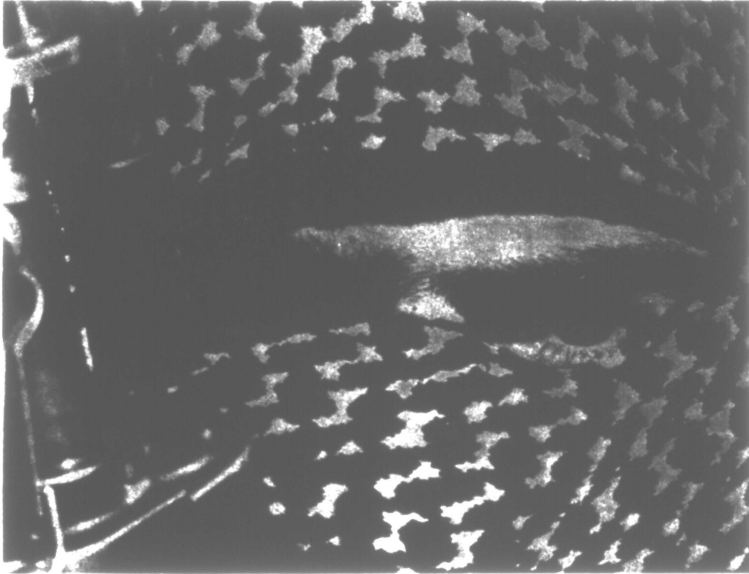


فلسطين الحرة

free palestine

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IBN AL BALAD:

STAUNCH DETERMINATION IN AMMAN.

"The house is not important. Nor are the children it shelters. What is important is that you stay put and that you continue to hold on to the trust placed in you by the people." These were the words of an aging Palestinian woman directed to Abu Ammar, who had come to comfort her after her house was shelled. *"Rest assured,"* answered the commander in chief of the Palestine Revolution's forces, *"we shall remain faithful to the trust. We shall remain faithful to the people and to the revolutionaries."* The Palestinian leader was not given a chance to evade his pledge, even if he had wanted to.

Amman was shortly thereafter subjected to the most barbaric onslaught in Arab history—by Hussein's mercenaries and his clique of foreign agents. But the heroes of the Palestine revolution stayed put defending their people, their revolution and what they steadfastly hold to be their honorable cause. The actions of Hussein's bedouin troops were barbaric; the troops had not counted on facing fierce determination on the part of the residents of the city of Amman. Amman courageously stood up to the onslaught, paid a heavy toll, and taught the world a lesson in heroism.

Even before the public acceptance by Egypt and Jordan of the American peace plan, Hussein and his generals had begun putting the finishing touches on a long-standing plot conceived for the express purpose of liquidating Palestinian resistance. After the public and official acceptance of the plan, time for Hussein and his collaborators became a rare commodity. It was imperative that they exploit to the maximum Nasser's endorsement of a political settlement of the Middle Eastern question. While the Palestine liberation movement was for the Egyptian regime a stumbling block in the way of settlement, for Hussein the movement was a threat endangering his survival and that of the ruling caste surrounding him. As the Egyptian regime began exerting pressure on the movement, and even trying to isolate it in an attempt to force it to yield to that regime's line of policy, Hussein was preparing for the opportune moment to embark on a showdown with the commandos. Hussein's astrologists, however, misinterpreted the constellation.

Under the umbrella of the big brother and riding the crest of the uproar following the skyjackings, the agents in Jordan thought it good timing to strike at the movement in a moment of some internal divisiveness and of decline in popular support. Frictions between the commandos and the army began taking serious dimensions from the time the Palestine National Congress convened in Amman during the last week in August. At that convention the Palestinian Congress flatly rejected U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 242—in substance and in all manners of its application, including the Rogers' plan.

It became clear to all those interested in the plan that its success could only be achieved over the Palestine liberation movement's dead body—that the Palestine liberation movement would resist to the bitter end any attempts to implement the plan or to sell out Palestinian hopes.

On August 30th heavy fighting erupted in Amman; from this time forth, the fighting continued interrupted only by short-lived ceasefires which were no sooner agreed upon than they were broken by royalist troops. The battle spread to Zarqa, Irbid, and other cities, to the north and to the south. On September 15th/16th, a 13-Point Agreement was reached under the Arab League Reconciliation Commission. After signing the agreement, Hussein dismissed his government, declared martial law and appointed a cabinet of twelve military officers. This cabinet was entrusted, according to King Hussein, with the task of reestablishing "the authority of the Jordanian state" and of preserving "the honor of the Jordanian armed forces."

The first order issued was that the Palestinian militia turn in their guns to the authorities and that the guerrillas leave the towns and concentrate on the Israeli border. These measures were calculated to appeal to the counter-revolutionary forces in the area and to military bureaucracies, who do not relish an armed population. Had these orders, indeed, been heeded, the outcome would have amounted to suicide by the Palestine liberation movement. It was only natural that the movement denounce them and girdle for the showdown with royal forces.

The king, his mighty allies and close advisors were all victims of gross miscalculation. They underestimated the commandos' determination and the people's will to resist and persevere. Overconfident of their army's numerical and firepower superiority, Hussein's generals assured their masters that it would take them a day or two to crush the commandos. Having overshot the schedule and made no conceivable progress, and seeing no end to the resistance, Hussein unleashed his hounds on refugee camps and city populations. Hussein's army bombarded towns and camps with everything at its disposal; the devastation was enormous and casualties are estimated in the tens of thousands. Still, the resistance was not broken, and Amman refused to succumb to oppression.

The showdown in Jordan was the inevitable result of the intensification of strain between (on the one side) spreading revolution and (on the other side) continued Great Power support of Zionism and Arab reaction in the Middle East. The alliance between the three enemies of the Arab masses became clear when each announced preparations to collaborate in a unified action to crush the expression in Jordan of the will of everyone manifestly involved in the

8 fundamental objections to political settlement

This is why the Palestine liberation movement rejects the American peace proposal and the UN's Security Council Resolution No. 242. Quite simply—such efforts at establishing a peace in the Middle East undercut the national and human rights of Palestinians. There are many articulated reasons for such a rejection, however. The latest issue of FATAH (September 17, 1970) carried an article in which it presented eight fundamental objections to political settlement.

