

# FATEH

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ABOU AMMAR IN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW:

- **The Year 1971 Will Be that of Epics**
- **The Answer to the Peace Plan Lies In the Survival of the Revolution**
- **The Eighth National Assembly Has Endorsed the Democratic State Idea**
- **We Had to Prevent Genocide And the Creation of "Two Yemens"**



## Abou Ammar

# A REVOLUTION OF THE PEOPLE CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED

QUESTION: What is your evaluation of the Eighth National Assembly held in Cairo in early March?

ABOU AMMAR: The 8th National Assembly was not expected to be historic -- particularly that a number of "time-bombs" and "mines" had been planted for us there. It was part of the plot being waged against the Palestinian Revolution for these time bombs and mines to explode during the Assembly meeting.

What we succeeded in doing was to prevent this from happening.

We prevented the explosion of any crisis.

What actually took place in the Assembly was totally different from what was carried by the news agencies.

The 8th National Assembly was more positive than any of the previous assemblies for the following reasons:

1) It was the first assembly to ratify a formula for Palestinian (national) unity through ratification of a comprehensive Political Plank. The Political Plank was discussed for four hours in the Unity Commission and was subsequently approved by the National Assembly. The Assembly also approved the Organizational Skeleton -- with the exception of two points dealing with the manner in which the Executive Committee would be elected -- by the Political Bureau or the National Assembly at large.

2) A genuine, democratic atmosphere prevailed throughout the deliberations and allowed all points of view on the Palestinian scene to be expressed. This, in itself, is one of the most genuinely democratic expressions in the Arab homeland.

3) For the first time, the Palestinian National Assembly endorsed Fateh's slogan calling for the establishment of a democratic state in Palestine. Although previous assemblies had discussed this objective, they had not endorsed it. This is an unprecedented, great achievement. It is a cultural event.

4) Another positive aspect of the National Assembly is that it convened the enlarged Popular Congress which was attended, among others, by about 110 Jordanian nationalist leaders. The significance of this is important. It reflects the ability of the Palestinian Revolution to attract such leadership while being subjected to an extermination war by the Jordanian regime. The Popular Congress, in other words, was a slap-in-the-face to those who claim that the Revolution is losing ground in Jordan.

QUESTION: What is the Palestinian Revolution's answer to the political solution or so-called "plan for peace in the Middle East?"

ABOU AMMAR: The answer lies in the survival of the Revolution as a basic and determining element on the scene. Israel will never accept any peace formula as long as the Palestinian Revolution remains an effective factor on the scene because in such a case Israel would not have achieved its basic objective in security.

The Palestinian people have the only and final say in their historic, cultural, settler and property rights. World Zionism and Imperialism realize fully what this implies.

QUESTION: The Palestinian Revolution celebrates this week the Third Anniversary of the Battle of al-Karamah which took place on March 21, 1968. Would you comment on that?

ABOU AMMAR: The revolution which was able to restore al-Karamah (i.e. dignity) at the Battle

of al-Karamah despite all the adversary conditions which confronted it at the time is capable of plowing its way despite all plots and "mines" and of achieving victory.

QUESTION: Addressing Palestinian Youth in Amman on January 30, 1970, you said: "1969 was the year of Arab plots and 1970 will be that of International conspiracies." This was reported in the English edition of "Fateh" dated February 6, 1970 (Vol. II, No. 3). Time proved that your revolutionary flare was correct. What does the year 1971 have in store for the Palestinian Revolution?

ABOU AMMAR: The year 1971 will be that of epics. In its course, the fate of the whole Arab nation, and not only that of our Palestinian people, will be decided -- and for generations to come.

QUESTION: What exactly took place last September in Jordan and how did this affect the Revolution?

ABOU AMMAR: What took place in Black September was not simply an attack by the Jordanian military regime against the Revolution but an attempt at genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole. The attempt was written, produced and directed by the Central Intelligence Agency. Delivering his "state of the world" message to the U.S. Congress in late February, Nixon confessed that the gravest threat to peace in the world since he took office in 1968 were the September events in Jordan. This reveals the forces which the Revolution confronted and defeated last September. Nixon's confession is six months late. He was six months late in substantiating our charge of U.S. involvement when we seized in Ashrafieh Hospital in Amman the identification card of a U.S. Marines corporal (Mark Lanners England of the USMC, Service Number 2356949).

The Palestinian Revolution was not defeated last September -- neither militarily nor politically.

The confrontation showed that the Jordanian Army could not destroy the Resistance despite its use of the equivalent of 120,000 tons of TNT.

This quantity of ammunition could not have been used by the Jordanian Army against the Palestinian Revolution had it not been for unlimited U.S. supplies.

