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Released date:	22-January-2009
Posted date:	09-September-2009
Date/date range of document:	1947-1970
Source of document:	Federal Bureau of Investigation Record Information/Dissemination Section 170 Marcel Drive Winchester, VA 22602-4843

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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

January 22, 2009

Subject: FEDAYEEN IMPACT MIDDLE EAST AND UNITED STATES/MONOGRAPH/JUNE 1970

FOIPA No. 1106353- 000

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David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
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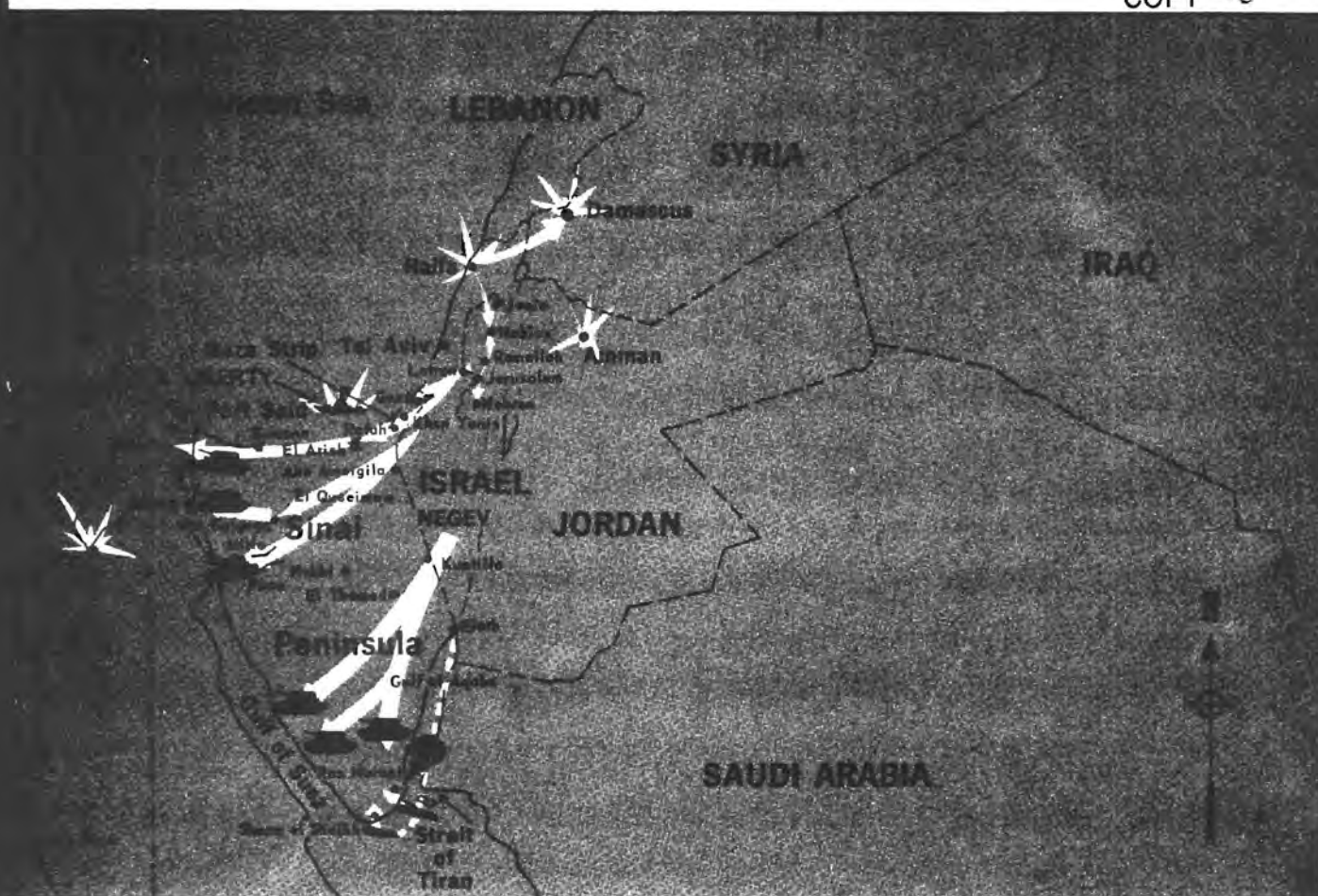
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The June 1967 war

# THE FEDAYEEN IMPACT -- MIDDLE EAST AND UNITED STATES

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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**THE FEDAYEEN IMPACT--  
MIDDLE EAST AND UNITED STATES**

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**June, 1970**

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this monograph is to furnish Field Agents a summary of information known to Bureau concerning the backgrounds and activities of the major Arab commando groups, commonly known as fedayeen, as well as the backgrounds of Middle East communist parties which appear to be making a belated effort to increase their influence in the fedayeen movement.

The above data, together with key information developed as a result of Bureau investigations of Arab activities in the United States, should enable the Field Offices to develop more effective coverage and to better evaluate all information received from informants.

In view of the fedayeen terrorist attacks in Western Europe and the persistent reports that such attacks will be extended to the United States, the Bureau will prepare a second monograph which will set forth a profile of the fedayeen terrorist based on an analysis of the activities of those involved in the attacks abroad.

This monograph contains information classified up to and including "~~Top Secret~~-Background Use Only." It has been prepared for Bureau use and must not be disseminated outside the Bureau.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### Summary

The partition of Palestine in 1947, Arab military defeats at the hands of Israel, particularly in 1967, and the plight of the Palestinian refugees have all merged to create in the Arab world a profound psychological need to restore Arab self-respect. Capitalizing on this need, numerous paramilitary commando groups-fedayeen-were organized among displaced Palestinians. While it remains essentially Palestinian, the fedayeen movement has inspired Arabs the world over with its exploits. The fedayeen objective is the "liberation of Palestine," and they will not tolerate any political solution which would recognize the continuing existence of the State of Israel.

The fedayeen are not politically aligned as a group with any communist country, but there is a wide range of ideologies within the movement. The USSR has been unenthusiastic in its support of the fedayeen since Moscow regards them as a dangerous element in an unstable situation. Peking prefers to fan the embers of war in Palestine and has a long record of assistance to the fedayeen. In addition, the fedayeen cause has attracted Maoists in Europe and the United States.

Ranking officials of Al Fatah, the most prestigious of the fedayeen groups, have visited the United States on fund-raising and propaganda tours. These trips have been set up by the leadership of the Organization of Arab Students (OAS), a loosely-organized association of Arab students in the United States and Canada. OAS officials have, in turn, traveled to the Middle East to contact Al Fatah representatives.

There are allegations that an Al Fatah apparatus has been set up in the United States to coordinate fund-raising and propaganda activities. There has been no information developed, however, which would establish that terrorist acts have been committed here by any of the fedayeen groups.

The fedayeen have garnered extensive support among black extremist groups in the United States, particularly the Black Panther Party, which has been unequivocal in its support of Al Fatah. The majority of domestic subversive groups oppose the continuation of the State of Israel; however, the Middle East question has caused widespread dissension in leftist circles. The June, 1967, war and Soviet support for the Arabs resulted in a crisis of the first magnitude in the Communist Party, USA.

There are over 8,000 trained and active military members of fedayeen organizations. One group, Al Fatah, accounts for at least one-half of the fedayeen strength. There are four other major groups: the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), Al Saiqa, and the Popular Liberation Forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

### Conclusions

Despite internal differences, the fedayeen remain a significant military and political factor in the Middle East.

Recognizing the allegiance given the fedayeen by the Arab public, Arab governments are powerless to curtail fedayeen actions or to reach a political agreement with Israel which does not have the support of the fedayeen.

Al Fatah will continue to dominate the fedayeen movement and may become Marxist-oriented in the future to increase its influence on the USSR.

The communist parties of the Middle East are politically impotent at the present time and are seeking to increase their influence on the Arab governments and the Arab public by increasing their participation in the fedayeen movement.

The probability that the fedayeen will launch terrorist attacks in the United States similar to those in Europe depends on the extent of this country's continued support for Israel, the severity of Arab military losses inflicted with American equipment, and the need of any of the fedayeen groups of lesser stature to improve their standing vis-a-vis other Arab groups.

Al Fatah values the considerable support it enjoys among United States-based Arabs and Arab groups, particularly the OAS, and will continue to cultivate this support by dispatching key representatives to this country on propaganda and fund-raising missions.

Representatives of black extremist and domestic subversive groups will continue contacts with and support of the fedayeen and members of both groups will probably be invited to camps in the Middle East for guerrilla and political training. As the Vietnam issue diminishes in importance and as increasing numbers of those who belong to the so-called establishment voice support for Israel, the Middle East issue will attain additional prominence among black extremists, subversives, and radicals.

## FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS

The fedayeen are far from a unified force, as they have neither a coherent program nor clear and agreed objectives. Any attempt to make a definitive statement regarding the fedayeen has been compared to defining the patterns in a constantly changing kaleidoscope. Within each organization, politics and attitudes cover the entire spectrum. Alliances within groups and between groups are constantly changing. The picture is further distorted by personal rivalries, disagreement as to operational techniques, and quarrels over distribution of funds. Despite these differences, it is possible to arrive at a broad characterization of each of the major groups, including politics, leadership, operations, and propaganda.

