to organize the trade unions, cancellation of the BAPCO dismissals, free press and freedom to meet, and the lifting of the State of Emergency proclaimed in 1956. The government replied as ferociously as in 1956. Over 1000 people were arrested and for 5 more years the masses were held down. Then in 1970 there was a new wave of strikes. In the aluminum plants the construction contractor was getting around 4 Bahreini dinars per day (1 BD = approximately \$2.40) from Alba for every worker on the site, while the workers were being paid only 900 fils (1000 fils = 1 BD). The workers struck, but only won a slight increase in pay and conditions. There were also strikes among the staff of Gulf Aviation and of Cable and Wireless. But all parties, unions and criticism are banned in Bahrein. When

the UN carried out a "consultation" of the Bahreini people in March 1970 to see whether they wanted to be part of Iran or not, the UN mediator "consulted" a "list" of Bahreini organisations. Not one of these was a union.

The political system rested on the Sheikh, his family and the British. A few local merchants have now been co-opted into a pseudo-cabinet, the State Council, but this is mere window-dressing. The Declaration of Bahreini "independence" in August was preceded by more repression. Poets like Qassem Haddad, the trades unionists in Gulf Aviation, and the leaders of the Bahreini Students League (active in Kuwait) were arrested. The British have always pretended that they are not responsible for this system; but they are, because they have built and preserved it, and the al-Khalifa tyranny is functional to the "stability" of imperialist economic and strategic interests.

The reporting in the British press about Bahrein has been marked by consistent complacency and omission of the real situation. Numerous articles on the economic progress and folkloristic attraction of Bahrein have contrasted with an almost complete silence on the political situation or on the fake character of the UN "consultation" and the 1971 "independence". This faithfully reflects the rotten ideology of the British community in Bahrein itself. As one British official is quoted as saying: "It's quite a nice place, actually, rather like India used to be ... This place attracts the kind of Englishman whose roots are in Victorian times. But those roots have no proper soil in England now. We have a very clubby atmosphere here, some of us would feel a bit lost in the Britain of today." ("Troops Will Leave, but Many Britons Won't Forsake the Charms of Bahrein", *New York Times*, April 14, 1971). The British are grouped in a special British Club, formerly the Gymkhana Club, from which all but the most complicit Bahreinis are excluded. Bahrein will continue to be a secure base for imperialism in the Gulf after the formal withdrawal of British troops. The new defense treaty will ensure continued British backing for the Bahrein Defense Force, recently purged of Nationalist officers, and British capital will continue its investment in the Bahreini economy. The US is also involved. In May Sheikh Hamid bin Isa, Bahrein's Defense Chief, left for a year's training at the Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, USA. It will be difficult for Bahrein on its own to break out of this system since it is economically and geographically so tightly integrated into Saudi Arabia. But, as the recent wave of arrests shows, the population refuses to accept this regime. It is a neo-colonialist structure, imposed on the Bahreini people by Britain, the US and the oil monopolies.

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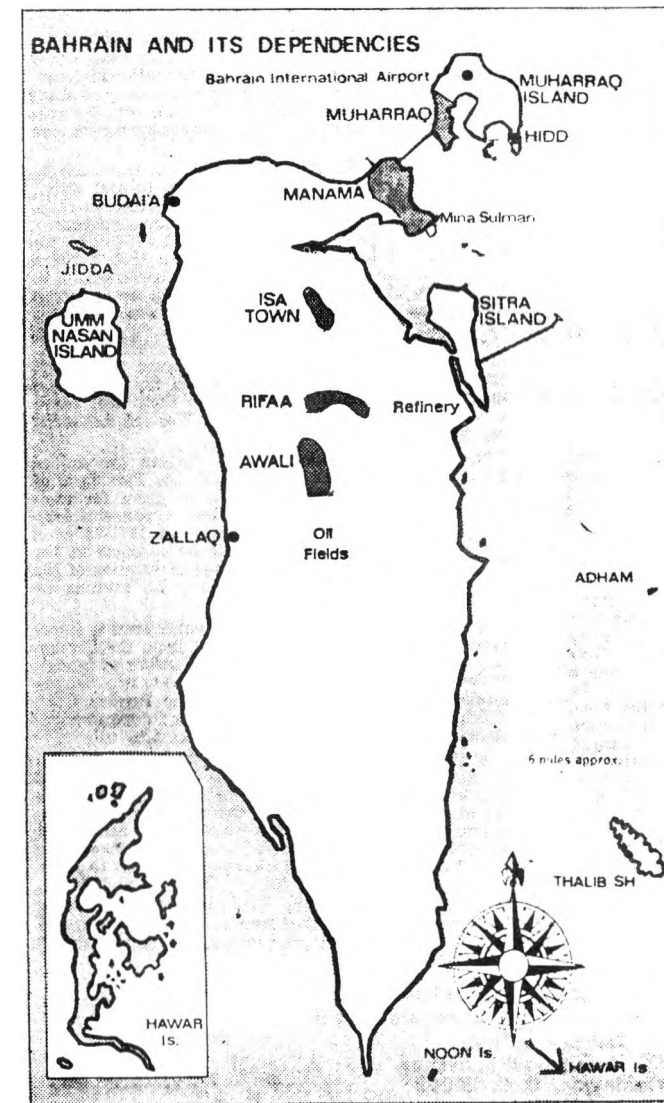