The Palestinian Revolution forces inflicted about 7,000 casualties on the Jordanian Army. In other words, 10 percent of the whole Jordanian Armed forces were felled by the Palestinian Revolution in September. King Hussein himself admitted 2,000 serious injuries in the ranks of his army. In Amman alone, the Jordanian Army lost 91 tanks, mostly of the Patton type. Of these 38 were destroyed completely and 53 were damaged.

These figures were confirmed by U.S. replenishments. The U.S. has replenished the Jordanian Army with 45 Patton tanks and 50 tank engines. The army also lost 120 other vehicles.

Had it not been for emergency shipments of ammunition from the U.S., including unprecedented and uninterrupted airlift, the Jordanian Army could not have been able to bear the brunt of the fighting.

The burdens borne by the Revolution in Black September were also heavy.

The Revolution took it upon itself to care for the families of over 3,400 killed and to treat some 10,800 injured.

It undertook to rebuild the (refugee) camps which were shelled with artillery, such as the



Wahadat Camp in Amman, where destruction was about 80 percent complete.

It shouldered the responsibility of 20,000 Palestinians who were detained from one to six months and that of their families.

It took it upon itself to look after the people who fled from Zarqa, Irbid, Amman and Ramtha as a result of the barbaric assault.

The Palestinian Revolution's material losses, amounted to 10½ million pounds Sterling. Of these Fateh's share was 8½ million pounds Sterling. Only part of this loss was compensated for through Arab contributions -- mainly from Algeria and Libya. The Arab Relief Committee on the other hand started its work with a four-month delay.

Meanwhile, military and financial aid is being pumped to the Jordanian regime. The Jordanian regime has received -- since September -- the equivalent of \$ 105 million in military and financial aid. This excludes the value of ammunition stocks delivered in September.

QUESTION: Do the figures of 3,400 killed and 10,800 injured refer to casualties in the ranks of the Revolution's military cadres?

ABOU AMMAR: No. Most of the casualties involved civilians. To give you an idea, our fatal military losses included 910 fighters. Of these, 826 came from Fateh.

QUESTION: Why did the Palestinian Revolution accept to end the fighting in Jordan and to conclude an agreement with the Jordanian regime in Cairo September 27?

ABOU AMMAR: As I told you, the September assault was not only directed against us as Palestinian revolutionaries but it was an attempt at genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole.

When they shelled the camps with artillery fire their intent was to exterminate our people, our women and children.

We had to prevent the genocide and to avoid the creation of "two Yemens". And it is a characteristic ability of a revolution to retreat one step in order to advance two. The important thing is that the retreat should be organized and calculated.

Moreover, it goes without saying that the regime cannot coexist with us as the events have proved and that a revolution of the people

can never be defeated.

QUESTION: How would you comment on claims that the Palestinian Revolution has ended or, at least, been brought to its knees?

ABOU AMMAR: The assault on the Palestinian Revolution has many facets. Besides the military assault, there is a financial, information and psychological assault aimed at leading the people to believe that the Revolution has ended, or has completed its role or is unable to fulfill the hopes pinned on it.

But six months have elapsed since September and the Revolution is here to stay with all its leadership and struggling cadres.

Of course, there are those who mourn the Revolution.

The so-called Peace Plan cannot be implemented as long as the people adhere to the Revolution. So it is part of the plot to lead the people to believe that the revolution has ended.

The forces of the Revolution have increased in number since September. To cite just one example: we lost 910 fighters in September but 4,500 fighters have since deserted the Jordanian Army and joined the ranks of the Palestinian Revolution. This is over and above the graduates of our military training camps.

On February 11-12, five months after Black September, the Palestinian Revolution proved it was staying put and defying. This is what took place in Mt. Hamalan (in Amman), after it was claimed that the Palestinian Revolution had relinquished the arms of its militia. At 5:30 a.m. that day, about 2,000 troops sneaked into Hamalan to lay their hands on arm stores of the militia. They discovered that we could not have been deceived into giving up our arms. We counter-attacked. We struck with rockets and heavy artillery. We closed down Amman airport for 48 hours and hit three planes. Our losses were 13 killed. Theirs were 70 killed and many injured.

In other words, the Revolution which was incepted in the late 1950's and launched in 1965 when the people were still sleeping; the Revolution which continued in 1967 when people were still stunned; and the Revolution which was able last September to withdraw its head from under the guillotine -- this Revolution will never end or be brought down to its knees.





## HIJAZI FOR ROSENWASSER

*Fateh Obtains Release of First Prisoner*

The first Fateh member ever to be imprisoned by the Israeli authorities was released Feb. 28

in return for an Israeli watchman abducted by the commandos from Israel 14 months ago.