### Al Fatah

#### Background

The largest, best financed, and most influential fedayeen group is the Movement for the Liberation of Palestine, whose Arabic initials in reverse spell Fatah (conquest). Although Al Fatah traces its origin to the 1950's, operations by its military wing, Al Asifah (the storm), were first publicized in 1965.

Following the June, 1967, war, Al Fatah's prestige and stature grew so rapidly that its name has become virtually synonymous with the whole fedayeen movement. Its leader, Yasir Arafat, is also chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a post he assumed in February, 1969, after an eight-month contest for control of the PLO. The latter organization promptly announced its sponsorship and formation of the Palestine Armed Struggle Command, which included Al Fatah, Al Sa'iqah, the PDFLP, and the PLO itself, in an effort to provide the fedayeen movement with a facade of cohesiveness.

Official spokesmen for Al Fatah have defined the organization's objective as the elimination of the State of Israel. They claim they will be happy to live in a new multi-religious Palestine on equal terms with the Jews.

### Politics

Although it contains factions of every political color, Al Fatah's deliberate policy of avoiding identification with any political line or political organization has been one of the chief elements of its success. This policy may be changing. A source reported during February, 1970, that Al Fatah may become more radically oriented in the future. Lebanese Communist Party officials and Al Fatah have reportedly been negotiating an agreement whereby the communists would participate freely in Al Fatah's ranks and have representation in the command structure while retaining their separate identities.

In a related development, it was determined during March, 1970, that Arafat, already under attack within his own organization because of his relatively conservative stand, may find his position even more shaky as a result of his recent trip to the Soviet Union. Arafat's main objective in Moscow was to gain some measure of political recognition, or at least increased status for the Palestinian cause as a national liberation movement. He also sought to arrange for the delivery of Soviet arms directly to the fedayeen rather than through Arab governments.

Moscow side-stepped the question of political recognition of specific fedayeen organizations by giving Arafat a pledge to work for "more-official" international recognition, but only after the fedayeen had formed a single united organization, almost an impossible prerequisite at present. Regarding the direct supply of arms, the Soviets pointed to prior agreements they had with Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, by which Moscow is required to deal only with established governments in the distribution of arms.

Communist China suffers no such inhibitions as does the Soviet Union over the fedayeen. Peking has aided Al Fatah since 1964, and Al Fatah members have been trained in China and Chinese instructors have also been sent to training sites in the Middle East. The Chinese have also provided Al Fatah with arms and ammunition. The present situation gives the Chinese an opportunity to blacken their Russian rivals as cooperative imperialists with the United States intent on securing Israel as an imperialist bridgehead in the Arab World. On March 21, 1970, Arafat arrived in Peking and expressed his "love and respect for Chairman MAO Tse-tung." Peking stated, "Only through armed struggle is it possible for the Arabs to recover territory lost to Israel."

## Leadership

### A. Yasir Arafat, also known as Abu Amar

Arafat has been the official spokesman for Al Fatah since April, 1968. Born in Jerusalem in 1928, he has long devoted himself to the Palestinian cause. As an engineer in Cairo, he was active in Palestinian student organizations and during the 1956 Sinai War, he served with the Egyptian Army. In February, 1969, he was elected as Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

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### B. Attalah Attalah, also known as Abu Zaim

In May, 1969, Attalah was appointed Deputy Leader of Al Fatah in charge of military operations.

### C. Khalid Al Hassan

Hassan is the political representative of Al Fatah in Kuwait and one of the top-ranking leaders. In February, 1969, he was appointed to the PLO Executive Committee with responsibility for political affairs. On September 25, 1969, he represented Al Fatah as an observer at the Islamic Summit Conference at Rabat, Morocco.

### D. Hani Muhammad Said Al Hassan

The brother of Khalid Al Hassan, Hani was the Al Fatah representative in Germany until 1967.

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### E. Salah Al Khalaf, also known as Abu Ayyad

Khalaf is a leading Al Fatah member in Kuwait where he has been engaged in a power struggle with Khalid Al Hassan.

### F. Muhammad Yusef Najjar

Najjar was appointed to the PLO Executive Committee in February, 1969, and is liaison officer between Al Fatah and the Muslim Brotherhood.

### G. Hani Al Qadumi, also known as Abu Nabil

Qadumi is a high-ranking Al Fatah leader particularly active in fund raising activities and probably involved in arms traffic.

**H. Faruq Al Qadumi**

Faruq is the brother of Hani Al Qadumi and was appointed to the PLO Executive Committee in February, 1969.

**I. Khalil Al Wazir**

Wazir is the brother-in-law of Arafat and handles Al Fatah intelligence-gathering activities as well as its propaganda organs and social service activities. He is stationed in Amman, Jordan.

**Operations**

Al Fatah has an estimated fighting strength of 4,000 to 6,000 and to date has limited its actions to military and civilian targets inside Israel or Israel-occupied territory. Operating from forward bases in Jordan and Lebanon, it sends out small groups of less than ten men, one of whom was formerly a local inhabitant. The group carries its own equipment, and because of the risk of Israeli retaliation against villagers, no attempt is made to get logistical support from Arabs living in the occupied area.

Most of the Al Fatah weaponry consists of small arms of Russian make. They are also reported to have received antiaircraft rockets from Hanoi and Peking.

**Propaganda**

The "Voice of Fatah" is broadcast from Cairo and the monthly periodical, "Al-Thawra Al-Falastiniya," is published in Damascus. General propaganda publications (history, aims, et cetera) have been circulated in the Arab states, Europe, and the United States. The "Voice of Asifah" is broadcast from Baghdad, and "Free Palestine," allegedly sponsored by Al Fatah, is published in London.



## Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

### Background

Challenging Al Fatah domination of the fedayeen movement is the PFLP, led by George Habbash. Considered a maverick, the Habbash group is descended from the original PFLP which was founded in 1967 as the commando arm of the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM). When wracked by internal disputes in 1968 and 1969, the PFLP split into three factions, including Habbash's. The other two factions are: the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) led by Ahmad Jabril, and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP) led by Nayif Hawatmah.

In 1968, while Habbash was in a Syrian jail, Hawatmah gained control of ANM-PFLP leadership through his well-articulated Marxist-Leninist theory. Habbash's supporters refused to accept Hawatmah's take-over and pressured the organization into electing a new leadership in which they had a one-vote majority. Among those alienated by Hawatmah's growing strength was Ahmad Jabril, who led his group out of the PFLP in October, 1968.

Hawatmah's influence in the PFLP continued to grow until early 1969 when Habbash escaped jail. When he found his support in ANM-PFLP threatened, he countered Hawatmah's Marxist-Leninist philosophy by granting the importance of class struggle, but emphasized the postponement of this goal until the liberation of Palestine. In February, 1969, Hawatmah's supporters formed their own group.

PFLP has not chosen to become a member of the PLO although it has been allotted 12 seats on the National Council. It prefers to maintain a separate identity and preserve its options for independent action. Although its differences with Al Fatah are both tactical and ideological, PFLP has accepted Arafat as a mediator of its disputes with PFLP-GC and PDFLP.

The aim of PFLP is to destroy the State of Israel, and it rejects a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli problem. The PFLP will accept the presence of Jews in the new Palestine if they "renounce Zionism" and divorce themselves from the "imperialist powers." To achieve its goal, PFLP has declared it will struggle against Israel and those who support Israel.

## Politics

Although the ideology of PFLP can be described as Marxist, Habbash has fluctuated as to the precise political line of his group. His dispute with the PDFLP arose because he argued for less politics and better resistance in the struggle against Israel, while the PDFLP was bent on imposing a rigid Marxist-Leninist ideology on the organization. However, for motives best known to himself, Habbash now appears willing to place greater emphasis on politics within the PFLP.

In September, 1969, Habbash met with two leaders of the Lebanese Communist Party and indicated to them that he would welcome the assistance of the communists on ideological questions and in drafting a program for his movement. During the meeting, he described his political platform as "similar to that of the communists." The CP members indicated that they wanted to join the fedayeen movement instead of merely supporting it. Habbash asked them for Marxist literature which would henceforth be used to indoctrinate PFLP members.

PFLP relations with the Soviets have been conducted on a low-level basis. Habbash is resentful of the USSR for being one of the first countries to recognize Israel and Moscow does not care to endanger its relations with Syria, which views Habbash with deep hostility. PFLP relations with Communist China cannot be pinpointed, although a PFLP delegation is believed to have attended the 20th anniversary celebration in Peking in October, 1969.

## Leadership

### A. George Habbash

Born in 1926 at Lydda, Palestine, Habbash was formerly the head of the ANM, which he founded. Habbash is a Greek Orthodox Christian who graduated from the American University of Beirut Medical School.

### B. Ali Faraj

Faraj has represented PFLP in Cairo since March, 1969.

### C. Hani Hindi

Hindi is responsible for the PFLP intelligence and security apparatus.

### D. Naji Hussain

Hussain has been treasurer of PFLP since March, 1969.