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IRAN,

REPRESSION INTENSIFIES

Trials of the Iranian regime's opponents are becoming progressively more frequent, and the sentences meted out increasingly harsher.

Last week a military tribunal sentenced six, then another five, leftist activists to death on charges of terrorism. Last Sunday [5 February 1972] court-martial trials began of two groups of 20 and 23 people charged with undermining State security, with subversion, and with armed assault and assassination. The second group has already appeared in a court which sentenced one of its members to death.

The public prosecutor has called for a similar sentence for four of the accused in the first group. A third case is under way, and the death penalty will probably hang over several of the 143 people on trial. Last year, at least 15 people were executed on similar charges.

The severity of these measures is an indication of the growing urban guerrilla movement. Over the past 15 months young Iranians - for the most part intellectuals - have gone underground to wage an armed battle against the Shah's regime. There has been an increasing number of strikes against police stations and rural militia posts, banks, and administrative buildings.

Ziaddin Farsio, chairman of Iran's military tribunals, was cut down by pistol fire on April 7, 1971, and attempts were made to kidnap the US Ambassador in Teheran and the Shah's nephew. Assassination attempts have also been made against other prominent persons in the regime. With such a tally of violent incidents there is room for surprise that the Government does not give greater publicity to these trials, which for the most part take place behind closed doors and are characterized by their remarkable summariness. Last year 13 accused men were actually executed before the charges against them were even published in the press.

From time to time the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad puts out names of missing persons of whom no trace can be found, in prison or elsewhere. On more than one occasion representatives of foreign organisations - particularly the World Federation of the Rights of Man - have charged the Iranian security service Savak with "violations of the fundamental rights of human beings" and of instituting a reign of terror.

The extent of repression is at first sight surprising in a country whose economy, thanks to its fabulous revenues from petroleum resources, is flourishing. According to the Government, the growth rate reached 20 percent last year. The same source said that agrarian reform and worker participation in profits have delighted the working class.

Strikes, unrest in the universities, and the growth of urban guerrilla movements demonstrate that Iran has not solved its most pressing social and political problems. The outlawing of all Opposition parties, complemented by a pitiless repression and the absence of even the most fundamental liberties, deprive the Iranian people of an indispensable safety-valve and serve to accentuate grievances that a more liberal policy would no doubt have tackled far more effectively.

Such secrecy on the part of officials tends only to give substance to Opposition charges that torture is routine in Iranian prisons, that accused persons frequently die before they can be brought to trial, and that the authorities are taking advantage of the situation to send opponents to gaol, even those who have nothing to do with violence.

*Le Monde, Weekly English Edition,
February 12, 1972.*

TWO FRENCH LAWYERS REPORT

Upon their return from Tehran, where they had attended the currently proceeding trials of the opponents of the Iranian regime, Mr. Nouri Al-bala and Mr. Henri Libertalis, have communicated to us -- in a letter which we are publishing below -- their impressions.

During our stay in Tehran from Jan. 28, to Feb. 6th, we were able to attend four sessions of the military tribunal, and to have an interview with two political prisoners at the prison of Evin.

Sent as judiciary observers by the International Federation of Human Rights, The International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and The International Association of Catholic Lawyers, we were refused admission to the court in that capacity. Finally after a great number of postponements and difficulties, some of which were only straightened out following an interview with Prime Minister Hoveyda on Feb. 8th, we were admitted to certain sessions of the trials on the condition that we could bear no titles. Twenty three persons were judged by the military tribunals between Jan. 23rd and Feb. 2nd. Six were sentenced to death. Twenty others were brought before the tribunal starting Feb. 6th. They were notably accused of creating subversive groups, attacking banks and police posts, hijacking a plane, etc.

While the authorities affirm-- and the press confirms-- that the sessions are public, entrance to the tribunal is in fact allowed only to bearers of an authorization, the issuing of which is subject to so many formalities that the families of the accused find it practically impossible to attend the sessions.