## Zionists Torture Arab 3 Years Without Trial

A Palestinian commando has said in London that he was tortured in Israeli jails for nearly three years without being brought to trial.

Moayad Othman Bahash, 21, who was brought here recently by the Palestinian Red Crescent for medical treatment, told a press conference March 15:

"The Israelis tortured me in a terrible way, almost continuously for three years without giving me a trial."

He said he was arrested in December 1967 on a charge of the attempted murder of another Palestinian. He said the charges against him were dropped in January 1969 and he was finally deported to Jordan in September 1970.

He said it was not until after his release that he joined the Fateh commandos. During his years in jail he said that the torture included beatings with sticks, being given electric shocks, and suspension from a high window by handcuffs.

Mahmoud Hijazi, who was arrested in January, 1965, was exchanged at the Lebanese border post with Shmuel Rosenwasser in the presence of Red Cross officials and representatives of the Lebanese government and the Palestine Armed Struggle Command.

Hijazi held a press conference at the Fateh office in Beirut during which he explained how he was tortured by the Israeli authorities during six years of imprisonment.

Hijazi described how the Israeli authorities once gave him two pills that caused a hemorrhage lasting for several hours. He said his cries were heard for hours in the prison where he was being tortured.

It was understood that negotiations through the Red Cross had been underway for several months.

Hijazi was born in Jerusalem Palestine and he lived in Jerusalem until 1948, when as a refugee on the East Bank he joined the Jordanian Army.

He left the Jordanian Army as a sergeant to join the freedom fighters. He joined Fateh forces in 1963 and was one of the early vanguards of the movement. He took part in the first operations carried out against the Zionist enemy.

On the Jan. 18, Mahmoud was captured wounded by the enemy after he ran out of ammunition in the battle of Beit Jibril in which the enemy lost



32 men between killed and wounded."

After his capture, the General Command of Assifa Forces requested the International Red Cross to attend to and visit the wounded prisoner as specified for by the Geneva Convention; simultaneously, the Assifa command warned the enemy against using any internationally agreed-upon illegal methods of interrogation with the prisoner.

Hijazi was not given the status of a prisoner of war. He was secretly and summarily tried by a court, and the verdict

was delayed until the so called legislative council, the Knesset, reintroduced the death sentence as a punishment for "infiltrators".

On the June 4, 1965, Mahmoud was sentenced to death. This was another breach of International Law whereby a prisoner was sentenced according to a law that did not exist at the time of the "action". The Israeli press reported at the time that Mahmoud was dressed in the special red death suit waiting for execution.

At the time, the General Command of Assifa wrote to the

Secretary General of the United Nations, stating clearly that Fateh will not allow the execution to happen, and if Hijazi was executed, "the enemy will pay a high price for its crime." The Command requested that the letter be distributed to all members of the United Nations, and to all international organizations. As a result of the pressure on the enemy, the execution was reduced to a life sentence.

Mahmoud stayed in prison until Feb. 28, 1971, when he was exchanged with Rosenwasser, who was captured by Fateh forces early in 1970.

## Israeli Courts Are Busy Sentencing Palestinians

NABLUS -- An Israeli military court here sentenced March 18 a Palestinian commando to life imprisonment with hard labor for armed resistance and attacks on Israeli villages.

"The accused, Salah Hadar Hasan Abu Murtada, 24, was found guilty of firing at Israeli patrols, grenade attacks and recruiting members to Fateh.

The prosecutor told the court the aim of the commando group with whom Abu Murtada was captured near here was to lay mines and plan ambushes on the Nablus-Jerusalem road.

The accused said he did not regret his actions and refused the court's offer of a defense lawyer.

An Israeli military court in Gaza March 18 also sentenced Mohammed Hourri 34, a clerk at the Civil Law courts to five months imprisonment and one year's suspended sentence for failing to notify the authorities of his alleged contact with a commando.

The prosecutor said that last year a Fateh commando visited Hourri six times in his office and tried to recruit him to the organization.

Hourri has been under arrest since last November.

Prison sentences ranging from 18 months to 20 years were also given to members of commando organizations by Israeli military courts during the first half of March.

In Gaza, Yunnis Said Abu Kassem, 18, was sentenced to 20 years in jail when found guilty of having carried out acts of resistance including the blowing up of a telephone pole and Labor Exchange Office in Deir

Ballah.

Two men who pleaded guilty to membership in Fateh in Jerusalem were sentenced to two years in prison by a military court in Ramle. Seven men charged with them pleaded not guilty and were remanded.

Seven other men charged with membership in Fateh received sentences of from 18 months to eight years by a military court in Hebron.