1. A compromise solution punishes Palestinians, who have already lost all, and rewards Israelis, who have already taken far more than they had any right to; and therefore it is wholly unacceptable.
2. Acceptance of such a plan is tantamount to accepting co-existence with (and therefore continued oppression by) the Zionist imperialist bulwark in the Middle East.
3. The resolution deals only with the occupation of 1967 and ignores the occupation of 1948—implying that the older Zionist occupation has become respectable because of its age, irrespective of its immorality.
4. Israel would be sanctioned as a "legitimate, sovereign state" by the Arab states accepting the plan. Furthermore, it seems to be a patent contradiction to speak of the "territorial integrity" of Israel, a state which has established itself by force on the land of others.
5. Such a plan merely proposes the settlement of an "Arab refugee problem." Palestinians believe it is a great mistake to treat the Palestinian people simply as "Arab refugees," whose problem can be settled with proper compensation for their lost possessions and a scheme for resettling them throughout the Arab World. It is impossible to move from occupation to peace without liberation.
6. The confirmation by the Arab regimes of Israel's legitimacy would amount to an attempt to liquidate the Palestine resistance movement by shutting off its support from the Arab nation.
7. Arab confirmation of Israeli legitimacy would attract even greater numbers of Zionists to Israel and strengthen imperial interests in the Middle East.
8. Acceptance of the plan by some or even all of the Arab governments would hinder the unity of the Arab nation on which the hope for prosperity in the Middle East depends.

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY!

cont'd from page 1

Palestine liberation movement. While Hussein's army was engaged in genocide of the population supporting the commandos, the United States Department of Defense was rattling its sabers and threatening to intervene on Hussein's behalf in the event of threat to his survival. At the same time Israel was maneuvering to come to the rescue of their allies in Jordan. The conspirators were unmasked and their preparations seem to have been carefully planned.

The struggle between the revolution and the enormous population it represents and imperialism and its local agents has been steadily intensifying in the last three years. The enemies of freedom came to realize, in the course of bitter struggle, that they could not liquidate the revolution by the same methods they had been following. That is why they devised the Rogers' plan to split the Arab world and improve Hussein's position there, by presenting him as the ally of the nationalist leader Nasser. At the same time the royal army was being supplied with enough firepower for a final battle, the revolution was accused of working against the Arab States' peaceful interest.

Shortly before and all during the fighting in Jordan, movements in the Mediterranean succeeded in scaring off other Arab participation; there were threats that the fleet would intervene should anyone come to the commandos' aid. It is against this background that the fabricated stories about Syrian intervention gained so much currency in the Western news-media; and it is in this context that one must view the deplorable behavior of these other Arab regimes. While threats of big power intervention exposed the weaknesses of the Arab military bureaucracies, it strengthened the hand of the Jordanian "Huns" by assuring them that if worse came to worst, they could count on their friends coming to their rescue. These threats succeeded also in precipitating an international crisis and causing the Soviet Union to pressure the so-called progressive regimes of the Arab world to abstain from supporting the revolution. The regime in Jordan, thus, secured the temporary isolation of the revolution; though it had completely miscalculated the people's capacity to fight in defense of their principles.

The steadfastness of the commandos and of the people in Jordan surprised not only the Fascists there, but also Israel and the Great Powers as well. Valiant resistance by the forces of revolution turned the tide against Jordan's cutthroats and forced Arab heads of state to call a stop to the blood-bath. For several days, Arab regimes vacillated; then, in a show of neutrality, they moved to preserve the *status quo* and save the other pillar of the "peaceful solution." As though ignorant of Hussein's intentions and plans, they felt it necessary to investigate for themselves his treachery; as though the commandos were a bunch of liars, heads of state assembling in Cairo agreed to send a fact-finding delegation to ascertain the news of massacre. They kept on dragging their feet while the Palestinian people continued to suffer the most outrageous slaughter in Arab history. Despite frequent popular appeals to these leaders to use their influence and stop the carnage, silence and inaction



one of the many demonstrations that took place, expressing solidarity with the Palestinians

was the order of the day in palace halls where leaders were convened.

After ten nightmarish days, the enormity of the crime, it was obvious, could no longer be whitewashed. This fact, at last, forced these leaders to come out and openly denounce Hussein and his Fascist clique. And when, through these leaders' intervention, a ceasefire was arranged, the Palestinian people had already written in the blood of its sons a new illuminated page in the history of Arab revolution. Again it set an example for oppressed millions in the Third World—it demonstrated constancy and self-reliance in the face of overwhelming adversity.

The world news-media tried to present Hussein as victor in the showdown; newscasts were almost unanimous in announcing the commandos vanquished. Journalists and commentators began speculating about the post-guerrilla period in Jordan. The sudden death of Nasser played into their hand and helped their mistakes to go uncovered for a while. Only when the smoke screen had dissipated did the truth become known.

In the first place, it became obvious that the plotters had failed to deal the commandos a death blow. The commandos emerged from the battle a little the worse for wear but as strong and confident as ever. It was out of concern for the survival of the wounded thousands and the fear that many more thousands would die of thirst and starvation that the commandos accepted the ceasefire.

Second: It is evident that Hussein's army was not able to occupy a single city in all of Jordan. Even Amman itself—despite the heavy bombardment, death and destruction—still remained the headquarters of the commandos all through the fighting. No matter what the hostile media say, it is a fact that the ceasefire observers are still negotiating the evacuation of forces from the city proper. The commandos had stood their ground and held onto most parts of the city.

Third: The resistance became a people's war. Complete integration of the guerrilla forces and the militia was evident in every town in Jordan. This, in addition to the consolidation of commando organizations and cooperation between them and the people, brought the resistance a giant step forward towards total mobilization of popular forces.

Fourth: The movement succeeded in isolating the regime of foreign agents in Jordan (not the other way around) and it exposed its character beyond any shadow of a doubt. Only in such regimes as those of South Vietnam and Cambodia could Hussein find company—if even there.