TORTURE AND IRREGULARITIES

In fact the accused are denied the basic rights of a serious defense. According to the spokesman of the military tribunal, all persons arrested by the SAVAK (political police in charge of State security) are brought before a magistrate within 24 hours, in conformity with the Iranian law.

Yet Nasser Sadegh and Ali Mihandoust, arrested in Sept. and Oct. 71, respectively, saw the military prosecutor for the first time only in mid January and the magistrate on Feb. 5, 1972, the night before our meeting.

A certain number of prisoners have been tortured

while awaiting trial-- a period that could be unlimited. Sadegh has informed us of having been struck on the head with a gun butt causing internal hemorrhage and several faintings. He has told us of having seen two of his friends, Masood Ahmadzadeh, and Badii-Zadegan attached to a sizzling metallic table.

On the 6th of Feb., 1972, in full session of the court-room of the military tribunal, Ahmadzadeh was able to show us deep scars of burning on his chest and his back.

Sadegh has told us that he had seen one of his friends Behrouz Viranie die under torture.

During sessions, on the contrary, the accused are very well treated, they are not hand-cuffed, they are served tea and offered cigarettes, and if they wish, they may talk of their political ideologies without being interrupted.

The accused have been forced to challenge the competence of the military tribunal without the assistance of their lawyers, and to ask for the establishment of the jury in accordance with the Iranian laws pertaining to political prisoners.

Deprived of defense lawyers during the pre-trial period, they can only be assisted in court by military officials (active or retired) with Law degrees, who mostly come up with written conclusions drawn from a file to which access is not authorized.

The debates were carried out without hearing a single witness, and no documentation was presented. The "file" seemed to have been made up of "confessions" collected by SAVAK.

During coming weeks, a hundred more persons are to be tried by the military court in Tehran. Prime Minister Hoveyda has informed us that foreign observers would be most welcome, provided that they bear no official titles.

We hope so, since the Iranian authorities seem sensitive to the presence of representatives of the international public opinion.

Le Monde, February 12, 1972.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

A BOOK REVIEW

The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation by Abram Leon. With a Biographical sketch by E. Germain, and Introduction by Nathan Weinstock. A Merit Book. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, 1970. 270 pages. \$2.75, paper; \$7.95, cloth.

In 1843 Marx was about to enter into his life-long collaboration with Engels. Already meeting frequently with socialist writers and workers, and reading widely in classical economics, he was at that time giving particular attention to the histories of the French and American revolutions, their theories of political emancipation, and the practical consequences entailed by their new freedoms. It was in this context that he launched a vigorous attack against his former teacher and fellow Left Hegelian, Bruno Bauer. Bauer was a political defeatist whose anti-activist stance emphasized theoretical understanding at the expense of practical measures. Marx's attack took the form of a long review essay in the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher* of two of Bauer's books and was entitled, *On the Jewish Question* (in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, edited and translated by L.D. Easton and K.H. Guddat; Doubleday-Anchor Book A583, Garden City, New York, 1967).

What is the "Jewish question?" In Marx's essay it refers to the analysis and subsequent rejection by Bauer of the demand of German Jews that they be given political emancipation. In his critique Marx exposes the relation of political life to life in civil society, of political emancipation to human emancipation. But in the course of the review he touches upon a method by which one might answer another "Jewish question": How is it that the Jews, in the face of so many obstacles and persecution, have survived into the modern world? Marx wrote, "Let us consider the actual, secular Jew--not the sabbath Jew...but the everyday Jew. Let us look for the secret of the Jew not in his religion but rather for the secret of the religion in the actual Jew.... Judaism has survived not in spite of but by means of history." (pages 243, 245, Easton and Guddat, *op.cit.*).

Almost exactly 100 years later this idea was rigorously applied to explain the survival of the Jews, ironically at a time when the survival of European Jewry was facing the challenge of mass extermination in the Nazi holocaust. Its author, Abram Leon, was to perish two years later in that catastrophe.

His book, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*, was written when he was only 24 years old. Born in Warsaw, his family adhered to a nationalist Zionism then prevalent among Polish Jews. When Leon was old enough for school his family emigrated to Palestine, but returned after only a year. At the age of eight he moved with his family to Belgium where he became, in his teens, an ardent member of the Zionist "socialist" youth movement, Hashomer Hatzair. At the same time he began a systematic study of Marxism and soon was a leader, both in Brussels, and nationally, of Hashomer. In 1936 he was influenced by the Revolutionary Socialist Party leader Walter Dauge to question the "orthodox" communist party; he leaned instead toward Trotskyism and began a process of widening differences with the Hashomer leadership, who at that time were more inclined to support Stalinist policies. Still emotionally attached to Zionism, he was nevertheless becoming uneasy about the common front socialist Zionism was making with the many petit bourgeois nationalists and chauvinist also associated with the Zionist movement.