## Families of Gaza Men Held in Desert

JERUSALEM -- Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan disclosed March 9 that 29 families of suspected members of the Palestinian Resistance from Gaza are still being held in exile in the Sinai Desert. He refused to admit however that their detention constitutes concentration-camp conditions.

Replying in parliament to a Communist deputy, Gen. Dayan said some 160 Palestinian Arab men, women and children are still detained more than nine weeks after a major crackdown

on guerrillas in the Gaza Strip, hotbed of Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation.

Authoritative sources said the exiles are in Abu Enaima, an abandoned manganese port 60 miles south of the Suez Canal on the Gulf of Suez and about 150 miles from Gaza.

Dayan said the exiles are part of a deliberate policy decision by Israeli occupation authorities to deny guerrilla fugitives "aid, shelter and comfort" afforded by their families.







## Israel Erects Houses On Arab Land In Jerusalem

JERUSALEM -- Housing Minister Zeev Sharef said March 4 that 2,300 housing units will be built for new waves of Zionist settlers on expropriated Palestinian Arab land in occupied Jerusalem this year.

The level of construction will be maintained for the next two years, he told the state radio.

The ministry will spend 15 per cent of its total budget on the construction, or about \$34 million.

In late February, Israel's Jerusalem Municipal Council approved, without one dissenting voice, the Housing Ministry plan to build the first 2,300 housing units of 21,000 to be constructed in and around East Jerusalem on some of the 3,000 acres of land expropriated from Palestinian Arabs last summer.

Over the next five years, Sharef sees the Jewish population

of Jerusalem being boosted from 200,000 to about 270,000 with the remaining number of Palestinian Arab inhabitants rising from about 70,000 to 90,000.

The purpose of the annexation, the extensions of jurisdiction and the recently announced housing plan is, in effect, to try to forestall any possibility of internationalizing or redividing Jerusalem by making it predominantly Jewish in character, by widening further in Israel's favor the city's current population ratio.

Such an aim, of course, flies in the face of at least three United Nations Security Council and two General Assembly resolutions calling on Israel not to alter the character of the city.

There were bitter arguments locally, within Israel and ab-

road about the aesthetics of the plan, protests it will degrade the city by emplacing "bulky, inelegant towers" of high density apartments on some of its bald and ancient hilltops, and choke the city with freeways linking it with the housing projects.

But there were few if any arguments here about "israelizing" the city. Some local demonstrators against the plan carried placards proclaiming "Jewish Jerusalem, yes; ugly Jerusalem, no" and they seemed to voice the majority view.

Again, there were disputes between Mayor Teddy Kollek and Israeli housing minister Zeev Sharef about the plan -- but on some of its construction aspects, mostly, not about its basic purpose.

## AMMAN FETES AL-KARAMEH WITH A TWO KILOMETER PROCESSION

AMMAN -- Over 30,000 Palestinian Revolution supporters participated March 21 in a two-kilometer long procession in Amman to mark the third anniversary of the battle of el-Karameh.

The anniversary marks "the first time in many years that an Israeli expedition had been seriously challenged, let alone be defeated. (See full story on al-Karameh on page ).

The two-kilometer long procession passed through the Wahdat refugee camp and saluted the memory of those who had died for the Palestine cause at a memorial there.

Crowds cheered as the procession marched to the "martyrs' cemetery" on the outskirts of Amman.

Commandos from various organizations took part in the unarmed procession which set out Sunday, March 21, from the Ashrafiya quarter of south Amman.

A recorded message by Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was broadcast to thousands of people at the end of the procession.

## CLASH ERUPTS IN HOLY CITY

JERUSALEM -- Israeli and Palestinian youths clashed March 10 in the old walled city of occupied Jerusalem after the Israelis attempted to stage a demonstration on the Temple Mount.

Police said two Israelis and a small Palestinian Arab girl were injured. Two Palestinian Arabs were arrested.

Witnesses said the incident began when the Israelis, members of the right-wing Betar movement, marched in procession to the Temple Mount. Police said they tried to raise the Israeli flag.

## Women Soldier

A 24-year-old Israeli Army woman captain was severely wounded Feb. 22 when shots were fired from an orange grove at the car she was driving into occupied Gaza town.

The Zionist officer is one of the very few women soldiers who have become casualties through Palestinian resistance action.

Only two women have been killed. Both were members of front line Nahal settlements.

While girls serve in many Israeli Army units, even near the front line, they are barred from fighting units. They all receive basic weapons training with rifles and Uzi sub-machine guns.

Arafat urged the commandos to make a determined stand in defense of their cause and to tighten their grips on their rifles until victory.

He called on the masses throughout the Arab world to assume their responsibility in protecting and supporting the Palestinian Revolution.