Fifth: And probably most important in the short run, the fierce and popular resistance in Jordan made it clear that the Rogers' peace plan is not viable in the least. The imposition of such a plan has become absolutely impossible; at least it will be impossible to impose it on Palestinians, and there is even less chance that it could be imposed on them in the future. □

—Ibn al-Balad

THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES



A mass grave for civilians in Amman.

The September massacres in Jordan represent one more stage in the Jordanian regime's plot to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution. Despite the horrifying number of victims, this latest blood-bath did not achieve its purposes. It was a desperate attempt on the part of King Hussein and his ruling class to destroy the Revolution, enforce the peace plan, recognize Israel, and preserve the Hashemite throne. Its characteristic ruthlessness differs from that of earlier attempts only in its intensity and an even greater disregard for human life. After all, Hussein is the one quoted as threatening to burn Jordan if he cannot rule it his way. The new Nero wants to rule—even over a graveyard.

It is a mistake to regard the massacre as an isolated incident. Many attempts preceded it; the latest being in June in which a thousand people lost their lives. At that time, the King's uncle Chief of Staff Nasser ibn Jamil, his cousin Zayd ibn Shaker, and the former Prime Minister Wasfi at-Tall shared in plotting and executing the conspiracy. The fedayeen accepted a cease-fire only on the condition that these three be stripped of all their powers and sent out of Jordan. The King complied only in form but kept his advisors around. Nasser ibn Jamil took a vacation in London, but he was back in Amman within a month. Shortly afterwards, he was seen inspecting the troops with his nephew, who declared that his uncle enjoyed his complete "confidence" and "support." These, plus Muhammad Rassoul al-Kilani, head of the Jordanian Secret Service, form the King's trusted agents whenever he plans a mass execution.

Such massacres were occurring with alarming frequency. This was especially true following Hussein's acceptance of the Rogers plan. The only way in which it could be enforced was by destroying the people whose very existence negated the validity of the American proposals. Hussein literally wanted to enforce it over their dead bodies. The 90-day Egyptian-Israeli cease-fire would soon come to an end and the peace talks were to start. However, in order for the Arab leaders to sign

away the Palestinians' rights, they first had physically to eliminate the Palestinians themselves. The task was naturally allotted to Hussein, the one with most experience in such matters.

Defenseless civilians have always been the Hashemite monarch's favorite target. This was where he could cause the most destruction without much loss to himself or to his desert troops. The Palestinian population was placed in refugee camps with no shelter beyond ragged tents. At any moment the royal wrath would vent itself in a constant and concentrated shelling of the exposed camps. In September, as well as in June, the attack was launched first with the shelling of the Wahdat Camp. The casualties were in the thousands.

The blood-bath in September was Hussein's most rabid attack on the Revolution and its supporters in Jordan. This was partly due to the element of time. The deed was to be accomplished before the American-Israeli-spurred talks took place. Again, Hussein had had the full support of the American Government in undertaking this task. This was made even more obvious when it was announced that American troops were to finish the job if Hussein proved incapable of doing it on his own. In the meantime, and with extreme satisfaction, Israel was watching the king destroy its enemies. Thus the American-Israeli-Jordanian alliance was openly manifested.

Although the number of casualties was high, the attempt proved to be a total failure. The Palestinian Revolution withstood it—as it had many others. Hussein and his allies had underestimated the strength of the Palestinian people's determination to fight for their homeland. Every man, woman, and child is ready to undergo any sacrifice for the sake of their just struggle. The popular militia in every camp took up arms and faced Hussein's troops. Events have proven that this nation's will and spirit cannot be broken. It's clear that neither big-power politics, economic interests, even military intervention, nor the agent-regimes' plots and massacres can obstruct the Revolution.

AIDA

Editorial

NASSER,

ARAB MASSES,

& THE REVOLUTION

Millions of Arabs thronged and jammed the urban centers of the Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Gulf, on the day of Nasser's funeral. They were giving honest expression to their feelings for the Nasser they had known and were demonstrating their support of the declared aims of Nasser's political career. The tumult in Arab streets were clear proof and a warning to the foes of the Arab people as to where these people stand. The sheer magnitude of these demonstrations intimated that the Arab people are indeed no force to be trifled with.

To the Arab people, Nasser was the symbol of struggle against their enemies: Zionism, foreign exploitation, and Arab reaction. During the years of his leadership in the Arab world, Nasser came to be the personification of that struggle, and here lies the secret behind the outpouring of emotions by millions over his death. In the minds of many, and in a very curious way, Nasser was held the savior of the oppressed multitude; he, in their eyes, had stood up to the oppressors.

On the surface, however, Nasser seems to have failed to achieve any decisive victory over those three enemies of the Arab people. The Big Powers are still well entrenched in the area; Zionism seems to have acquired all the earmarks of permanency; and Arab reaction, in the last few years, managed to work out a *modus vivendi* with Nasser. Nobody could deny the fact that Nasser tried to fight these enemies; many, though, can point out that he went about the fight in the wrong way.

The achievement of Nasser's declared aims really required a mass movement. The total sum of revolutionary forces in the Arab world should have been harnessed. Only by revolutionary action could the revolution Nasser advocated have materialized. But, this line of thinking was foreign to Nasser.

Despite Nasser's shortcomings, he made the word *thawrah*, revolution, a household word in the Arab Middle East and in Africa; with Nasser the term ceased to be an obscenity.

Nonetheless, it was with the Arab revolutionaries, spearheaded by the Palestine liberation movement, that *al-thawrah* became a reality—and more important—a way of life in the area. The millions who poured through the streets lamenting the great loss of their leader must now come to the realization—with the Palestinian example—that the only way *al-thawrah* makes it is when all the people, not just the Nassers, participate wholeheartedly.

THE BATTLE OF AMMAN

bob van lierop

Bob van Lierop who carries degrees in both economics and law is presently a private practicing attorney in New York City. As a black activist, he formerly held the post of assistant counsel to the N.A.A.C.P. and, at present, he is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle East.