Leon began to rethink his position. The first fruits of this re-analysis were the *Theses on the Jewish Question* which he presented to the world conference of Hashomer shortly before the outbreak of the war, in 1940. The *Theses* were based solidly in Marxist fundamentals and reached conclusions unsatisfactory to the Hashomer leadership. Leon had already become very unpopular in that organization by decisively rejecting a stand on the Palestine question that was based on any concept of nationhood; shortly after his presentation of the *Theses* he broke completely with Hashomer Hatzair, giving the Trotskyist movement his complete allegiance and denouncing Zionism as a brake on the revolutionary activities of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine.

He founded Belgium's Trotskyist movement at the

outbreak of the war and operated underground in Nazi occupied Belgium, publishing an illicit newspaper, *Lenin's Road*. It was during this time that he amplified and completed the *Theses*, resulting in the present book, *The Jewish Question*. Throughout the war Leon actively participated in underground political organizing; in 1944 he was arrested, sent to Auschwitz, and executed in the gas chambers there. He was at that time only 26 years old.

The original French edition of Leon's book was pieced together from Leon's manuscript by his friends and appeared in 1946, attracting little attention; an obscure and limited English edition followed in 1950 and met the same fate. However, its existence was known to a few scholars, and in 1968 a new French edition was published, followed by Italian and English ones. In contrast to their predecessors these editions are receiving wide comment. Though belated, this recognition is richly deserved.

The premisses are stated by Leon at the outset of the book:

"The scientific study of Jewish history is yet to transcend the stage of idealist improvisation. Serious historians have boldly attacked the field of history as a whole in the spirit of Marx, and have in large measure conquered it for the materialist outlook. Jewish history, however, still remains the chosen land of the 'god-seekers' of every variety. It is one of the few fields of history where idealist prejudices have succeeded in intrenching and maintaining themselves to so great an extent...."

"The preservation of the Jews is explained by all historians as the product of their devotion through the centuries to their religion or their nationality. Differences among these historians begin to appear only when it comes to defining the 'goal' for which the Jews preserved themselves, the reason for their resistance to assimilation. Some, taking the religious point of view, speak of the 'sacred trust of their faith'; others...defend the theory of 'attachment to the national idea.' 'We must seek the causes for the historical phenomenon of the preservation of the Jewish people in their national spiritual strength, in their ethical basis and in the monotheistic principle,' says the *General Encyclopedia* [Yiddish] which contrives in this way to reconcile the various viewpoints among the idealist historians.

"But while it is possible to reconcile these idealist theories with one ano-

ther, it is hopeless to try to find some ground for reconciling these same theories with the elementary rules of historical science. The latter must categorically reject the fundamental error of all idealist schools which consists of putting under the hallmark of free will the cardinal question of Jewish history, namely: the preservation of Judaism. Only a study of the economic role played by the Jews can contribute to elucidating the causes for the 'miracle of the Jew.'" (pg. 65-66).

To portray the struggles of the Jews in the Christian era, for example as a religious struggle, is to engage in mystification of the true situation. Quoting directly from Marx's essay, Leon contends: "We [must] transmute the contradictions of the state with a specific religion, like Judaism into the contradictions of the state with specific secular elements." (pg. 67). Leon's book is given over to a justification and scholarly substantiation of this theme.

The treatment of "religious" persecution before the modern era is typical of his method: "The cause of ancient anti-semitism is the same as for medieval anti-semitism: the antagonism toward the merchant in every society based principally on the production of use value." (pg. 71). Production for use-value is the production of commodities to satisfy some human need, i.e., products for direct consumption. From antiquity through the middle-ages the history of Europe was characterized by societies in which the predominant organization of production revolved around producing commodities for direct consumption. Leon shows that the Jews, because they were a merchant class, did not participate in this type of economic activity. Instead they "produced" commodities for their exchange-value, i.e., goods whose "use" was to be sold, goods for exchange in the market-place. Using an abundance of documentation and frequent citations from scholarly sources he drives home his point, again and again: the Jews played a special, and for a society based on use-values, necessary role. They were the social group that dealt with money, in a society where all others dealt with commodities for direct consumption. "Above all the Jews constitute historically a social group with a specific economic function. They are a class, or more precisely, a people-class." (pg. 74). The religious, ethnic, and linguistic peculiarities of the Jews, as a socially and economically different group, are all secondary traits. Their social role is primary; cultural differences are added on, not the other way around.

Where their special function was lost, for example in China or certain parts of North Africa, large sections of the Jewish community assimilated. Jews that became agriculturalists ceased to be

Jews, "The law of assimilation might be formulated as follows: Wherever the Jews cease to constitute a class, they lose more or less rapidly, their ethical, religious, and linguistic characteristics; they become assimilated." (pg.81).