### Operations

Unlike Al Fatah, PFLP believes the Palestinian struggle must not be confined to Israel or even to the Middle East, but should be on an international scale. Pursuant to this belief, PFLP has extended its activities to Western Europe and has claimed responsibility for a series of terrorist attacks. Most spectacular of these were the July, 1968, hijacking of an El Al aircraft from Rome to Algiers; the December, 1968, attack on an El Al aircraft at Athens; and the bombings of Israeli diplomatic establishments in Bonn and The Hague on September 8, 1969. Habbash has stated that PFLP engages in these activities for shock value to alert an indifferent world to the Palestinian plight. It is noted that contributions to PFLP increase following such terrorist acts.

PFLP is generally considered to be the most intellectual of the fedayeen groups and estimates its membership as being 80 percent university-trained. The parent ANM itself was founded by students at the American University of Beirut. PFLP membership is estimated at 500 to 1,000. Its headquarters is located at Amman, Jordan, and Habbash alone among the fedayeen leaders has a fairly significant following in the occupied West Bank; his followers in Hebron and Jerusalem work under the title Heroes of the Return.

PFLP indicated in September, 1969, that it intended to extend its terrorist operations to the United States in line with its policy of striking at "international supporters of Israel." It has also announced that it will destroy all U.S. "interests" in the Arab world and during February, 1970, was reported to be collecting information on American oil installations in the Middle East.

During March, 1970, it was reported that PFLP is considering international shipping as a potential target. The PFLP recognizes that heavy air-line security precautions now in effect will make future operations in this area more difficult. Habbash is said to be particularly anxious that new incidents be carefully planned to avoid any injuries to civilians.

### Propaganda

PFLP communiques are broadcast by the Voice of Palestine.

## Popular Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP)

### Background

In February, 1969, the PDFLP, led by Nayif Hawatmah, broke away from the PFLP as a result of an ideological dispute with George Habbash. PDFLP is the most politically extreme fedayeen group and its philosophy calls for the overthrow of conservative Arab governments and radicalization of the Arab masses before any attempt is made to "liberate" Israel.

In April, 1969, PDFLP joined the Palestine Armed Struggle Command out of a desire for the recognition which such affiliation would bring. With the exception of Al Saiqa, PDFLP relations with other fedayeen groups are cool.

### Politics

PDFLP follows a strong Marxist-Leninist line. Hawatmah is an avowed follower of MAO Tse-tung and has criticized Al Fatah for not having a political philosophy. Hawatmah has patterned the development of PDFLP after that of the Chinese Communist Party and considers that a successful revolution in the Middle East must be based on an alliance with the peasants. PDFLP recruits receive political as well as military training and on occasion have abandoned commando operations to help peasants with their crops. Hawatmah believes that this will enable PDFLP to survive should an Arab-Israeli peace settlement be imposed on the fedayeen.

A source advised on February 4, 1970, that PDFLP arranged a training and instruction trip to Jordan for about 50 revolutionaries. This group included militant Maoists, Trotskyites, and members of the United Socialist Party, an extreme left-wing group in France. There were also participants from Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, and North Africa. At the outset of the training, a call was issued to "revolutionary and progressive forces" to form a "World Front Against Imperialism, Zionism, and Reaction."

### Leadership

#### A. Nayif Hawatmah, also known as Naif Hawatimi

There were unconfirmed reports that Hawatmah was replaced as official spokesman for PDFLP in April, 1969, by Kamal Rifaat.

**B. Kamal Rifaat**

Although Rifaat reportedly replaced Hawatmah as spokesman for PDFLP in April, 1969, there is an additional report that he resigned in May-June, 1969, to rejoin PFLP.

**C. Captain Hussain Jamil Hijazi**

Hijazi is responsible for all PDFLP military affairs.

**D. Muhsin Ibrahim**

Ibrahim is the leader of PDFLP in Lebanon, is responsible for foreign affairs, and owns "Al Hurriyah," the former ANM newspaper now under PDFLP control.

**E. Muhammed Kishly (Qishli)**

Kishly is responsible for the publicity and "political coordination."

**Operations**

Basically a political organization, PDFLP controls 200 poorly armed men who do not engage in much military activity. Its headquarters is in Amman, and although training is said to be in progress in Jordan, the precise locations are unknown.

PDFLP has engaged in some terrorist activities in the occupied territories, but is opposed to attacks directed against Israelis and Israeli property abroad because the adverse publicity is inconsistent with "the image of the resistance movement among the progressive and democratic public."

**Propaganda**

The newspaper "Al Hurriyah" published in Beirut is controlled by the PDFLP.

## Al Saiqa

### Background

Al Saiqa (Thunderbolt), the Commando Arm of the Vanguard of the People's Liberation War, was organized in 1967 by the left-wing Syrian Baathist Government. It is viewed with some apprehension by other fedayeen groups since it is thought to act more out of Syrian than Palestinian interests.

While most of the fedayeen are directing their efforts against Israel, Al Saiqa's activities are directed in large part against the governments Syria regards with considerable hostility, Jordan and Lebanon. Syria is encouraging Al Saiqa to foment trouble for both governments and any showdown between the latter and the fedayeen would be welcomed by Syria.

Al Saiqa is directly and completely controlled by the Fedayeen Action Office, Syria, which is headed by an official of the Syrian Government, and a number of its base commanders in Jordan are Syrians rather than Palestinians. Al Saiqa is a member of the Palestine Armed Struggle Command and has two members on the PLO Executive Committee.

### Politics

Al Saiqa's political philosophy parallels that of the Syrian Baathist Party which opposes the creation of new Arab states and seeks to merge existing ones into a single socialistic Pan-Arab entity. Its ideology compares with that espoused by Peking rather than Moscow.

### Leadership

#### A. Taher Dablan

Dablan has been the leader of Al Saiqa since August, 1968. He was arrested by Jordanian authorities in November, 1968, when the Al Saiqa group which he controls, Al Nasr, was involved in disturbances.

#### B. Youssef Al Borgi

Borgi is the Al Saiqa representative on the PLO Executive Committee.

C. Captain Muhamad Al Haj

Haj, a Syrian intelligence officer, was head of the financial section of the Vanguard of People's Liberation War as of April, 1969.

D. Hajim A. Hindawi, also known as Hajem Hindawi

Hindawi, the Al Saiqa military commander in Jordan, is an ex-Jordanian army officer.

E. Ahmed Al Shirhabi

Shirhabi has been the Al Saiqa representative on the PLO Executive Committee since February, 1969.

Operations

Al Saiqa's strength is estimated to be 1,000 to 1,500. Although its military actions have been minimal, it has been known to initiate guerrilla activities against Israel similar to those of Al Fatah. These two organizations have cooperated in this respect. Like most fedayeen organizations, Al Saiqa uses Eastern-bloc and Communist Chinese small arms which it receives through Syria. The majority of new recruits are trained in Syria with the assistance of Algerian army officers.

Propaganda

Radio Baghdad broadcasts Al Saiqa communiques.

## Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

### Background

The PLO officially came into being as a result of the first Arab summit meeting in May, 1964. It soon became a propaganda instrument of the UAR and lost much of its popularity with the Palestinian leaders. The reputation of the PLO was badly tarnished by the June, 1967, war. In order to refurbish its image, the PLO established the Popular Liberation Forces (PLF) as its terrorist arm.

The PLF continues to maintain links with the PLO and coordinates its activities against Israel with Al Fatah. The PLF is represented on the National Council of the PLO.

When Yasir Arafat emerged victorious from the contest for the control of the PLO in February, 1969, the PLO and Al Fatah became, for all practical purposes, one entity, with the latter controlling policy and funds. Arafat was elected chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Al Fatah was allotted more seats (33) on the newly created National Council than any other fedayeen group.

Arafat promptly institutionalized the collection and distribution of funds for fedayeen groups, requiring that they now be funneled through the PLO. The bulk of these funds, presently estimated at \$50 to \$75 million per year, are, naturally, diverted to Al Fatah. Most of this support is derived from contributions by Palestinians, supplemented by governmental fund-raising efforts, principally in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Contributions are also received from individuals in the United States and Europe.

Arafat may have overstepped himself, however, in using PLO to benefit Al Fatah at the expense of other PLO members. A source reported on February 14, 1970, that a split may occur in the PLO-Al Fatah relationship. Elements within the PLO have been antagonized by Arafat's channeling of funds almost exclusively to Al Fatah.

### Politics

Since PLO membership encompasses several of the leading fedayeen groups, as well as independent and civilian groups, no clear ideology for the PLO as a group can be pinpointed.



However, delegates at the December 26-28, 1969, First International Congress of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in Algeria, most of whom were pro-Chinese communist militants from Europe, firmly backed the notion that Al Fatah and PLO were one and the same body with Al Fatah acting as the vanguard for bringing about unity among all Palestinian "commando-liberation" organizations. A decision was made to create an information bureau in Algiers which would be run by Palestinians. The bureau will provide information on the "Palestinian revolution" to Palestinian communities throughout the world and to all "revolutionary movements which support the Palestinian people."

A prominent leader of the PLO delegation to the above Congress, identified only as Abu Al Hassan, chaired the Political Commission and confided that the PLO would probably sponsor a follow-up conference in Jordan in 1970 or 1971. Abu Al Hassan and other Palestinian delegates also favored a declaration drafted in the Political Commission which closely resembled the Chinese communist position on the Middle East.