## UN Human Rights Body Raps Israel

GENEVA -- The United Nations Human Commission condemned Israel March 15 for its policies in occupied territory.

A resolution accusing Israel of violating human rights in the territories was carried by the Commission by 14 votes to two with 14 abstentions. The two opposing votes were cast by the United States and Guatemala.

The resolution strongly deplored Israel's policies, which it said were aimed at placing the native Palestinian Arab population in a general state of repression, fear and deprivation.

Among the policies it condemned in particular were denial of the right of refugees to return to their homes, collective punishments, deportations and expulsions, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment and torture of prisoners, destruction of villages, town quarters and houses and confiscation of property.

The resolution also condemned the evacuation and transfer of sections of the Palestinian population on the occupied territory, and the transfer into the area of some of Israel's colonial settlers.

It deplored "the requisition on hospitals and their transformation into police stations," and called on Israel to enable all refugees and displaced people to return to their homes.

It also urged the International Red Cross Committee to help in ensuring human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories.

## Palestinians Deported En Masse

AMMAN -- A new group of Palestinian Arabs have been deported to Jordan on charges of close association or sympathy with the Palestinian Resistance.

Twelve were expelled March 18 by way of the South Jordan desert. In February, 36 other Palestinian Arabs, aged between 17 and 55, were expelled by the same way.



## FATEH LEADER

# 'We Cannot Lay Down Our Arms For We Would Be Giving Up Our Lives; Jordan Massacres Are Part of Rogers Plan'

"The Rogers Plan is intended to provide a temporary solution to territorial problems at the expense of the Arab national interest. Whoever wants to understand the September massacre outside this context is greatly mistaken."

With those words Abul Hassan a leader of the Palestine National Liberation movement Fateh rapped the "Peace Plan" in a lecture commemorating the sixth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution launched by Fateh at the tail-end of 1964.

Abul-Hassan said the brainchild of the U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers was not put forth in 1967 "when the (Arab) masses were crushed; when (their) leaderships had nothing to say except stand before the people and practice auto-criticism; when all (Arab) governments were pledging to unite their march and when Dayan and the U.S. were expecting the Arabs to sign a surrender treaty."

The plan, the commando leader explained, was rather brought to light in 1970 -- as soon as the Palestinian Revolution was able "to create an armed population enjoying political freedom", as soon as it succeeded in resurrecting the Arab fighter and shortly after Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan declared that Zionists should prepare themselves for widening their graves.

### THE LECTURE

Following is a liberal translation of large excerpts from Abul-Hassan's lecture:

In the history of each revolution, there are important phases where everything has to be examined anew.

The phase of clashes in Jordan and the adverse effect that these have had on the balance of power have led us to a situation where the Palestinian Revolution is required to create new facts so that it may speak anew from positions of strength.

True, we are passing today in the stage where we are feeling the wound as well as the brunt of the siege. But we have always to say the truth even while our necks are on the guillotine. The revolutionary does not fear the masses for the sake of which he is struggling. And the Palestinian revolutionary, who is the vanguard of the genuine Arab Revolution, is required to tell the whole truth about revisionism, stupidity and conspiracy.

Top priority in any lecture today is for subjects which constitute the current historical turning point through which we are passing. Priorities lay in answers to questions pertaining to the future of the Palestine Revolution, the Peace Plan, the Palestinian state and the subject of national unity.

### THE REVOLUTION

To answer queries about these subjects, we find ourselves today forced to turn to the years 1958 (when Fateh was incepted) and 1965 (when it launched the revolution).

Fateh was incepted in 1958, when the Arab masses thought (in the wake of the Syrian-Egyptian merger) that the liberation of Palestine had become a question of time only and that they had found, at last, both the road to and the leadership for liberation. In 1958, the revolutionary vanguard was able, with great insight, to realize that this was not the case...

The revolution was launched on the eve of 1965, or more than two and a half years prior to the June War of 1967, because Fateh had been aware since 1963 that Israel was ready for a new expansionist thrust.

Whoever wants to understand Fateh then must not forget that

our battle in the region was, and has been for a long time now, a battle against imperialism.

Through the Campell-Banner Report of 1905 (named after British Premier Sir Henry Campell - Bannerman), imperialist circles advocated the establishment of an alien state in Palestine that would separate the Arabs of Asia from the Arabs of Africa, that would secure control over the Suez Canal and that would hinder pan-Arab unity.

It was not Chaim Weizmann's ingenuity, charm or eloquence which earned him the Balfour Declaration. The latter Declaration was made in 1917, when Zionism came forth and told World Imperialism: "I am your tool for implementing this scheme (of the Campell-Banner Report)," Israel was thus carved out in 1948 as an offshoot of a British plan laid down in 1905. The responsibility of implementing the latter plan was subsequently assumed by the U.S. as soon as it became the leader of World Imperialism.