With the rise of a new segment of European society that began to assume and compete for the social function of the Jews, persecutions began to worsen dramatically. Denied their place as the merchants class, the Jews served the function of small bankers and usurers, providing liquid assets that the nobility and the monarchy could use in a society rapidly converting to a money economy, providing venture capital for the burgeoning bourgeoisie that had displaced them as merchants. But as the power of the nobility and the monarchy deteriorated they began to consider the Jews more and more expendable, frequently cancelling their debts to them and expropriating the assets of their creditors. With the loss of their special function the Jews of the West were either driven to the East, or became assimilated. The French Revolution and the new Industrial Age marked the end of their role in the West.

In Eastern Europe, by contrast, society remained feudal in character until well into the nineteenth century. But as feudal organization began to crumble, Jews, unable to compete with the masses of landless peasants choking the towns and villages as a result of the same process, were again emigrating in vast numbers, this time to the West and to America. Yet by the end of the last century capitalism itself was beginning to decay and could not accommodate the influx. In the first third of the twentieth century integration into an economic system unable to support its own weight was becoming impossible. "The Jews [were] being strangled between the jaws of two systems; feudalism and capitalism, each feeding the rottenness of the other." (pg. 87).

In the last sections, which treat the tragedy of the Jews in this century, a tragedy that was soon to claim Leon's life as well, he demonstrates convincingly the manner in which anti-Jewish racism grew organically out of the basic contradiction between an explosive and uncontrolled expansion of capitalist productive forces, and limited market potential. The big bourgeoisie were faced with growing hostility from the petty bourgeoisie, the latter themselves squeezed both by monopoly capital and by the proletarian masses. "The success of [governmentally sanctioned.] racism means that capitalism has managed to channelize the anti-capitalist consciousness of the masses into a form that antedates capitalism and which no longer exists except in a vestigial state." (pg. 237). Yet, he adds, it was the petty bourgeoisie who the main impetus for the rapid development of fascism, fighting as they were their Jewish competition on the one hand, and the mythical projection of "Jewish capital" on the other.

In this context Zionism, far from being a national movement similar to other Western nationalisms (which were products of the rise of capitalism in the 19th century), is revealed as "a reaction against the situation created for Judaism by the combination of the destruction of feudalism and the decay of capitalism." (pg. 245)... Zionism has never seriously posed this question: Why, during these two thousand years, have not the Jews really tried to return to this country [Palestine]? Why was it necessary to wait until the end of the century for a Herzl to succeed in convincing them of this necessity (pg. 246)... In reality just so long as Judaism was incorporated in the feudal system, the 'dream of Zion' was nothing but a dream and did not correspond to any real interest of Judaism. The Jewish tavern owner or 'farmer' of 16th century Poland thought as little of 'returning' to Palestine as does the Jewish millionaire in America today. Jewish religious Messianism was no whit different from the Messianism belonging to other religions. Jewish pilgrims who went to Palestine met Catholic, Orthodox and Moslem pilgrims." (pg. 247).

The central myth of Zionism, what Leon calls its "spinal column" and of which a large share of the book is a documented refutation, is the notion of "eternal" anti-semitism. It is, as has been pointed out by many writers, itself an anti-semitic concept, maintaining as it does that the Jews are forever an indigestible element in the national life of every society. As most recent scholarship has demonstrated (including Leon's), in many historical periods Jews were part of the possessing classes and belonged to the most well-off parts of society. But, "Zionism transposes modern anti-semitism to all of history; it saves itself the trouble of studying the various forms of anti-semitism and their evolution (pg. 247)... In reality, Zionist ideology, like all ideologies, is only the distorted reflection of the interests of a class. It is the ideology of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie, suffocating between feudalism in ruins and capitalism in decay... It is modern anti-semitism, and not mythical 'eternal' anti-semitism, which is the best agitator in favor of Zionism." (pg. 247).

This does not mean that Zionism was not a reaction to a real and pressing need. But, asks Leon, how can Zionism, a product of capitalist decay, be a solution to a Jewish question which presupposes that the answer will be in terms of a national state which itself requires a further expansion of productive forces in an age where this is becoming less and less possible. In view of what we know was to be Leon's fate there is a special poignancy to his words: "In this period when the Jewish problem takes on the aspect of a terrible tragedy, Palestine can be no more than a feeble palliative. Ten million Jews find themselves in a huge concentration camp.

What remedy can the creation of a few Zionist colonies bring to this problem?" (pg. 259).