Van Lierop travelled extensively in Africa to study Southern Africa's liberation movements. This article was especially written for FREE PALESTINE after van Lierop's last trip to the Middle East where he was caught up in 'The battle of Amman.'

I arrived in Amman from Beirut on Tuesday morning September 15, 1970. Almost immediately I was struck by the air of expectancy which hung over this ancient city of 600,000 people. The heavy traffic during the ride from the airport to the Jordan Intercontinental Hotel was, to an extent, reminiscent of some of the worst traffic jams in midtown Manhattan or Tokyo. In a casual manner pedestrians and vehicles weaved through the narrow streets without the aid of traffic signals, thereby enlivening the already bustling scene and making the approach to each corner a "moment of truth."

In marked contrast to the streets of Manhattan or Tokyo, however, armed freedom fighters were plainly visible in the streets of Amman. They were not a "swaggering band of armed terrorists with no respect for law and order" as they have been described in some quarters. Instead, they were a natural and integral part of the scene in Amman that morning, casually strolling through the streets and moving in the population "like fish in water." These were the fedayeen, the persons who will ultimately liberate Palestine from its present occupation by the Zionists. At this moment, they were defending their revolution from a series of attacks by persons who had previously attempted to masquerade as their benefactors. These counter-revolutionary forces were now attacking the fedayeen positions throughout Jordan and from the city I could hear the shelling of Palestinian refugee camps. At night the flashes of light from the big guns lit the sky with an eerie brightness.

During the first two days I was in Jordan I met members of the Palestinian resistance and learned more about their struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism. The Palestinian people were evicted from their homes 22 years ago to make room for a European minority which then settled the land in the same fashion that North America, South America, Southern Africa, Australia and New Zealand were settled. For the past 22 years Zionism and the western press have tried to convince us that the Palestinians are a "non-people". However, the Palestinian identity has survived these Euro-American assaults upon its existence. And the resoluteness of the Palestinian people has been dramatically demonstrated by a series of imaginative actions against the Zionist and imperialist enemies. It is because of this imaginativeness and the increasing strength of the Palestinian resistance movement that the imperialists were forced to adopt new tactics. Thus, the Bedouin tribes and the reactionary regime of King Hussein were used in an attempt to break the back of the resistance.



The militia in control of Amman.

I was stunned to learn of the recent murder of 35 fedayeen officers by their Bedouin hosts while at a meeting near Karak. The victims had been invited for a discussion on unity between the fedayeen and the Bedouin tribes. While they were eating, the murderers approached from the rear, slit their throats and shot them. After these officers were massacred, the fedayeen forces in southern Jordan were attacked and most of them were forced to retreat. The stage had now been set for "the final solution."

On Wednesday, September 16, 1970 the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan issued a declaration of war on the people of Palestine. This declaration took the form of an announcement that the civilian government of Abdel Moneim Rifai had resigned and that the king had appointed a military government headed by Brig. Mohamed Daoud. The communique announcing the formation of the military government contained inflammatory denunciations of the Palestinian resistance movement. The real power in Jordan was now the military governor Marshall Habis Majali and the army was now clearly in control of the palace. There was little the king could have done to stop the ensuing blood-bath even if he had wanted to.

For some time there had been considerable friction between the fedayeen and certain units of the Royal Jordanian Army. These units, which were composed primarily of Bedouin troops were the king's elite forces, i.e., armored and artillery units, strike forces, royal guards, etc. The friction was attributable to a number of factors not the least of which was the army's resentment of the fact that the resistance was an independent armed force within the borders of Jordan and outside the jurisdiction of the Jordanian authorities. In fact the Jordanian army had attacked the fedayeen earlier this year and since June of 1970 had been kept outside of Amman under the terms of an agreement which ended that fighting. The sentiment had also been expressed, within the army, that the fedayeen should take up positions on the front facing the Israelis rather than retreat to their bases after conducting raids across the enemy lines. Needless to say, the proponents of this position ignored the nature of the fedayeen forces and the equipment they had at their disposal. Even if one assumes, for the sake of argument, that the Jordanian army was justified in feeling some resentment there was certainly no excuse for the fratricide which was committed in King Hussein's name.

It must also be noted that Bedouin tribal animosities played a role in these unfortunate events. It is inevitable that the cultural differences (e.g., values and life styles) between a nomadic (Bedouin) people and a settled (Palestinian) people cause occasional conflicts. The fedayeen, to their credit, tried to overcome these differences particularly in southern Jordan where they operated schools which tried to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood between the Palestinians and the Bedouin tribes. Unfortunately the Bedouin loyalty to King Hussein was utilized by the enemies of the

Palestinian resistance and a wedge was driven between these two Arab peoples which fratricide the result.

After the formation of the military government the fedayeen called a general strike and prepared for the expected invasion of Amman. I noticed grim faced and determined men, women and children preparing for battle. Most western observers in Amman expected the Jordanian army to roll over the fedayeen in a matter of hours. The army had tanks, artillery and armored vehicles. The fedayeen had small arms, and some rockets and mortars. But they also had a revolutionary cause and faith in their people. They knew they were fighting to protect their revolution and for their survival as a people.

During the next few days there were many times when I wondered, how many of the people I had met were still living. I thought back to the warm and brotherly greetings I had received and to the messages we had exchanged. I thought of Bassam, Ahmad and Jamil. I remembered the brother who had escorted me at the Fatah camp. He spoke no English and I spoke no Arabic yet on our way back to his post we walked with our hands clasped in the Arabic fashion signifying a closeness that had evolved in our one hour together.

On the morning of Thursday, September 17 the Royal Jordanian Army launched a full scale attack against the Palestinian people. Jordanian artillery shelled the refugee camps and commando bases unmercifully and armored units rolled into Amman. I was trapped inside the Jordan Intercontinental Hotel with approximately 120 other people most of whom were western journalists. It was difficult to see much of the fighting from the hotel but heavy small arms fire could be heard in the street, and from my window and various other vantage points in the hotel the shelling of refugee camps and fedayeen offices could be seen quite clearly. The constant and indiscriminate shelling and shooting must have exacted a heavy toll among the women and children of Amman. Buildings could be seen going up in smoke and the cries of the victims of the carnage could be heard.