### POLITICAL EMIGRATION

Wondering why imperialism was able to control the region, Fateh thought that in order to change our receptiveness for colonization, we had to put an end to political emigration. We had to put an end to the attitude of the masses that they are helpless and indifferent to what goes on around them. We had to put an end to the attitude of the masses that they are persecuted and have no right to decide on what goes on over their land. This explains why the word "Authority" in the Arab World has become synonymous to terrorism and repression. This is why also, reference by our masses to dictatorships and violence is so frequent.

A society which has lost its political freedom cannot possibly be a fighting society. Only a free society is capable of being a heroic society. People deprived of political freedom constitute a sum of individuals rather than a communal or collective society.

The society which strives to wrestle with and defeat imperialism must have a collective or communal spirit.

The signs of the political

emigration gripping our masses were evidenced by our withdrawal from society (instead of participating in the society's political or social life, the individual concentrates on building an economic entity for himself to secure his future and that of his family); by our frequent references to the glories of the past like tourist guides; and by our predisposition to submission.

Fateh's primary concern therefore was: How to end political emigration? How to put an end to withdrawal from society? How to put an end to submission? How to end the phase in which the Arab masses sat idly by, like spectators watching a soccer match, applauding for one team or the other without ever controlling the results of the game?

### REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

Fateh's answer was: Through the exercise of revolutionary violence. Struggle and revolutionary violence alone can change the nature of society.

No one in history was able to build a civilization except through involvement of the masses in a struggle for a just cause... Revolution implies the exercise of revolutionary violence. It implies armed struggle for a just cause.

### THREE SLOGANS

This is why, since its inception in 1958, Fateh branched three slogans:

1. A long-term popular revolution (revolution and not resistance) is our road to the liberation of Palestine.
2. The liberation of Palestine is our road to Arab unity.
3. Revolution until victory rather than revolution until suicide.

All three slogans reveal that Fateh believes that "Palestine" is the Arab nation's road to everything; that "Palestine" has a national depth rather than a geographic one; that "Palestine," in terms of revolutionary endeavor, means conviction that the liberation of Palestine leads us to Arab unity and that unity secures us freedom and that freedom and unity will solve our economic problems.

We started under the name of the 'Palestinian national Liberation Movement' in the



hope that the national depth of Palestine will expand to include, in practice, a wider circle of the masses, and to become then a "national movement for the liberation of Palestine."

But it was impossible for us to start so big, particularly that we reject fake ideas; and fake ideas are not wrong ideas but they are ideas which you are unable to execute. This is why our revolution started in occupied territory and the national depth of Palestine began to expand to include both banks of the Jordan River.

### JUNE 5

Time went by and the advent of June 5, 1967, marked a turning point in the history of the Arab nation but the days have shown that June 5 did not mark a turning point in the Arab society's ruling mentality.

On June 5, 1967, everybody wept and repented while telling the revolutionaries: Carry on with the revolution or else we shall be forced to surrender.

And you know that any territorial achievement which any Arab state looks forward to today has been made possible only through the three years of relentless struggle waged by our people. What they are running after today, what they are begging for from Nixon and Rogers could have never been obtained without the thousands of martyrs sacrificed by our people.

Don't you think it is significant that the first defeat of the Israeli armed forces was on the hands of the popular army

(at the Battle of al-Karameh on March 21, 1968), and not any other army? Don't you think it is significant that the U.S., which refused in the past to even mention the word "Palestine," cannot now ignore this "terrorist" element?

### ROGERS PLAN

The question which poses itself: Why was the Rogers Plan put forward in 1970 and not in 1967?

Had the Rogers Plan been put forward in 1967, the Arabs would have erected a statue for the Secretary of State. The masses were crushed. Their leaderships had nothing to say except stand before the people and practice auto-criticism. All governments were pledging to unite their march. Dayan and the U.S. were expecting the Arabs to sign a peace treaty.

Don't you recall Dayan's words: Each time that someone knocked at the door, I said to myself this is the emissary of the Arabs coming to sign the treaty of surrender and peace. Don't you recall his words when we launched our revolution: Fateh is an egg in my hand and I need only to exert some pressure to crush it. Don't you recall his words in the wake of al-Karameh: He who puts his hand in a beehive... Don't you recall his words on May 15, 1969: Israelis have to prepare themselves for widening their graves.

This is why the Rogers Plan



# YES TO PEACE WITH JUDAISM; NO TO PUPPET BUFFER STATE OR TO PEACE WITH ZIONISM

came about in 1970. It was intended to about several important matters.