In this, as on many other issues, Leon was correct. The condemned of Europe (not only Jews; but other groups such as the Gypsies, as well) did not receive a last reprieve from the Zionist movement or anything else. Yet the subsequent success of the Zionist colonization of Palestine does require some emendation of Leon's analysis.

Leon foresaw that this might happen. "A relative success for Zionism, along the lines of a Jewish majority in Palestine" he wrote, (pg. 252-253), "and even of the formation of a 'Jewish state,' that is to say, a state placed under the complete domination of English or American imperialism, cannot, naturally, be excluded. This would in some ways be a return to the state of things which existed in Palestine before the destruction of Jerusalem and, from this point of view, there will be a 'reparation of a two-thousand-year-old injustice.' But this tiny 'independent' Jewish state in the midst of a world-wide Diaspora will be only an apparent return to the state of things before the year 70. It will not even be the beginning of the solution of the Jewish question. The Jewish Diaspora of the Roman era was in effect based on solid economic ground; the Jews played an important economic role in the world." (emphasis added. Leon had already given a complete historical account in his Chapter II). However, Leon adds, "Capitalism destroyed the secular basis for the existence of Judaism. Capitalism destroyed feudal society and with it, the function of the Jewish people-class. [pg. 257]... Because of the slim perspectives for a rapid and normal development of Palestinian economy in our period, the task of Zionist colonization requires considerable capital. Zionism demands incessantly increasing sacrifices from the Jewish communities of the world. But so long as the situation of the Jews is more or less bearable in the Diaspora, no Jewish class feels the necessity of having a 'country' to the extent also that persecutions mount in intensity, so much the less are the Jewish masses able to contribute to Zionist construction... So long as the Jewish people is strong in the Diaspora it feels no need for Palestinian reconstruction. When it strongly feels this necessity, the possibility for realizing it no longer exists. It would be difficult today [1942] to ask European Jews, who have a pressing need to emigrate, to give aid for the rebuilding of Palestine. The day when they will be able to do it, it is a safe assumption that their enthusiasm for this task will have considerably cooled." (pg. 252). From such arguments Leon concludes that Zionism is unlikely to succeed; moreover, given a "relative success," Zionism is still an impossible solution to the Jewish question.

In view of the history of the Middle-East in the last 25 years one must ask how robust Leon's analysis is when confronted with a strong Israeli state, supported by voluntary subscriptions to Israeli bonds to the tune of \$450 million by the Jews of the USA and Canada (*New York Times*, 2/27/72), extended enormous military and investment credit by America, and in every way an important part of the "Western alliance".

First is the issue as to whether the Zionist enterprise, given its nature, was likely to succeed. Although admitting the possibility of a "relative success," Leon clearly believed that this would turn out to be "abortive" (pg. 255) and would amount to nothing substantial since it did not serve the interests of Anglo-American imperialism. The keystone of his argument was that in an age of decaying capitalism, the capital resources necessary to build a nation ruled by the bourgeoisie did not exist, or more accurately, could not be pried loose from its possessors. This appears, by hindsight, to be a misjudgement. In the chaotic and desperate atmosphere of Europe caught in the flames of warring imperialisms this must have seemed more likely that it in fact was. In reality Leon, for understandable reasons, misjudged both the strength and the flexibility of capitalism at that point in history.

Yet this "error" contained, paradoxically the confirmation of his analysis in the light of history. For to say that Israel did become a reality despite Leon's predictions is not to relieve one of the necessity for explaining this fact. And it is an extension of Leon's analysis which points to an answer.

Speaking at a news conference on February 26, 1972 (reported in the *New York Times*, 2/27/72) General Haim Bar-Lev, former chief of Israel's defense forces, said: "[the] United States recognizes the strategic position of Israel in the Middle-East," adding that 'we are on the front line in opposing Russian penetration of the Mediterranean region.' "Israel is, in fact, far more than a bulwark against Russian penetration, although it serves this purpose well. It is also the spearhead for western economic imperialism in that part of the Third World, a bridgehead through which, it is hoped, foreign capital will someday flow to all parts of the Middle-East and Africa [see for example, "Israel and the Arms Trade," in this issue of *Resistance*]. At the same time it is a staging area for counter-insurgency offensives in the area. One must conclude, that the continued existence of the Jewish State is based on its important economic role in the world.

Leon also asked whether Zionism, whatever

its potential for success, could ever be a solution to the "Jewish question". His answer also requires some modification. According to Leon's analysis, it is modern capitalism that has posed the "Jewish question". "The Jewish problem is the problem of adapting Judaism to modern society, of liquidating the heritage bequeathed to humanity by feudalism....Capitalism has posed the Jewish problem, that is to say, it has destroyed the social bases upon which Judaism maintained itself for centuries. But capitalism has not resolved the Jewish problem, for it has been unable to absorb the Jew liberated from his social shell. The decline of capitalism has suspended the Jews between heaven and earth. The Jewish 'precapitalist' merchant has largely disappeared, but his son has found no place in modern production. The social basis of Judaism has crumbled; Judaism has become largely a declassed element. Capitalism has not only doomed the social function of the Jews; it has also doomed the Jews themselves." (pg. 258-259).