On the day the fighting began the army took up positions around the hotel which sat on a hill. A curfew was imposed and the army shot at anything that moved in the street or appeared at a window. On more than one occasion the guests and staff of the hotel were sent scurrying for cover as the army shot up the hotel or the immediate vicinity. On many occasions the fighting grew so fierce that we were forced to take refuge in the basement. One man was wounded when he went out on his balcony to take pictures. Yet in spite of the fact that we all felt we were in some danger, the fact remains that in comparison to the people in the refugee camps we were living a life of leisure. They were being hit by everything the army had and the tin shacks they lived in did not provide them with any cover from tank and artillery fire. In addition they had no food or water whereas we had enough to keep us alive.

The situation in the hotel would have been much worse if some of the staff had not slept there the night before the army attacked. It was only the presence of these men that prevented the hotel guests from stampeding in panic. On the morning that the fighting began in earnest, the kitchen was looted of everything including cans of coffee (even though there was no way of preparing it without water or electricity).

Once the staff appeared however, a semblance of order was established, but most of the looted goods were never returned in spite of the fact that it was necessary to ration everything we had. It is interesting to note that the looters were "wordly and sophisticated" western journalists who have in the past contemptuously reported incidents of looting by desperately poor members of Third World communities. Throughout our stay in the hotel most of these men demonstrated an amazing degree of selfishness.

Some doubled back in the food or water lines in order to get double rations. Some stole mattresses from other guests so that they could build safer barricades for themselves. Some hoarded bottles of beer which they purchased from the hotel's stock. And there were frequent arguments and bickering over the use of toilets, the lighting of candles at night, and the taking of photographs which the army had forbidden and which always provoked the army into shooting at the hotel. The latter problem was finally solved when the hotel community collected all cameras to the chagrin of some myopic photographers.

There was a considerable amount of tribalism by the different European journalists particularly the English and the French. In fact when the French Embassy was able to arrange a military convoy to Aquaba on Monday for the French journalists and about a dozen other persons, the English were certain that the French had spirited one of their "agents" to safety and had left everyone else to die. Needless to say it made little or no impression that the French journalists subsequently returned when it was discovered that Amman was the only way to leave Jordan unless one waited for a boat to Jeddah in Saudi Arabia.

There were many occasions on which the journalists demonstrated typical colonial rudeness to the Arab staff. Even though we were all in a delicate situation, these individuals never gave a second thought to issuing curt instructions to "shut-up" and "do this" or "do that." It was particularly revolting when one considers that thousands of Arabs were being killed and maimed while these men worried about having enough water to shave with. Happily, there was a completely different attitude on the part of the Third World people in the hotel. And I must add that not all of the westerners were so self-centered or tribalistic. The few who were not, were quite noticeable as exceptions.

During the time we were in the hotel there were frequent periods when there were lulls in the shooting. On these occasions people read, chatted or relaxed. For news we listened to the B.B.C. broadcasts. The B.B.C. apparently monitored the Jordanian radio and the fedayeen radio to get the news. I know there were no correspondents in the streets during this time so this news was second hand. On occasion I did see correspondents creating first-hand accounts of the war even though they had no way of knowing anything more than anyone else in the hotel.

Naturally some of them expressed a hope that British or American military forces would "rescue" us. Such an eventuality could have led only to more dead Palestinians and I resolved that if the U.S. sixth fleet landed I would not leave with them. A Red Cross flight was one thing, but to be used as an excuse for American intervention on the side of King Hussein was unthinkable. Fortunately the Americans did not intervene *directly*. However, there can be no doubt that the "pom" had American support.

The King's forces utilized American weapons and American advisors. This past week the Defense Department announced that it would replenish

Jordan's arms which were expended during the butchery, thereby preparing the Jordanian army for the next battle against the fedayeen. Such actions (as well as covert political machinations) make America guilty of further crimes against the Palestinian people.

One day an Arab called me in the basement of the hotel and took me to a back entrance where he pointed to a hut that the army had shelled with an American-made recoilless rifle. He told me that after it was hit two little children came running out of the building scurrying amongst the rubble like mice running for their lives. The soldiers fired their American-made rifles at them as they turned a corner running. The chances that they are still living are slim. Even if they survived the rifle fire, where could they go, who would feed them or care for them?

There must have been many scenes like that in Amman during that week. It was not until a few days after the fighting started that I saw an ambulance. From my window I could see the driver loading bodies in through the back door. As soon as he loaded the vehicle and pulled away I could see figures darting back and forth shooting as they ran. The next day a Jordanian flag flew over the building closest to this scene signifying that the army had now seized this portion of Jebel Hussein.

On Saturday September 19 the King called for a cease-fire but his army ignored his call and continued to pound the city. On Sunday a soldier was wounded in front of the hotel by a single shot from a sniper. In response the army, according to the estimate of an officer at the scene, indiscriminately fired approximately 15,000 rounds of ammunition.

When word came that there might be a Red Cross evacuation flight some journalists expressed a feeling that they should be the first evacuees because "the whole world was waiting to hear from them." When reminded that wounded women and children should be given priority, these individuals agreed but they insisted that they should go before other civilians. The suggestion that all civilian males should draw straws for the first flight was flatly rejected and a journalist priority list according to speciality (i.e., wire service, television, etc.) and organization was established. Once again there were some journalists who did not participate in this clamoring and some even elected to remain behind in order to cover the story once the shooting stopped. However, it was not until the Red Cross interceded (with a reminder that it has long been the rule to evacuate first the wounded, then women and children, then other civilians and then journalists) that any consideration was given to the evacuation of the dozen or so civilian males who were stranded at the hotel. Fortunately the first flight was able to take more people than had been expected and additional flights followed shortly.

On Tuesday a cease-fire was declared and some of us walked out into the streets for the first time since the fighting had started in earnest. The amount of destruction was fantastic to behold.

The streets were littered with spent shells and every building was pockmarked. On my second trip outside I was stopped by an army patrol and sent back to the hotel at gun point.