#### Leadership

The following are members of the PLO Executive Committee:

- A. Yasir Arafat (Al Fatah) - Chairman
- B. Ibrahim Bakr (Independent) - Vice-Chairman
- C. Yassir Amir (Independent) - Secretary General

Amir, born 1939, Hebron, Jordan, received a law degree from Cairo University in 1956. He was a member of the Jordanian Parliament until arrested for anti-Government political activities. He is a member of the Baath Party of Jordan, has studied Marx and Engels, and was expelled by the Israelis from the West Bank in April, 1968.

- D. Khalid Al Hassan (Al Fatah) - In charge of Political Affairs
- E. Kamel Nasser (Independent) - In charge of "Information"
- F. Abdul Hamid Shouman (PLO) - In charge of Finance

- G. Doctor Hamed Abou Sittah (PLO) - responsibility for Occupied Palestine
- H. Farouk Al Kaddoumi (Al Fatah)
- I. Mohammed Al Najjar (Al Fatah)
- J. Youssif Al Borji (Al Saiqa)
- K. Ahmed Al Shirhabi (Al Saiqa)

#### Operations

PLF has grown rapidly, and its membership is estimated at 1,000 to 1,500. PLF operations from Jordan are organized into two sectors, one with headquarters in Irbid and the other in Jerash. It also has active elements in the Gaza Strip and in April, 1969, established a base in Southern Lebanon. Its operations against Israel have been very effective due to its relatively high proportion of personnel who served with the Arab armies. It has confined its attacks to targets within Israel and Israeli-occupied territories.

#### Propaganda

The Palestine Research Center in Beirut is part of PLO and researches the Palestine question. The Voice of Palestine is broadcast from Cairo and the PLO has made extensive use of local television and press.

## Other Fedayeen Organizations

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### Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC)

This group, also known as the Ahmad Jabril faction, withdrew from the PFLP in October 1968. Its leaders include Jabril, [redacted] and [redacted]. The last-named individual commands the organization's military forces of about 500 men from his headquarters located at Irbid, Jordan. While the PFLP-GC is one of the smaller fedayeen groups, it is generally regarded as being well trained, better disciplined, and militarily more efficient than some of its larger rivals.

The PFLP-GC lacks a political philosophy and is poorly financed, relying in large measure on smugglers and local markets for its arms and equipment. It has also gotten arms through raids on depots of other fedayeen groups. Mindful of the increased support which PFLP realized as a result of its sensational terrorist actions in Europe, PFLP-GC was reported in June, 1969, to be considering similar actions.

PFLP-GC has claimed credit for the February 21, 1970, bombing of a Swiss airplane bound for Israel, causing the death of 47 people. It has also taken credit for the bombing of an Austrian Airways plane on February 21, 1970, at Frankfurt, Germany.

### Action Organization for the Liberation of Palestine (AOLP)

In early, 1969, Dr. Issam Sartawi seceded from Al Fatah and formed the AOLP. Initially, this group had close relations with Iraqis in Jordan upon whom they relied for training and materiel; however, Sartawi's refusal to place his organization under Iraqi control led to the termination of this relationship.

Sartawi's belief that the regional struggle for Palestine was merely the means to a general Arab revolution, and not an end in itself, prompted him and his left-wing followers to break with Al Fatah. The AOLP forces are estimated to be between 100 and 400 men, the majority of whom are located within the occupied territories.

The AOLP claimed credit for the February 9, 1970, attack on Israeli passengers at the Munich Airport in which the son of Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan barely escaped with his life.

## MIDDLE EAST COMMUNIST PARTIES

Although the communist parties of the Middle East lack any significant influence in the fedayeen movement at the present time, Lebanese Communist Party contacts with Al Fatah and PFLP would indicate that an effort is being made to change this situation. In addition, the Communist Party of Jordan during March, 1970, formed its own fedayeen group--the Partisan Forces--which has already collected 1,000 weapons and is said to have been promised more by the PFLP. The Communist Parties of Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq are backing the new group.

The communist parties of the Middle East have been relatively impotent in the past because they have been either declared illegal or permitted to operate only within a framework set up and controlled by the government in power. They have been inhibited in their criticism of the Arab governments since most of the latter are already regarded as "progressive" or leftist and have the support of and ties with the Soviet Union.

In seeking to increase their influence in existing fedayeen groups or in organizing their own groups with the support of other Arab communist parties, they may have found a lever to increase their influence with the Arab governments and the Arab public. A knowledge of the backgrounds and policies of these communist parties is, therefore, germane to an overall picture of current fedayeen groups and their future prospects.

### Jordan

In 1951, Palestinian communists, living in the West Bank annexed by Jordan, formed the Communist Party of Jordan (CPJ). Since its formation, Fuad Nassar has been the leading figure.

Until 1967, the Jordanian monarchy pursued a vigorous anticommunist policy; however, following the 1967 war and King Hussein's visit to Moscow, the CPJ was given a new lease on life. Nassar and other Party leaders returned to Jordan without opposition from the Jordanian Government. The CPJ has approximately 1,000 members and its West Bank character enables it to credibly identify itself with Jordan's national desire to recover lost lands.

The CPJ is solidly pro-Soviet in its international outlook and is extremely critical of Communist China. In its domestic program, CPJ calls for a broad national front of

"patriotic forces" which excludes neither the King nor his government. It considers the principal struggle in the Arab world to be that between the Arab national liberation movement and "colonialism, imperialism, and their partner, Zionism." It blames the 1967 Israeli victory on Arab disunity, oppression of "liberation movements" in many Arab states, and the schism in the communist world caused by Communist China. The monthly publication of the CPJ is "Al Taqaddum" (Progress).

### Lebanon

The Lebanese Communist Party (LCP) was first founded in 1924 and has been illegal since 1939. In 1944, it split into separate Syrian and Lebanese Communist Parties, retaining joint leadership in a single Central Committee. These ties have weakened over the years, but still exist. Although the LCP cannot place candidates in Lebanese elections, its members often run for office on an individual basis. None have ever been elected.

The LCP is estimated to have 4,000 active members and is unique in the Arab World in that its members are not from the lower classes, but rather from the middle class with a high percentage of professional men and young intellectuals. The leader of the Party is Nicola Shawi.

As an illegal party operating under the sufferance of the Lebanese Government, the LCP must tread lightly on the path to socialism. Domestically, its objective is not to establish a socialist or communist system, but rather to seek Western influence and "imperialist" designs on the country and to introduce reforms on the basis of "democratic" principles. It calls for the establishment of a "broad front" which will form a government from which all "reactionary" elements will be eliminated.

Internationally, the LCP is pro-Soviet and follows the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) without deviation. It has rejected the position of the Chinese communists and has criticized the "splitting attitude of the MAO Tse-tung group."

The LCP press includes the Party daily, "Al-Nida" (The Call); a weekly, "Al-Akhbar" (The News); and a weekly labor journal, "Al-Thaqafah Al Wataniyah" (National Culture).

## Algeria

The Algerian Communist Party (PCA), founded in 1920, was banned in 1962 by the Algerian Government and in 1964 its members were instructed to adhere to the only official political organization in Algeria, the National Liberation Front (FLN), with the aim of establishing a clandestine communist faction which would eventually assume direction of the FLN.

PCA influence in the FLN was terminated by the 1965 coup against Ben Bella by Colonel Boumedienne. The communist militants then joined with extreme left-wing members of the FLN to form the Popular Resistance Organization (ORP). Despite the adherence of former PCA members to ORP, the PCA has not been officially disbanded. ORP-PCA membership is estimated at less than 1,000. Leaders include Henri Alleg and Boualem Khalifa.

The Algerian communists are in the difficult position of working in opposition to a government which has been recognized by the international communist movement as a "progressive" regime which has embarked on the road to socialism. FLN's relations with both the USSR and China are very friendly. ORP-PCA domestically calls for isolating the "reactionary" elements of the Algerian regime by grouping together in a new Democratic and Popular Front all democratic and anti-imperialist forces who would proceed with the development of Algeria through "scientific socialism," including "communal reorganization" and "profound agrarian reform."

ORP has a monthly organ, "Mugawamah," and ORP declarations are frequently published in the French Communist Party organ, "L'Humanite."

## Syria

The Syrian Communist Party (SCP) is an offshoot of the Lebanese Communist Party and became a separate entity in 1944. The Syrian Government remains in the hands of the left wing of the Baath Party which does not recognize the legality of any party other than the Baath. The latter distrusts but tolerates the SCP, apparently content to hold the illegal status of the SCP as insurance against a rise in power of the SCP. Leader of the SCP is Khalid Backdash, the foremost figure in the Arab communist world. SCP membership is estimated to be 3,000.

Backdash has asserted that the SCP general line is based on three principles: the "continuation of cooperation with the Left Baathists and other progressives inside and outside the Government, increased defense of the interest of the workers and the peasants," and stressing the independence of his own Party, the "vigorous defense of the Party's independent position, its patriotism and internationalism, particularly in important political matters and fundamental problems." However, Backdash has also made statements implying that only the SCP can give a correct interpretation of history and that "other progressive forces" in Syria must one day give way to the "omniscient" vanguard party. The SCP is allied with the Soviet Union and the CPSU and views Maoist activities and attitudes as serving the aims of imperialism.

The central organ of the SCP is the weekly 'Nidal Al Sha'b' (People's Struggle), which has the distinction of being printed clandestinely in Lebanon, but distributed regularly throughout Syria.