The Jews, as known in all previous eras, were indeed doomed to disappear. Their place was taken by the "new Jew" of productivized (i.e., "normalized") Israel, as different from all previous Jews as he is similar to the citizen of other western nations; and by the assimilated Jew of America and Europe. These Jews have thrown in their lot with the bourgeoisie and have found their place in modern society; this Leon did not accurately foresee (see particularly his remarks on pg.259).

But if he did not foresee it he would certainly have been able to interpret the consequences that have flowed from this fact. First, the loss of a social role for Jews qua Jews has produced the kind of social differentiation and alienation, both in Israel and in the US, that was not possible previously. Those, such as the sephardim in Israel or many young Jews in America, who cannot or will not identify their own interests with the bourgeoisie, are either oppressed and exploited or labelled as "self-haters". This last term, usually applied to any Jew expressing anti-Zionist opinions, is a class formulation of the fact that some Jews no longer see themselves in terms of the social role that the past has prepared for them and the present allows them.

Second, the persistent identification by the Jewish establishment of "Jewish interests" with the interests of the bourgeoisie both internationally and domestically, has set-up the classic conditions for "racism" in the Jewish community, on the one hand, and "anti-semitism" in the 'ghetto' (one could not have invented a more ironical term) on the other hand.

The ghetto resident is now expressing the interests of the masses, venting his anger on the ruling class, i.e., the bourgeoisie, which he distinguishes in several ways as slumlord, whitey, Jew, etc. The old commonality of interest, which bound Jews and blacks together in the recent past has broken down for the "Jewish Establishment" and the mass of poor people are now on different sides of the barricades. But "the Jewish Establishment" are no longer the Jews. It is rather like any other part of the bourgeoisie; the Methodist Establishment, the Republican Establishment, or the Business Community, a group distinguishable in name but in little else.

And in this fact is underlined one of the profound truths in Leon's book:

"Eternal" Judaism has disappeared.

Recent Developments in TURKEY Sophistry OR Ineptitude?

In his special to the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 13, 1971, Sami Cohen dealt with the reforms envisaged by the new Turkish govern-

ment in the areas of agriculture, mining, education, the judiciary and the press. These reform bills still make headlines in Turkish newspapers, while innumerable debates in parliament over the proposed changes continue. The only perceptible measures taken seem to be the passing of a new tax bill, the main burden of which rests upon those in lower fixed income brackets (the bill is ironically called the "financial stability tax") and the facilities provided to the private sector in the import of foreign raw materials and business investments. In a recent meeting, the president of the Turkish Mapping and Mechanical Engineer's Chamber stated that they were losing all hopes attached to the new land reform bill (*Cumhuriyet*, 13 February, 1972).

In the meantime, the suppression of all progressive and left-wing elements is continuing. The court martials and the police forces are doing their best to trace down and eliminate the last residues of the Turkish Liberation Front. University professors are being tried for translating the selected writings of Marx, while a publisher is brought to court for printing Lenin's *State and Revolution*. All this in the name of "stability, order and national unity"

--the holy triumvirate of the forces of the status quo, be they military or civil.

However, while the establishment uses the 1961 constitution for preserving this triumvirate, and convicts all progressive elements of attempting to violate the basic tenets of this constitution, there are good reasons to believe that its measures of repression do not fall under the aegis of the constitution either. A Supreme Court investigator stated a couple of months ago that the establishment of court martials, the appointment of judges, and the provisional clause to the effect that individuals and households could be searched without a formal plea, demand, or warrant, were unconstitutional (*Cumhuriyet*, 23 November 1971). The Defense has also claimed that the defendants were not given sufficient time to plead their cases, that some documents were purposely overlooked, and that in deciding on the sentences, scant attention was paid to the defenses made by the accused (*Cumhuriyet*, 16 December, 1971). Furthermore, claims of torture are continuously ignored by the courts.