That afternoon a Red Cross convoy to the airport was arranged and we boarded the busses. Unfortunately someone neglected to place Red Cross flags on the busses. We travelled under military escort (which was necessary to get us through Jordanian lines as orders had been issued to shoot at all moving vehicles unless they were properly identified).

We were taken to the airport by the back roads which kept us from seeing the worst scenes of death and destruction. However, the burned out homes, schools, cars, tanks, etc. that we saw gave mute testimony to the fierceness of the battle. From what we had seen and heard I estimate that there must have been a minimum of 10,000 casualties in Amman alone, and most of them had to be women and children. Before launching his fratricidal attack King Hussein had stated that he would have to kill 20,000 Palestinians in 24 hours in order to restore his control over the country (*New York Times*, Sept. 20, 1970). The number of dead and wounded may well have exceeded his projections. However, the fedayeen fought bravely and when we were evacuated they still controlled most of the downtown area including the Philadelphia Hotel. The resistance had not been defeated!

The ride to the airport was uneventful until a report of sniper fire delayed the convoy for about one hour until we could make Red Cross flags. By the time we reached the airport the plane had left empty. That night we slept at the airport. In the morning we departed for Beirut after adding to the passenger list a Saudi Arabian family that had been stranded at the airport for one week.

As we left the embattled city of Amman I knew that a milestone had been reached in the Palestinian resistance. The fedayeen had held their own against a larger and better equipped army. Hussein had shown himself to be a "Hashemite Nero". He even went so far as to put a price on the heads of two fedayeen leaders—George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Nayef Hawatmeh of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—thereby signaling a continuing attempt to serve the interests of western imperialists.

Palestinians in the Jordanian army wept openly as they witnessed the shelling of refugee camps where their own families lived. With few exceptions the whole world sat and did nothing while the Palestinian people (who constitute 60% of the population of Jordan and 70% of the population in Amman) were brutally and systematically mauled and mangled. Yet somehow in spite of everything the Palestinians have survived and the struggle to re-claim their homeland will continue. New arms will spring forward to pick up the weapons of their fallen comrades and new voices will utter the call to battle. The spirit of the people will make the fedayeen stronger than ever, and in the end Palestine will be free!

POWER TO THE RESISTANCE



The militia on the rooftops of Amman.

LARRY HOCHMAN

Interview with

Dr. Hochman is an Assistant Professor of Physics at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan. He has been actively involved in radical politics, both on the EMU campus and in the community. In 1968 he ran as a Vice Presidential candidate with Eldridge Cleaver on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in Michigan. He is the author of *ZIONISM AND THE ISRAELI STATE* published by the Radical Education Project. He has spoken at numerous teach-ins on the Palestine-Zionist conflict.

Free Palestine: Dr. Hochman, you were at one time, a member of the socialist Zionist youth movement, Hashomer Hatzair. Being no longer a Zionist, when and how did your perspective change?

Dr. Hochman: I joined Hashomer Hatzair at the age of eleven and remained until I was twenty-one. That period encompassed World War II. There were obvious and compelling reasons for focusing on the pressing needs, as I perceived them, of European Jewry to the exclusion of any other consideration. The more so since that was not a time when Westerners—socialist or otherwise—were particularly cognizant of or sensitive to the strivings of non-Western peoples. The dramatic assertiveness of colonial peoples was yet to emerge in full strength. My perspective changed in the late 1950's when, for the first time, I began to examine the assumption of the creation of a Jewish State in Asia composed, decisively, of Europeans who were enabled to achieve statehood only because the Middle East was controlled by foreign imperial powers. The stance of Israel with respect to displaced Palestinians and with respect to world issues in general—whether such a stance was due to inclination or necessity—was a factor in changing my perspective, but a secondary factor.

Free Palestine: How did this change relate to the civil rights and anti-war movement in the U.S.?

Dr. Hochman: No direct way of which I am aware.

Free Palestine: How do you view the growing Palestinian guerrilla movement and its prospects for radically changing the existing political complexion of the Middle East?

Dr. Hochman: It has already changed the political scene in a most fascinating way. Incredible, when you think about it. The Palestinian movement—officially unrecognized by Israel, unwanted by the Jordanian and Egyptian Governments, ignored and repudiated by the USSR, on the verge of extinction due to the U.S. attempt to impose a "settlement" between Israel, Egypt, and Jordan, with Soviet acquiescence, which would have killed Palestinian aspirations—single-handedly stifled the combined plans of the world and regional powers. The Palestinians have made it known, once and for all—although at a terrible cost in lives—that they are a factor, in fact, the prime factor, to be contended with in the Middle East. The important consideration from here on out is not how long the non-entity of a king can survive in Jordan—who cares?—and not the quality of the defensive armor that Egypt installs along the Canal, but "what will the Palestinians do." (This assumes, obviously, that there will be no direct military intervention by Russia or the U.S. Such intervention would indeed be an "important consideration.") Furthermore, the bold Palestinian initiatives have, I believe, made an irreversible impact on the peoples of the Arab world. The likelihood is that the possibility for genuine social revolution in the Arab countries is greatly enhanced. The fortuitous—although sad—passing of Nasser makes the prospects all the more likely.

Free Palestine: Recently Free Palestine interviewed Paul Jacobs and he stated that if Israel should be condemned for aligning itself with American imperialism, the Arab countries in conflict with Israel should be condemned for aligning themselves with Russian imperialism, and the Palestinians for seeking Russian support. What is your view of this?

Dr. Hochman: The issue is too trivial to require comment. One observation, though—the Palestinians may have sought Russian support, but what they received is a Russian shafting.

Free Palestine: Jacobs states that the Palestinian commando organizations should be criticized for being unwilling to hold meetings with leftist Zionist Israelis. What is your opinion in this regard?

Dr. Hochman: Also trivial. But why not use any forum that is available?

Free Palestine: Do you envision direct American military involvement in the Middle East on the side of Israel, and, if so, what consequences do you see this involvement having?

Dr. Hochman: Sure it's possible. And a limited U.S. military involvement, at some stage, is quite possible. The consequences for the Middle East would be enormous but unpredictable. The consequences in the U.S. would probably be relatively minor—as long as this involvement was limited.