Before going into that, however, you should know that imperialism does not fear a religious, fanatic and extremist but unarmed party. Nor does imperialism fear a communist but unarmed party. But imperialism dreads an armed population.

The Palestinian Revolution was able to create for the first time in 50 years and on both banks of the River Jordan an armed people in the Arab region. All revolutionary forces in the Arab region did not dare arm their masses because of prevailing contradictions which they were unable to solve. When such contradictions exist between the people and these forces, the latter cannot tolerate arming the people.

## ISLE OF FREEDOM

Because there were no contradictions between your revolution and the people, your revolution was able to arm the people, to liberate them and to end their political emigration.

Isn't it significant that ever since our people on the East Bank took up arms, emigration started to decline despite the prevailing hardships and state of war. Isn't it significant that many of our people came to the East Bank from Europe and the Americas in the wake of the June War?

The East Bank of the River Jordan was the only island in the Arab Region which came to represent the Island of Freedom in the full sense.

The Rogers Plan was put forward in 1970 to abort this great achievement. Rogers knew that freedom spreads like a virus and that the East Bank lies at the door of the region's oil riches.

## ARAB FIGHTER

Rogers also gave birth to his plan in 1970 because we had succeeded in resurrecting the Arab fighter which had disappeared except from the books of Poetry. This is what made Dayan say at the onset of 1970: I can reach wherever the Phantom can reach, but the East Bank of the Jordan River is another subject.

The so-called "Peace Plan" is tantamount to a temporary solution to territorial problems at the expense of the Arab national interest. Those who accepted the Peace Plan, did so on this basis. And whoever wants to understand the September massacre outside this context is greatly mistaken.

The (Jordanian) regime was able to wage the battle, not because our own forces had dwindled with time, but because new factors had emerged on the scene allowing the regime to enter the confrontation better prepared.

## NIXON STATEMENTS

It is also significant that, in the wake of the September massacre, Nixon made two statements to the effect that the

Middle East events proved that it is not always necessary to use tanks for external objectives (these could be used against isles of freedom) and that Israel is a faithful friend of the U.S. (because it didn't cross the River Jordan and allowed the Jordan troops to besiege Amman).

I do not deny that mistakes were committed on the (Palestinian) scene. These mistakes are due to the fact that Palestine constitutes a national depth and that whoever leads the Palestinian Revolution will lead the Arab Revolution. This is why the Arab states started to invade the scene of Palestinian endeavor with puppet organizations. When the Palestinian Revolution wondered in the past whether it should sacrifice itself or that (Arab) state, the answer was always: Instead of letting them besiege us, let us try to involve them. As a result, instead of subjecting Arab contradictions to the Palestinian Revolution, the Palestinian Revolution started to become subjected to these Arab contradictions.

This is what explains the errors which were exploited by the regime.

Rogers told the regime: If you want to be a party in the settlement, you should prove first that you have the situation under control...

## AIM FOILED

I do not claim that we were able to realize victories in the recent (1970) clashes. But we were able to foil the aim of the September crackdown. The balance of power had been in our favor and it tipped in favor of the regime. This is a fact which should be recognized.

Genuine revolutionaries are

aware that the history of any revolution is always featured by two words: steadfastness and rising. Every revolution should know how to stay put, how to rise, and how to advance.

## IRAQI CRUDE

I would like to stop here and ask: Is it a coincidence that the price of Iraqi crude oil went up in the wake of the September massacre and in the wake of the attitude of the Iraqi army in Jordan? Is it a mere coincidence that the Iraq Petroleum Company has now boosted its production by over one third the September level?

Through the peaceful solution, Egypt could recover Sinai, Syria the Golan, while the other Arab states -- with the exception of Libya and the Sudan -- will rid themselves for the first time in 20 years from the grip of the Nasserite Revolution when the latter loses its mass potential once it accepts the Peace Plan.

There is an Israeli peace and an Arab peace. What we are offered is an Israeli peace...

Israel is a state in the experimental stage. For it to move from the experimental stage to that of success, the Jews of the world should become convinced that this is their state. This is why Israel is now eager to cease the fighting at any cost, end the stage of belligerency and earn the recognition which will convince World Jewry that it has moved from the experimental stage to the factual one...

## ECONOMIC PROJECT

Israel is not a religious state as it is often claimed. Israel

is an economic project of world capitalism. That's why, its main concern is to create facts for the future which will secure its economic development and role in the region.

Industrial plants in Israel are not built to its size but to that of the region...

We are not opposed to (Israeli) withdrawal (from Arab territory occupied in 1967). But we are against recognition (of Israel). We are against giving Israel in peace what it failed to obtain through war.