Recent developments also confirm the truth of Agnew's prognosis, reported in the *New York Times* of October 14, 1971: "The officials with whom I have talked are very solidly pro-Nato, anti-communist, pro-West." In a meeting held last December, Nato agreed to provide the Turkish Government with aid of twenty-five million dollars for building new air bases and for constructing modernized networks of communication (*Cumhuriyet*, 9 December, 1971). While the enforcement of the ties between Turkey and Nato, constitutes an ominous threat to the struggle of progressive forces in the Middle East in general, it also makes one wonder as to the peculiar brand of nationalism advocated by the new regime, and particularly the army. It seems clear that the appeal to "national unity" and to the "general interest of the nation" is a piece of sophistry behind which the forces of the establishment hide their fears of class-struggle and socialism. Their paranoia also reveals itself in the appeal by the new government to "national unity," an appeal launched anew each time it is suggested that the Kurds are not "mountain Turks" but a people unto themselves.

In the face of a country beset with ever-increasing-cost-of-living in the urban areas, an unemployed population of two millions (and here the only data available is for the cities), a harassed peasantry deprived of their most basic material wants, together with the dissatisfaction of the intelligentsia and the progressive forces in general, the necessary and objective ineptitude of the established forces to offer radical solutions to Turkey's problems is bound to hit even the awareness of those who hide this reality from themselves by their "national unity" sophistry.

Latest Developments In Iran

A new trial began in Tehran under a military tribunal on Feb. 14. Our correspondent, Mr. Javad Allamir, reports that the 11 defendants belong to the M.L.N. (National Liberation Movement). They are charged with anti-establishment activities, hijacking, and attempting to kidnap some members of the royal family. The death sentence has been demanded for four of the defendants. These are members of a larger group of 70 who will face trial during the weeks to come.

Meanwhile, some hundred members of the Confederation of Iranian Students coming from different countries, have joined in Paris for a hunger strike in the quarters of the City University. The participants demand the cancellation of the death sentences and the dispatchment of a committee of jurists and physicians to investigate the conditions of those under arrest and torture.

Le Monde February 17, 1972.

According to the news distributed by the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union), and confirmed by the Associated Press, five of those sentenced to death and one who was sentenced to life imprisonment were executed by the firing squads on the morning of March 1, 1972. Their names are:

1. Massoud Ahmadzadeh
2. Majid Ahmadzadeh
3. Abbas Meftahi
4. Assadollah Meftahi
5. Hamid Tavakoli
6. Gholamreza Galiuee

Four others, Saïd Aryan, Abdol Karim Hadjain Sepeleh, Mehdi Savalouni, and Bahman Aujang, had been executed on Feb. 29 (*Le Monde*, March 3, 72). Another group of nine, whose names have not been released yet, were executed on March 12. (*The New York Times*, 3.13.1972)

The Iranian students hunger strikes in Washington D.C., and Paris, which lasted 14 days, was terminated on Monday Feb. 28, 1972. It received the support of many democratic organizations and individuals around the world.

They requested an end to the hunger strike and assured the Confederation that they will pursue the matter until concrete results are obtained. Among them are:

1. Dr. Ralph Abernathy; the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
2. Mr. Harry Rollen; the President of the Council on Human Rights in Europe, and the Attorney of Iran in the international court of La Hauge in 1951.
3. The League of Human Rights for National Lawyers Guild of the United States.

Story of an Escape

Our correspondent reports from Tehran: On Monday, Feb. 14, an official Iranian spokesman denied the escape of Mr. Reza Rezaie whose letter, describing the tortures inflicted upon the prisoners, appeared in *Le Monde* of Feb. 12, 1972. According to the government representative, Mr. Reza Rezaie was set free after an interrogation proved his innocence, and since he had collaborated with the authorities by delivering the names of other opponents of the Shah. If this is the case, however, one could ask why Mr. Reza Rezaie has still not resumed normal life and continues to live in secrecy.

If one can believe some other information, which seems to be quite reliable, the story is quite different. Mr. Rezaie, a fifth year dentistry student at the University of Shiraz, was arrested in Aug. '71. The agents of the Iranian secret police, the SAVAK, then planned to use Rezaie as a bait to capture his brother, Ahmed Rezaie (who was subsequently killed in the course of a confrontation with the security forces on January 31) and other members of the "subversive" group to which Ahmed belonged.

The young man, joined the rules of the game by duping the authorities. Since the desired results were not reached fast enough, his jailors gave Reza one week in which to deliver "the guys and the arms", after which he would be given his liberty.

On the fifth day some of Reza's friends who had already discovered that he was being followed by the police, spread themselves in disguise around the district where Reza was supposed to operate. His brother, disguised as a shoe-shiner, imperceptibly hands to him a plan of escape.

Rezaie then informs the SAVAK agents that the director of a public bath, situated near the Tehran bazaar could provide him with some information on his brother Ahmed, but that the police officers had to wait outside the building in order not to arouse suspicion. Once inside, Rezaie made his way to a back door which led to a different street. It is thus that Rezaie took leave of his jailors, in a tale of A Thousand and One Nights.

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