Free Palestine: How do you view it vis-a-vis Israel?

Dr. Hochman: Israel, as presently structured, has had it, and the more perceptive Israelis know that full well. Surely, all the Zionist efforts were not directed towards establishing a state that would last only one or two generations. Yet that is what will prove to be the case unless some hardly imaginable transformation occurs in Israel. The continued existence of an exclusive Jewish state is untenable. I don't even have to speak about the morality of the matter. Simply, the presence of a vital Palestinian movement, combined with developments that are sure to come in the Arab states, makes such a continued existence physically impossible—short of a war between the major powers. The fact of the present Israeli military and technical supremacy only speaks to when Israel's position will become untenable, not whether. Israelis always like to say they have "no choice." Well, they don't—the only choice is to come to grips with the reality of a Palestinian nation and to eschew the Zionist assumption of a Jewish state.

Free Palestine: Regarding the existence of a Palestine nation, a number of Israelis, officially and unofficially, as well as American liberals such as Paul Jacobs have suggested the creation of a separate Palestinian entity in an area other than the present State of Israel. What do you think of this idea? Do you think there is more to the conflict than just the dispossession of the Palestinians?

Dr. Hochman: That is nonsense. What that means is "get them off our backs." It does not recognize anyone's rights. It is a way of avoiding the issue and is a complete subterfuge. It does not take into account the facts of life; for, in reality, there is no other place to go. Of course, there is more to the conflict than the dispossession, for the conflict existed prior to the dispossession. They were never allowed to develop as other people did after colonial domination. After the British left, the Zionists were there to thwart their national consciousness and development. They had lost a major say so in their country—and, indeed, any decision making power at all in their country.

A-A-U-G and the CIVIL WAR IN JORDAN

September 22, 1970

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., adheres to the position expressed in its December 7, 1969, statement, namely that the conflict in the Middle East emanates from the continued denial by the combined forces of Zionism/Imperialism of the Palestinian right of self-determination. This right was reaffirmed by the United Nations as recently as December 10, 1969. The reported Jordanian Army attacks on the Palestinians constitute another attempt to deprive the Palestinian people of their legitimate exercise of self-determination and liberation. The Association deplores these attacks and calls upon all concerned to bring about an immediate halt to these attacks. The Association further deplores the contemplated American military intervention in the Middle East and believes that such intervention constitutes a flagrant violation of international law, is most detrimental to the American people and is a threat to world peace. The Association calls upon all anti-war elements in the United States and throughout the world to mobilize their efforts to frustrate this contemplated intervention and to render all possible support to the just cause of the Palestinian people and thereby contribute to an enduring peace in the Middle East.

To: King Hussein
Amman, Jordan

Fratricidal war pitting Jordanian Army against Palestinian people and Freedom Fighters is major victory for Imperialism/Zionism. Association of Arab-American University Graduates views with distressing apprehension continuation of reported Jordanian Army attacks on Palestinians. Urges you most strongly issue ceasefire order immediately and resumption of sacred struggle against Zionism.

Cherif Bassiouni, President
Association of Arab-American
University Graduates, Inc.
P.O. Box 49
Chicago, Illinois 60690

To: Yassir Arafat
Chairman
PLO
Korniche al-Masa
Beirut, Lebanon

Association of Arab-American University Graduates salute valiant struggle of Palestinian people against Zionism, Imperialism and their corrupt military agents in Jordan. Association declares complete support and pledges continuation of its defense of just Palestinian cause.

Cherif Bassiouni, President

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WHO CONDEMNS "HI-JACKING"?

The external operations of the Palestinian Liberation Movement of which the recent so-called "hi-jacking" has been the most spectacular, cannot be judged in our time, in the west and by western standards. Future historians will be able to evaluate and judge the strategies and tactics of the small Palestinian vanguard in the light of the historical process of violent revolutionary change in the Third World. Europeans and Americans are incapable, at this historical stage, of passing judgement—morally, politically and legally—on the struggle of the oppressed people because they are part of the oppressive capitalist system against which people of the Third World are directing their blows.

Decision-makers in the capitalist-Imperialist system immediately condemn the action of the Palestinian freedom fighters as "piracy", "lawlessness" and "terrorism", and vowed to take action to maintain world "law and order". To the men in Washington, London and Bonn, the action of the Palestinian guerrillas threatened their international system with all its manifestations of western exploitation, domination and oppression.

The armed struggle of the Palestinian vanguard, manifesting itself in strikes against western imperialist strategic targets, is the law of the Third World, the law of the wretched of the earth; those billions of black, brown and yellow people who have for generations been the victims of "international law and order". The western world and its rulers have no laws and rules when it comes to the non-western world. How can Nixon and Heath speak of morality, civilization and law, when they daily kill and burn Vietnamese, Cambodian, South African and Rhodesian people?

In the 20th Century the most violent and uncivilised human beings are the military-industrial

rulers in Washington and London, those who colonized continents, enslaved millions of people and "legally" murdered millions in Southeast Asia, India, Algeria, Africa and Latin America. They have developed and mastered the military machinery for wiping out any people that resist domination and exploitation, and they are using this great fire power in Vietnam, Cambodia and Jordan. The Nixons and Keisingers do not value human life because they are the beneficiaries of a system which exploits, oppresses and murders millions of blacks and non-westerners in America and abroad.

In contrast, the Palestinian freedom fighters showed by deeds how they value human life. The few European, American and Israeli men held in Jordan were given full protection and care at a time when the Palestinian civilians were being murdered by western artillery and tanks. In the midst of a battle for survival, and as they faced Hussein's American-trained and equipped Bedouin troops, they released the "hostages". In so doing, they were ascertaining that their struggle is not against human beings in the West, but against the Western tools of oppression symbolized by the huge expensive planes which were blown up.

The Palestinian vanguard has been able to score a victory against its Imperialist-Zionist enemy. Faced with a superior military power, it directed its armed struggle against the unprotected strategic interests of the Imperialist powers, and thus it was able to face the superior enemy on its own terms. The militarists and politicians in Washington and London were unable to act. Man in the Third World challenged the superior master once again and crippled him.