#### Iraq

The Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) has been illegal since it was founded in 1934 and has not been allowed to operate openly within Iraq. Its Central Committee exists in exile in Eastern Europe. It is believed to have 2,000 regular members and 10,000 to 20,000 supporters and is one of the most vigorous of the Arab communist parties. The leading figure in the Party is Nazim Ali, its First Secretary. The General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic, illegal in Iraq, operates as a party front organization among students abroad.

The keystone of ICP domestic policy is a projected united front of all "democratic forces" in Iraq which will overthrow the military dictatorship. Its program of action following the overthrow of the Iraqi Government is expressed in the usual vague communist jargon calling for "guarantee of democratic freedoms, a protective tax system, land reform, scientific socialism," et cetera. ICP policies are closely aligned with those of the CPSU, and it has been highly critical of Communist China and the rift it has caused in the world communist movement. The ICP, however, suffering severe repression at home, its leaders in exile, and the Iraqi regime on good terms with the USSR, is in a weak position to implement its program.

The central organ of the ICP is the monthly "Tarig Al-Sha'b." The ICP operates a clandestine radio station, "Voice of the Iraqi People," believed to be based in Bulgaria.

#### United Arab Republic (UAR)

The Communist Party of Egypt (CPE) was founded in 1922, its membership consisting of foreign middle class intellectuals living in Egypt. It succumbed in 1925 as a result of government pressure and was not revived until after World War II. In 1955, six branches combined to form the United Egypt Communist Party, but this conglomeration soon became fragmented once again. As of 1963, they were still factionalized and subjected to severe repression by Nasser.

Early in 1964, the situation changed when 600 Egyptian communists were released two months before Khrushchev's visit to the UAR in May. Egyptian communists later took the hint from the Soviet Union's call for closer alliance between the USSR and the UAR and in April, 1965, it was announced that the CPE had dissolved itself and its members were joining Nasser's Arab Socialist Union. The latter organization had been formed by Nasser in 1962 as a front group to provide not only an outlet for grass-roots opinion, but to serve also as a transmitter of propaganda from the top down. Since the CPE allegedly dissolved itself, there has been no positively identified activity undertaken independently by any communist groups or factions in the UAR.



ARAB ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

General

During the Fall of 1969. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Bureau investigations have indicated that Al Fatah has garnered virtually all of the support which exists in the United States for the fedayeen. Such support has manifested itself principally in extensive fund raising and propaganda activities conducted on Al Fatah's behalf which, on occasion, have been stimulated by the presence of Al Fatah representatives from the Middle East.

Most prominent among Arab groups in the United States which have supported Al Fatah is the Organization of Arab Students (OAS), a loosely organized association of Arab students which has chapters on many college campuses. Its membership has sponsored meetings, conferences, dinners, and similar events either for fund raising or providing a forum for Arab speakers, including Al Fatah representatives.

The 1968 OAS National Convention at Ann Arbor, Michigan, was attended by two Al Fatah officials who traveled to the United States from the Middle East. One of these individuals is believed to be second in command of Al Fatah. During January, 1969, OAS members participated in arrangements for two additional Al Fatah representatives to travel to the United States and address a number of Arab groups. The 1969 OAS convention passed a resolution calling for support of Al Fatah and urging all members to support fund drives in their local areas. In addition, OAS national officers have traveled to the Middle East to confer with Al Fatah leadership regarding ways they can politically and materially help Al Fatah in the United States.

There have been indicators that an Al Fatah apparatus has been set up in this country to coordinate the collection of funds, propagandize the Palestinian cause, and engage in talent spotting among Arab students who could be of use in the "struggle." Evidence is lacking, however, that members of this group, most of whom appear to be students with OAS connections, are directed by or subservient to any of the Arab diplomatic representatives in the United States.

There has been reliable information that the PFLP intends to engage in terrorist acts of one kind or another in the United States against Israelis, Israeli property, and American Jews. To date, there has been no information developed which would establish that any such acts have been committed in the United States by PFLP or any other Arab group. However, the volatile nature of Middle East politics, this country's continuing support for Israel, and the widespread notoriety to be gained with the small investment of manpower needed for a terrorist act militate against this threats remaining dormant.

The Arab side of the Palestine question has found political support among black militants in the United States. Former Student National Coordinating Committee leader Stokely Carmichael addressed the 1968 OAS convention and stated that black people are ready to die to "help the Arabs in their struggle against the Zionists." Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information currently residing in Algeria, reportedly met with Yasir Arafat in December, 1969, and stated that the BPP supported the Palestinian resistance

movement. Arafat has boasted of Al Fatah's close connections with black militants in this country. Black extremist publications and black militants, in addressing local Arab groups in the United States, have voiced support for the Arab position. However, there is no information that black militants have engaged in terrorist acts on behalf of the Arabs.

The Palestine question has been an apple of discord between members of subversive-New Left groups in the United States. Such groups as the Students for a Democratic Society, the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, and others characterize their support of the Arab position by stating that the struggle against Israel is not a struggle against the Jewish people, but against the "lackey of Western capitalism" in the Middle East-Zionism. This distinction is not grasped by many New Left adherents and Communist Party, USA, members. Nevertheless, these New Left groups, with the cooperation of Arab students, have on a sporadic basis organized pro-Arab demonstrations in the United States, particularly on college campuses.

#### Al Fatah-OAS Links

##### OAS National Convention, 1968

The 17th Annual Convention of the OAS, held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 25-31, 1968, was attended by

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

As noted previously, Hassan is the Al Fatah leader in Kuwait and is also regarded as second in command to Arafat in the Al Fatah hierarchy. Dr. Alami was OAS vice president while a graduate student in engineering at the University of Texas in the early 1960's and in 1968 was a professor of engineering at AUB and the Al Fatah chief in Lebanon.

The travel by these men to the United States was supposedly a closely guarded secret known only to a few OAS national officers. At the Convention, the individual known as [ ] called for additional political and financial support from Arab students. Approximately \$50,000 had allegedly been collected in 1968 and the goal for 1969 was \$100,000 to \$125,000. The 1968 funds were sent abroad in bank drafts, through regular mail, to an address in Lebanon. One source stated that \$44,000 of the \$50,000 went to Al Fatah; another source stated that these funds were for refugee work, but admitted that it was possible that some of these funds were diverted to Al Fatah to support guerrilla activities. b6 b7C b6 b7C

They then traveled to Columbia University, New York City, where on September 8, 1968, they addressed the Fund Raising Committee for Palestine which, according to one source, was organized to channel funds to Al Fatah. They were introduced by [ ]

[ ] and allegedly a member of Al Fatah. [ ] reviewed the Palestine question, the evolution of Al Fatah, and asked the audience to help the Palestinian cause. He pointed out that an Al Fatah liaison office was to be established at 801 Second Avenue, New York City, in care of the PLO.

#### Trip by OAS Officers to Middle East

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During December, 1968, [ ] and [ ] OAS, traveled to Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria as officers of OAS. One source advised the purpose of the trip was to confront the Jordanian Government regarding its harassment of Al Fatah; another source advised that the trip had several purposes, including the viewing of Al Fatah activities, ascertaining future plans of Al Fatah with respect to operations against Israel, and discussing Arab student activity in the United States in support of Al Fatah.

On January 8, 1969, [ ] reported to some 30 members of the Columbia University Arab Student Group (OAS-affiliated) regarding his trip. He claimed to have met Yasir Arafat and a number of other Al Fatah leaders. A major portion of his talk dealt with the politics and operations of Al Fatah and its relations with the Arab governments.

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In discussing the role Arab students in the United States can play, [ ] stated that Al Fatah leadership wanted them to propagandize the Al Fatah cause in Arab intellectual circles and to arrange for the procurement of military supplies other than arms. An urgent requirement which Arab students in the United States might fulfil concerns "electronic materiel," which could be used to foil Israeli radar personnel detection devices. According to [ ] Al Fatah leadership promised to keep Arab student organizations abreast of Al Fatah activities and to send representatives to brief the Arab community and solicit financial and moral support.

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Fund-Raising Trip to United States by Al Fatah Members

On January 18, 1969, [ ] and [ ]

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[ ] Both were reported to be members of Al Fatah who came to the United States on a propaganda and fund-raising mission on behalf of Al Fatah.

The holder of [ ]  
identified as [ ]

[ ]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On February 1, 1970, one [REDACTED] identified as an [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] that he had spent two months in the United States and Canada about one year ago "looking into the Panthers," and that the Al Fatah "high command" was now acting favorably on his report. He said that Al Fatah was considering training Black Panthers for combat against Israel and for a campaign of assassination and destruction in the United States. Al Fatah spokesmen in Amman denied that Al Fatah was training Black Panthers, and Abu Bassem later denied making such statements to [REDACTED]

Party at New York University Hosted by OAS

On July 19, 1969, [REDACTED] for the "benefit of the people of Palestine." Several hundred persons were in attendance and each was asked to contribute \$7 for the "sons of Palestine." Numerous individuals, most of whom were Arabs, donated money in excess of \$7 and some people donated jewelry to the cause.