## BUFFER STATE

Imperialism is also trying to lure us with a puppet Palestinian buffer state that would comprise the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But we shall not be deceived by names. Peace with Zionism is impossible but peace with Judaism is possible. When we speak of a democratic state in Palestine, we speak of peace with Judaism. The slogan of a democratic state in Palestine is a slogan of struggle and not of negotiations. It is a slogan we can achieve only after the liquidation of the economic, political, cultural, social and military institutions of zionism in the region.

Moreover, a democratic state in Palestine which would be isolated from the Arab society would also be a treason. We cannot possibly be struggling for a new Israel with a new Arabic name...

With regards to the future in Jordan, I can tell you that the honeymoon has ended in Jordan. We have ahead of us months of hard work and confrontation... People going to Jordan today pass through nine checkpoints... This will make the people there

realize the difference between the period when the guns of the revolution were raised and when they were decreased in number.

The regime itself is torn by an internal struggle. King Hussein was able to strike with an American fist but he subsequently brought to power a cabinet which has no U.S. leanings. Should the U.S. trend prevail in the ranks of the regime, we will be up to hot confrontations soon. Both trends, however, are bent on cutting our throat ultimately.

## NATIONAL UNITY

Our main achievements since the September events in Jordan have been: 1) Our success in controlling our arms, and 2) our ability to go ahead with national unity.

Some people spread the rumor that we are collecting arms from the people. This is something we will never do because a disarmed people can be defeated in a matter of hours. This is what happened to the people in Indonesia...

We cannot lay down our guns because we would be giving up our lives...

With reference to national unity, it is being achieved in practice and not by decrees... There is nothing called Fateh's Information Bureau in Amman anymore. If you go to Amman today, only if you ask about the Information Bureau of the Palestinian Revolution will you be led there...

As far as we are concerned, we shall continue our revolution... I don't ask you to believe me. I only hope I was able to convey our point of view.





KARAMEH

KARAMEH



FATEH

Military Operations:

# COMMANDOS DIRECT SEVERE BLOWS TO ENEMY INDUSTRIAL PLANTS AND SETTLEMENTS

Despite repeated stabs in the back, Palestinian revolutionaries were able in March to direct a number of successful blows to enemy settlements and industrial plants.

In early March, as many as six factories caught fire when they were torn by Palestinian commando blasts in the industrial sector of Tel Aviv.

Earlier in February, Israel's tallest building (the Shalom Tower) housing shops, offices and a hotel was also damaged in Tel Aviv in a fire started by commando incendiary bombs on the second floor.

Following is a rundown of the major operations in occupied territory during the first three weeks of March:

MARCH 19: Palestinian revolutionaries damage defense fortifications set up by enemy in Jordan Valley. In occupied Nablus, a hand grenade is hurled on Israeli military patrol vehicle, damaging the vehicle and killing and/or wounding its occupants.

MARCH 18: Commandos rocket enemy settlements in Golan Heights.

MARCH 16: Commandos in Gaza attack railroad and military vehicles. Palestinian revolutionaries in South Lebanon rebuff an invading Israeli force. Eleven enemy casualties are evacuated on the spot. Meanwhile, five-hour clash erupts in Upper Galilee, where a convoy of 12 enemy vehicles comes under heavy fire.

MARCH 14: Three explosions go off in occupied Jerusalem, including one at the police station in the center of town and another at the Roxy theater in Ben Yehuda street. Enemy observation tower in northernmost settlement of Metulla is attacked.

MARCH 13: Commandos blast bridge on Beersheba-Eilat road in the Negev.

MARCH 6: Dynamite charge damages canning factory in industrial sector of Tel Aviv. Meanwhile, an Israeli woman soldier and three servicemen are injured in a daylight attack on an enemy police post in Arish. An Israeli driver is also wounded when his lorry hit a mine in the area.

MARCH 7: Katyusha rockets fired by commandos hit Tirat-Zvi settlement in southern Jordan Valley. Enemy vehicle hits mine in Khan Yunes.

MARCH 8: Palestinian revolutionaries set fire to six enemy industrial plants near Tel Aviv. The six-hour blaze involves two soap factories as well as a carton, canned food, biscuits and cigarette box factories. Meanwhile, three settlements (two in the Golan and one in the Jordan Valley) are rocketed by the Palestinian commandos.

MARCH 5: Palestinian fighter hurls hand grenade on military car in Rafah market place killing and wounding its occupants.

MARCH 3: Palestinian commandos kill a famed Israeli intelligence officer in the heart of Tel Aviv. Haim Abli of the Israeli Army Intelligence had a long record with Palestinian fighters in Israeli prisons



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