This was not only a military, but a great psychological victory to the oppressed people of the world because through the Palestinian van-

guard they were able to deal another blow to the Imperialist. No matter how weak and how technologically inferior non-western man is, he is still able to face the challenge, chose his own tactics and defeat the oppressor. The action of the Palestinian vanguard points to the unity of the oppressed people of the world who face the same enemy and who are fighting in different parts of the world with the same tactics and strategies.

The action of the Palestinian vanguard against jets of American and British companies did not only bring the Palestinian struggle, its causes and purposes to world public opinion, but it stressed the unity of all National Liberation Movements in the Third World and clarified the deeper meaning of their struggle. These movements are spearheading the struggle of millions in Africa, Asia and the Americas against the capitalist-Imperialist system which exploits and oppresses them. The large majority of mankind today has no control over, or benefit from, its own resources and wealth, and therefore its struggle is not only to achieve political independence but also socialist justice and equality. They are striving to destroy the system which has produced colonialism, racism, and Imperialism, and create a system in which the human being in the Third World will achieve his liberation, humanity and dignity.

In this context, the action of the Palestinian vanguard must be examined. The freedom fighters were striking against the laws and concepts of the Imperialist system which has condoned and legalized exploitation and murder in Vietnam, Africa and other parts of the Third World. They are entitled to armed struggle because it is the just means for peoples facing oppression and extinction. People's war of national liberation will expand and flourish until it achieves victory. □

Abdel Kader

woman saw the great danger facing her people and recognized the imminent disintegration of the Palestinian society if she did not move to safeguard and enrich it particularly at the time of such oppression. She initiated and participated in various programs that manifested her will and that of her people to survive.

The struggle of the Palestinian woman took various shapes ranging from actual carrying of arms to social programs to protect her society.

In armed struggle, Fatma Birnawi came to be to the Palestinian people what Jamilah Abu Haireed was to the Algerian people during their revolution against French occupation. She became the symbol of the people's struggle, liberation, and life. Fatma was the first woman to participate in armed struggle, to be captured and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Israeli occupiers. Just as many Algerians repeated Jamilah's defying words to the French oppressor, many Palestinians and their Arab brothers still remember Fatma's words to the Israeli judges and news reporters, "If I am sorry about anything it is about the bomb that did not explode in Zion Theater." Yes, the resistance will continue regardless of how many are imprisoned, killed or tortured.

After Fatma, many sisters followed. Many are being tortured in prisons, others are like Aida Saad who threw bombs at enemy patrol or like Rasmia and Aisha Odeh who moved, hid, and finally planted explosives in Zionists establishments of various kinds. They are in prisons, but many more are still struggling silently and enduring all oppression to free Palestine. In fact, western news media totally ignored the operation launched on August 4th in which 50% of the participants were women freedom fighters who crossed the Jordan river into occupied Palestine, confronted the enemy for many hours. These are but a few examples of the participation of the Palestinian women in their people's struggle for liberation.

The Palestinian woman in the occupied area carried the major burden of popular resistance after June 1967. The first demonstrations against Zionist occupation took place at the end of 1967 and continued through 1968 and 1969. Though the enemy tried to break these demonstrations by different means, the tide of the resistance movement drowned him.

Beside demonstrations, sit-in's that lasted for days became another technique for popular resistance. In 1969, the Palestinian women organized sit-in's that attracted much international attention. Similarly, the students of many high schools led many strikes through the first thirty months of occupation. These demonstrations are not common now and rightly so. They fulfilled their primary purpose, which is the mobilization of the Palestinian people as the first stage in a mass movement. A friend who once lived under Israeli rule of a long time said, "When people commit themselves to arms, they cannot accept marching in the streets any more." The Palestinian woman knows this fact, too. Her work now is of a different nature and scope.

The Palestinian woman plays an important role in aiding her sisters and brothers who are daily destroyed by many Zionist reprisals. She recognized the basic fact that families had to survive and the resistance had to continue and she knew that unless her people were fed and clothed by their own people, it will be hard to mobilize them and ask them to resist and persevere. The enemy aimed at destroying the social cohesion of the Palestinian society and the Palestinian woman worked to protect her society from disintegration. She collects money and related necessary items for livelihood for those whose houses are blown up, whose husbands and sons are killed in action or detained by Israeli forces for an unknown period of time. Her social programs gave back the Palestinian people under occupation some of their robbed dignity and saved the Palestinian family from destruction. The Palestinian woman and the role she plays in occupied Palestine is an important source of strength for the oppressed masses in occupied Palestine and for her sisters and brothers who aid her in the struggle for liberation from the outside.

The Palestinian woman who gave and still gives her sons daily to the revolution was not satisfied with this role. Moved by a deep faith in her self, her people, and her revolution, she gave herself to the path of long resistance vowing that THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION SHALL BE A REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY. □

WARDAH

women



and
the

national struggle

Not believing in the revolution's power to awaken the dead, the Zionist occupier denied the will of the Palestinian people to survive and to struggle. They thought that they had killed the spirit of the Palestinian people through twenty years of continuous oppression. They never thought that the People of Palestine—man, woman, and child—will rise to challenge the Zionist occupation of their native land.

The enemy was very startled by the rise of the Palestinian woman as the first manifestation of popular resistance in occupied Palestine. The Zionists thought that the Palestinian woman will be the last to move and to challenge their existence. They never thought she will be a freedom fighter carrying arms, moving and hiding explosives and throwing bombs. The Zionists forgot that the Palestinian woman learned a great deal from her sisters in Algeria and in Vietnam.

At the height of their oppressive "victory" the Israeli forces faced a strong wave of sit-ins, demonstrations and strikes in Nablus, Jerusalem, Rafah, Ramallah, Hebron, Gaza, and many other cities of Palestine. The Palestinian

IT HAD BEEN SAID: READING A POEM IN TRANSLATION IS LIKE WATCHING A DANCER WITHOUT HEARING THE MUSIC . . .

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