An individual who addressed himself as [REDACTED] (phonetic) from [REDACTED] was in charge of collecting funds. He was overheard to say that he had come to New York from Detroit, Michigan, and that the funds he was collecting were for Al Fatah.

On July 24, 1969, [redacted] told an individual believed to be [redacted] that he learned that [redacted] had collected \$16,000 at a party. No reference was made as to the nature of the party or the expected disposition of the funds.

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#### OAS National Convention, 1969

A 1969 OAS Convention took place at Columbus, Ohio, from August 23-29, 1969. It has been characterized by sources as a lackluster affair with some degree of dissension among those in attendance. No speakers from any of the fedayeen groups were noted in attendance, but a telegram from Al Fatah was read and expressed Al Fatah's regrets regarding its inability to send representatives to the affair.

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[redacted] addressed the Convention in general terms regarding Al Fatah and requested all to give moral and financial support to Al Fatah's efforts against Israel. Thereafter, a resolution was passed which, in effect, pledged support for Al Fatah and called on all members to support the fund drives in their local areas. However, no direct effort was made to solicit funds at the OAS Convention.

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However, one source stated that during the Convention, [redacted] stated that funds collected in the "Arab World" amounted to \$23,000, \$17,000 of which was given to the fedayeen and the remainder disbursed among other groups. Pro-Al Fatah literature, posters, and lapel buttons were being sold. In addition, no representatives of black extremist groups or domestic subversive groups were noted in attendance.

[redacted]  
During January, 1970, [redacted]  
[redacted]

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Additional Fund-Raising Activities

Palestine Arab Fund (PAF)

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On May 6, 1968, a bank account was opened at the Bank of Tokyo of California, San Francisco, in the name of the PAF. The account was opened by [REDACTED]. Other persons authorized to sign checks were [REDACTED].

[REDACTED]

PAF committees have been established in Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco, Phoenix, Portland, Seattle, and Moscow, Idaho. PAF describes itself as a conduit to collect funds without remuneration or tax-exempt status to aid widows and orphans of Palestinians. A PAF financial statement shows that \$79,601 was collected between June of 1968 and August of 1969 by the above committees.

Between July, 1968, and July, 1969, checks totaling \$35,900 were drawn on the PAF account and made payable to [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] is believed to be identical with the Al Fatah representative who attended the 1968 OAS Convention at Ann Arbor, Michigan. It is noted that [REDACTED] has contributed to the PAF. In addition, one check drawn on the PAF account in the amount of \$152.25 was made payable to the Gestetner Corporation; a notation on the back of the check read "For Organization of Arab Students, [REDACTED]."

A PAF financial statement further indicates that \$11,000 was collected by the Los Angeles committee of the PAF between January 1969 and August 1969 [REDACTED].

[REDACTED]



The Los Angeles PAF post office box was opened in November, 1968, by [redacted]

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[redacted]  
[redacted] It is interesting to note that during interview [redacted] advised that there is no affiliation between the PAF committees of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The Portland PAF committee is reported to have collected \$3,201 between January, 1969, and August, 1969. During October and November, 1969, members of the Portland PAF committee stated that funds collected in Portland were forwarded to San Francisco PAF. They admitted that [redacted] had prior contact with their group, but stated that it was social and no effort was made by him to solicit any funds.

The PAF held its first annual convention in San Francisco from September 26-28, 1969. During the convention, \$10,000 was collected, which a spokesman for the San Francisco PAF stated was for the widows and orphans of the Palestine war.

The convention was addressed by an unknown speaker "from abroad" who used the fictitious name [redacted]. The physical description and limited background data available concerning the unknown speaker are identical with that of [redacted]

In addition, on September 24, 1969, a message was sent from Beirut to Rabat, Morocco, the site of the Islamic summit meeting, instructing the "president of the Palestine Liberation Organization" to travel to Los Angeles, contact [redacted] and attend a meeting. Reliable information indicates that Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, was not at the summit meeting, but that representatives of the PLO in attendance included Khalid Al Hassan and Dr. Zuhayr Alami.

#### Arab American Congress for Palestine (AACP)

On October 31, 1968, [redacted] also known as [redacted] opened a savings account in the name of the AACP at a branch of the Bank of Dearborn, Dearborn Heights, Michigan. Hassoun, born May 2, 1935, at Acre, Palestine, entered the United States in 1956.

[redacted]  
[redacted] purchased on behalf of AACP bank drafts on New York banks totaling approximately \$12,000. They were forwarded to an account identified as "Algerian Embassy-Palestine Refugees Special Account #28600." They were cashed at the Arab Bank, Limited, Beirut. It is noted that this is the same bank and account number used by PAF to forward funds to Dr. Alami.

Between January and March, 1969, four other New York bank drafts totaling \$12,616 were purchased through the Bank of Dearborn, listing the same payee and account number. They were also cashed at the Arab Bank, Limited, Beirut.

A confidential source abroad, which had reported previously regarding an Al Fatah organization in the United States known as "Ansar Fatah," also reported on the existence in June, 1968, of a "cell of Fatah/Assifa" supporters in Detroit, Michigan. One of the leaders of the Detroit "cell" was identified as [redacted] and it is believed that this individual is identical with [redacted]

On May 13, 1970, it was determined that AACP would hold a parade on Woodward Avenue, Detroit, on May 16, 1970, to support the "Palestinian revolution" and to protest Israel's policy of occupation. Three hundred to five hundred people were expected to participate.

[redacted]  
On June 14, 1969, a fund-raising banquet which involved the Arab community was held at Youngstown, Ohio. The banquet was [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

A reliable source advised that he learned from [redacted] that \$25,000 was raised at this banquet and that this money would be used for "activities in Palestine." While [redacted] did not actually say so, it was the source's opinion that the money would probably be used for guerrilla activities in the Middle East.

[redacted] claimed that he does not condone the activities of Al Fatah. He admitted that he attended the 1969 OAS convention, but stated that to the best of his knowledge nothing at the convention dealt with Al Fatah. He remembered seeing [redacted] name on material sent to [redacted] but stated that he has had no contact with [redacted]. He also recalled that [redacted] is located "somewhere" on the West Coast, "possibly in San Francisco," and that [redacted] is active in the PAF.

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In related investigations, however, it was determined that [redacted]

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[redacted]

Information furnished by the confidential source abroad further indicated that the organization of "Al Fatah supporters" in the United States was said to have established links with other organizations here, including the Ramallah Club. Arrangements were reported to have been made with one [redacted]

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[redacted] that the principal item at the annual congress of the Club will be support for Al Fatah.

[redacted] is probably identical with [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] the Ramallah Club is listed as one of the charter members of the Federation.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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A reliable source has described [REDACTED] as believing that the best interests of the Arab nations lie in the maintenance of good relations with the United States. He allegedly has deplored the trend toward violence and the exportation of terrorism by Al Fatah and PFLP. The source stated that [REDACTED] is alarmed by irresponsible and "hot-headed" rhetoric being bandied about by Arab students in the United States, particularly the OAS. However, the source emphasized that [REDACTED] feels that the liberation of Palestine is a just cause and although he would like to see negotiations for a just peace in the Middle East, he sympathizes with the activities of Al Fatah as long as they are confined to the area of the hostilities.

Results of Investigations of Reported Al Fatah Members or Supporters

Alleged Al Fatah members or supporters, when interviewed, generally express their approval of Al Fatah operations in the Middle East. Almost invariably they deny any Al Fatah connections, claim they are opposed to any Al Fatah operations in the United States, and insist their activities regarding the Middle East are confined to legitimate refugee relief matters.

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The sole exception to this occurred recently when [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Those interviewed who were alleged to have attended an Al Fatah or Ansar Fatah organization meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, in April, 1968, deny such an organizational meeting took place. [REDACTED] when queried in this regard, stated he recalled that a meeting of about 25 Arab student representatives took place in St. Louis, probably in April, 1968, to discuss Arab student activities.

## Terrorist Activities - Potential in United States

In recent years, information has been received from a variety of sources, official and nonofficial, reliable and some of questioned reliability, that Al Fatah and the PFLP are planning to engage in terrorist activities in the United States against Israelis stationed in or traveling to or from the United States and facilities utilized by the Israelis here. Targets also allegedly would include American Jews and their property. In addition, United States diplomats in Europe and United States "interests" in the Middle East were said to be targets.

The motives for such terrorist attacks include the general desire to alert an apathetic world to the plight of the Palestinians and, referring specifically to the United States, to avenge this country's support for Israel and to cause a reappraisal of such support in the future.

A terrorist attack outside the Middle East would be inconsistent with the declared policy and known operations of Al Fatah. Although there are some Al Fatah leaders who would like to see its operations extended outside the Middle East arena, there has been, so far, not a single instance of sabotage activity abroad for which Al Fatah has tried to claim credit; however, Bureau is checking on Press reports which attributed the recent attack on the Israeli Embassy, Asuncion Paraguay, to Al Fatah. Such activities on the United States mainland would detract from the obviously concerted political effort on the part of Al Fatah and its supporters to gain support for the Arab side of the Palestine question. In addition, the launching of a terrorist attack against American Jews by Al Fatah would detract from the credibility of its claim that it is fighting Zionism and not the Jewish people.

Terrorist attacks in the United States would be consistent with PFLP philosophy of internationalizing the struggle against Israel and striking against the latter and its supporters no matter where they are located. The widespread notoriety to be gained from such a venture, when viewed in the context of the relative ease and little manpower needed to successfully carry out a sabotage operation, might tempt PFLP representatives or any of the smaller fedayeen groups to extend their terrorism to the United States. The increase in the flow of funds resulting from past terrorist acts by PFLP in Europe might provide an added incentive.

One indication of PFLP activity in the United States concerns [redacted]

[redacted] said he was taking the posters to distribute them to Arab students at his college, Los Angeles City College (LACC).

[redacted] advised Customs officials that [redacted]

On November 20, 1969, [redacted] was interviewed and was completely uncooperative. Prominently displayed on the wall in his apartment were a red banner with the words "Al Fatah" and a large photograph of "Che" Guevara. In addition, a reliable source has stated that [redacted] is considered a [redacted]

Whether terrorist operations will be extended to the United States will depend on the extent of this country's continued support for Israel, the severity of Arab military losses, particularly those inflicted with American equipment, and the need of any of the fedayeen groups of lesser stature to improve their image or finances through some "spectacular" directed against United States-based Israelis or their supporters in this country.

#### Arab Diplomatic Representatives

The Arab Governments, through their official representatives in the United States, and such semi-official organizations as the Arab Information Center and the Arab States Delegations Offi

have financially assisted the OAS since it was founded in 1952. Arab representatives have accepted invitations to address OAS national conventions and local groups consisting of both Arab students and members of the Arab community.

The Bureau's investigations have indicated that OAS leaders over the years have been in contact with official Arab representatives in the United States regarding OAS activities. The most recent manifestation of this occurred during April, 1970, as a result of apparent factionalism in the OAS National Committee.

During February, 1970, three members of the OAS Executive Committee had, without the consent of the OAS, distributed a letter which attacked President Nasser's press conference with representatives of the Metromedia Television network. As a result, an emergency meeting of the OAS took place on April 5, 1970, and the authors of the letter were suspended. In a telegram to all OAS chapters, President Remissi retracted the February, 1970, letter, calling it a malicious fabrication.

On April 6, 1970, [redacted] suggested to [redacted] that the OAS categorically deny all that was said in the February, 1970, letter, say that it was not released by OAS, but that a group of "spoilers" issued it and attributed it to the OAS Executive Committee. [redacted] further stated that OAS should send out a letter to this effect to all Arab Embassies in the United States, which should be signed by President Remissi, Vice President Najjar, and Cultural Coordinator Harick, even if the signatures of the latter two have to be forged. [redacted] that a coded message was sent to Cairo on this matter.

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On April 8, 1970, [redacted] contacted [redacted] of the Arab League Office, New York City, and advised him that the February, 1970, letter was distributed without the consent of the OAS President or the Executive Committee. He branded it as a malicious fabrication and requested that a message to this effect be passed on to the Arab League Ambassador with the assurance that steps will be taken to "iron out intrigues encountered in this organization."

## Arab-Black Extremist Relations

Since the June, 1967, war, reports emanating from various sources have suggested that the Arabs have co-opted black extremists in the United States to assist in the "struggle" against Israel, both in the Middle East and in the United States. These individuals would allegedly be used in military operations against Israel, bombings and assassinations in the United States, and activities directed against American Jews. While there is no question that black extremists in this country politically support the Arab position on the Middle East, there has been no evidence that they have carried out any violence to underscore their support for the Arabs.

### Black Panther Party (BPP)

The BPP is the most prominent of the violence-prone black extremist groups in the United States which adheres to an anti-Zionist, pro-Arab position. A review of activities and statements of BPP leaders and the BPP periodical, "The Black Panther," clearly delineates the Panther's Middle East policy.

#### A. The Pan-African Cultural Festival

BPP leaders attended the Pan-African Cultural Festival held from July 21, 1969, to August 1, 1969, in Algeria. The Festival was ostensibly sponsored by the Organization of African States, but the Algerian Government was the power behind the scenes. The Algerians attempted to influence the delegates from black Africa to support the struggle against Israel and the guerrilla organization Al Fatah. A secondary and equally important goal was to influence BPP conferees and other blacks from the United States to begin their own anti-Zionist campaign, by appealing to the hatred some blacks in American ghettos have for Jews.

Representing the BPP at the Festival were "Minister of Information" Eldridge Cleaver and "Chief of Staff" David Hilliard. Cleaver reportedly addressed people at Al Fatah headquarters and took a pro-Arab position.

#### B. Fifth Arab Summit Meeting

Cleaver and other BPP representatives attended the Fifth Arab Summit Meeting which was held at Rabat, Morocco, during December, 1969. The December 30, 1969, issue of "El Maujahid," an Algerian newspaper, contained an interview with Cleaver in which he affirmed BPP support for the "Palestinian resistance movement."



C. International Conference to Support the Palestinian Peoples Armed Struggle

On December 27, 1969, Cleaver addressed captioned Conference, an international gathering in Algeria of anti-imperialist revolutionaries who supported the "armed struggle" of the Palestinians. He again proclaimed BPP support for the Arab position and criticized "U.S. Zionists," mentioning Arthur Goldberg, Henry A. Kissinger, and Judge Julius Hoffman. He also expressed BPP admiration for Yasir Arafat and Al Fatah. Cleaver and Arafat reportedly hugged and kissed each other and received a standing ovation from those at the Conference.

David Hilliard, who gained notoriety with a recent speech in which he stated "We will kill Richard Nixon," parroted Cleaver upon returning to the United States. In an address before a group at Wilmette, Illinois, in October, 1969, he stated that the BPP backs the Arab nations in the "struggle" with Israel and supports the right of the Arab people to rise up against Israel.

Other BPP leaders such as "Deputy Field Marshal" Al Carroll and New York "Minister of Information" Zayd Shakur, have in their speeches taken the same tack as Cleaver and Hilliard.

D. "The Black Panther"

The Middle East policy of the BPP has been featured prominently in its periodical, "The Black Panther." In the 43 issues published between June 1, 1969, and March 28, 1970, there were 33 articles or items of an anti-Zionist or pro-Arab nature. The following summary of some of these issues describes the development of the Panther's anti-Zionist policy.

In the August 9, 1969, issue, an article entitled "Al-Fath Speaks" is featured. It contained a photograph of Arafat and Palestinian school children and was apparently a reprint from the publication "Free Palestine." The Al Fatah representative quoted in the article rejected any peaceful solution to the Middle East problem because of the "nature of Zionism" and stated that there is no way to "come to grips" with Zionism except through violence. Page 3 of the same issue contains an article entitled "Al-Fath Freedom Fighters," which portrays Al Fatah in a favorable light. Another article in the same issue, entitled "Eldridge Warmly Received by People

of Algiers," noted that Cleaver appeared at the right hand of an Al Fatah official who made an appeal for African support against Israel at the Pan-African Cultural Festival.

The August 30, 1969, issue contained an article entitled "Zionism (Kosher Nationalism) + Imperialism - Fascism" and is attributed to BPP "Field Marshal" Donald Cox. Cox stated that the "Zionist Fascist Israel" is the puppet of imperialism, and then indicated that he would explain "Why what the Zionists did and are doing to the Arabs can be and is equated to what the Nazis did to the Jews." Cox concluded his article with the salute, "Victory to Al Fat'h."

The October 11, 1969, and December 20, 1969, issues contained articles favorable to Al Fatah. The article in the latter issue, entitled "Palestine, Voices of Rebellion," contained a message from Arafat on Al Fatah policy. The January 3, 1970, issue contained a reprint of the August 30, 1969, article attributed to Donald Cox. The January 17, 1970, issue contained the text of a telegram sent to BPP and signed "Fatah." The telegram ends with the cry "Long live our joint struggle against racist Zionism and imperialism. Revolution unto victory."

The January 24, 1970, issue contained an article captioned "Paper Presented by Supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" (PFLP). It presents the development of the PFLP, declaring that it came into existence as an expression of the national awareness that without a popular armed struggle and ideological base Palestine would never be liberated. PFLP's political program was stated to be that of continually reminding the Arab masses that their struggle is not only against Israel, but also against the "racist Zionist movement," its imperialist supporters, and Arab reactionaries.

In the March 21, 1970, issue, the most vitriolic of the articles was set forth. It was entitled "Imperialists" and apparently was the product of BPP "Minister of Culture" Emory Douglas. Included in the article was a photograph depicting the "imperialist USA" as a huge red pig with breasts exposed. Various countries, including Israel, were presented as little suckling pigs feeding off the USA.

On the back cover of the March 21, 1970, issue two blood red pigs are pictured rubbing noses in embrace, their toes interlocked. One is "U.S. imperialism," its nose labeled Nixon; the other, with its eye covered with a black patch, is Zionism, its nose labeled Moshe Dayan. Accompanying the photograph is a column entitled "Al Fath Does not Intend to Push the Jews into the Sea," which sets out the development and objectives of Al Fatah and Al Asifah.

#### Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

SNCC, a black extremist group which has developed a revolutionary ideology and program, is led by H. Rap Brown who was elected national chairman in May, 1967. The June-July, 1967, issue of the organization's periodical, "SNCC," presented for the first time anti-Israel articles which attacked Zionism and accused Jews of committing atrocities against Arabs. It declared the State of Israel to be illegal and criticized the United States for sending military and financial aid to Israel.

The late Ralph Featherstone, formerly a SNCC official, was quoted in the August 15, 1967, issue of "The New York Times" as stating that SNCC is drawn to the Arab cause because it is working toward a "third world alliance of oppressed people all over the world-Africa, Asia, Latin America-and considers that the Arabs have been oppressed continually by Israelis and by Europeans as well in such countries as Algeria." He denied that SNCC was anti-Semitic, but was interested in indicting only "Jewish oppressors," a category he applied to Israel and "those Jews in the little Jew shops in the ghettos."

It is noted that two former members of SNCC, [redacted] and [redacted], were in attendance at the Pan-African Cultural Festival described above. They are presently connected with the Drum and Spear Bookstore, Washington, D. C.

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#### Stokely Carmichael

Carmichael, who spoke at the 1968 OAS convention regarding the willingness of black people to die for the Arab cause, was formerly the national chairman of SNCC and a leader in the BPP. He was also in attendance at the Pan-African Cultural Festival.

On March 18, 1970, he returned to the United States from his self-imposed exile in Guinea, Africa, and lost no time in presenting his views on the Palestine issue.

On April 9, 1970, he addressed an audience at George Washington University's Lisner Auditorium. He attacked Israel and supported Palestinian Arabs.

On April 23, 1970, Carmichael spoke at the Alumnae Hall, Harvard University, and declared his sympathy and support for the Arab people, whom he described as African, in their battle against Israel. He described Israelis as colonialists who were taking African lands from the African people who belong there.

#### Other Black Extremist Publications

A pro-Arab position has been taken on a number of occasions by other black extremist publications, including "Muhammad Speaks," the Nation of Islam paper. In addition, the August 1, 1969, issue of "Muhammad Speaks" and the November, 1969, issue of "The Black Scholar" reported favorably on Cleaver's anti-Israel activities at the Pan-African Cultural Festival.

#### Contacts in United States Between Arabs and Black Extremists

There have been a number of instances of black extremists supporting the Arab position on the Middle East at conferences, panel discussions, and demonstrations in the United States. However, there have been few occasions when Arabs, including students, have supported black extremist positions unrelated to the Middle East. One such instance reportedly took place at the 1968 OAS convention, addressed by Stokely Carmichael, where two Arab students from San Francisco placed before the convention the issue involving BPP leader Huey Newton, who was incarcerated in connection with the slaying of a police officer. However, it should also be pointed out that a considerable segment of Arab students at that convention were opposed to this as well as to Carmichael's appearance.

Despite the apparent affluence displayed by Cleaver and others in attendance at the Pan-African Cultural Festival, there is no information which would indicate that the BPP is being financed by Middle East sources. In an article published in "The Washington Post," January 14, 1970, entitled "Liberals Rush to Aid Panthers Closing Eyes to Criminal Records," authors Rowland Evans and Robert Novak made the point that liberals in this country are financing the Panthers, believing that the BPP is nothing more than a small badly divided civil rights group under constant police harassment.

#### Fedayeen Training of Black Extremists

There is no information which would indicate that the fedayeen have given military training to black militants in the past. On the contrary, the United States Department of State during February, 1970, advised that the American Embassy, Beirut, has no information that BPP members have visited fedayeen camps to receive military training. According to the State Department, American newspapers have made inquiries on this point in the Middle East and uncovered no evidence of BPP training by the fedayeen.

During March, 1970, BPP, New Haven was discussing the possibility of sending two BPP members to the Middle East for training in guerrilla warfare by Al Fatah. Following such training, BPP members were to return to the United States to set up BPP training schools.

On April 30, 1970, another BPP member was asked whether he would be interested in attending a "revolutionary school" in Egypt as a representative of the BPP. The school is to begin in the latter part of June, 1970. The approach to this BPP member was made by two male employees of the Arab Information Center, and the wife of the [redacted]

[redacted] who stated that this training would have to be cleared by Al Fatah. [redacted] may be identical with [redacted]

[redacted] on May 10, 1969. She spoke concerning Al Fatah.

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### Support for Arabs Among Subversive Groups and Radicals

The majority of domestic subversive groups in the United States are opposed to the continuation of the State of Israel and give as the basis for their stand the contention that Israel is nothing more than an imperialist pawn acting on behalf of the United States in the Middle East. Having accepted this premise, they state that it is impossible for any Arab government to recognize Israel without condemning itself as a reactionary. Others who argue for the de-Zionization of Israel and the creation of a binational state argue that "Jewish statehood" is not, in the context of the historical, political, and social considerations involved, compatible with socialist ideals.

Some segments of the American Left argue on behalf of continued statehood for Israel, but call on Israeli people to overthrow their "nationalist" government and establish a socialist one.

A third view favors maintaining the status quo. Those of this persuasion deny that Israel is a lackey for imperialism in the Middle East, contend that the present Israeli government is socialist, and has not exploited the Arabs.

The June, 1967, war and the Soviet aid to the Arabs resulted in a genuine crisis within the Communist Party, USA, the membership of which, according to one Party official, is 80 percent Jewish. However, a Party statement issued on the Middle East by Gus Hall on June 5, 1967, closely follows the position of the Soviet Union.

Those domestic subversive groups which have participated in demonstrations and "teach-ins" in support of the Arab side of the Middle East issue regard Al Fatah as the vanguard for the "liberation" of Palestine. Such demonstrations have been focused primarily on college campuses and have had the support of Arab students and professors.

Arab students have been reluctant to join any local American political organizations and, in fact, a group of Arab students at Iowa State University rejected an offer in January, 1970, to join an incipient Marxist-Leninist group known as the "American Student Movement (Anti-Imperialist)." The rejection came in spite of the fact that the new group stated its desire to support the "national liberation struggle" of the people of Palestine.

However, a new organization, known as the Palestine Solidarity Committee, was launched at San Francisco on April 25, 1970, when a Steering Committee consisting of four Arabs and six non-Arabs was elected. Two of the Arabs are college students in the San Francisco area and the non-Arab members are representatives of the pro-Chinese communist Revolutionary Union (RU). The RU was founded in 1968 by two individuals, including Leibel Bergman, who had just returned to the United States following two years' clandestine residence in Communist China. Members of the RU are sympathetic to the tenets of Chairman MAO Tse-tung.

The purpose of the Palestine Solidarity Committee is to bring the Palestine situation to the attention of the more radical elements and to seek support for the Arab cause in the United States.

There follows a brief summary of the Middle East positions of United States domestic subversive groups, as well as that of the Press and other individuals who claim to be and are generally regarded as radical.

#### Progressive Labor Party

The August, 1969, issue of "Challenge," the monthly newspaper published by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), contained an article captioned "Arabs Will Beat US-Israel Imperialism and Arab Nationalism."

The article characterizes Israel as a tool of aggression for "United States imperialism" in the Middle East and counsels Palestinian Arabs that the only way to throw off the bonds of imperialist oppression and achieve national liberation is by a long and difficult armed struggle. It enlarges upon this by stating that national liberation is not enough, that the people must be liberated, and that this can be accomplished "if the struggle has the goal of socialism--the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The article denigrates the 1967 United Nations resolution which called for a political solution of the Middle East problem as a new Munich which would enable the USSR, the United States, and "Arab nationalists, such as Nasser," to end the struggle for national liberation.

The struggle of the Palestinian Arabs, according to the "Challenge" article, must be extended to "fighting against Arab exploiters who are squeezing the life blood out of the Arabs and peasants." The goal of liberation must be one which frees the Arab and Jewish working people from both international capitalism and domestic capitalism.

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Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

During February and March, 1969, "New Left Notes," an SDS publication, contained three articles on the Middle East. They were written by [redacted]

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The first article, "History of the Middle East Liberation Struggle," traced the historical development of Zionism in Palestine, labeling it a racist, oppressive, and colonialist movement. The final two paragraphs synopsised the development and objectives of Al Fatah, stating that with the support of the Arab masses Al Fatah has built up a powerful military and paramilitary apparatus to organize the people and resist Israeli "aggression."

The second article, "Arab Women Fight," concerns the role women have played in the struggle to "liberate" Palestine. [redacted] singles out for special praise the women fighters of Al Fatah.

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The third article details the hardships Al Fatah has had to endure vis-a-vis the Arab governments before it attained its present vanguard position in the "struggle" against the Zionists. It concludes by reprinting an article which appeared in "Tricontinental," the publication of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The latter article set forth an interview with Arafat and gave an account of the activities of Al Fatah and Al Asifah.

SDS-Weatherman

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The December 6, 1969, issue of "SDS Fire" contained an article "Palestine, the Arabs, and Zionism," written by [redacted]. After concurring completely with the Arab view of the Middle East scenario, including the emergence of the State of Israel, its United Nations membership, pertinent United Nations resolutions, the Palestinian refugees, and the 1967 war, the author states that the "Arab peoples, above all the Palestinian people, will not and cannot accept the existence of Israel, a colonial-type creature imposed by forces outside the area." The Arabs do not plan genocide, according to the author, who defined the Arab goal as being political and no different in character from the goal of the liberation movement in South Africa.



### Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The June 19, 1967, issue of the SWP publication, "The Militant," contained an editorial which stated that Israel is the pawn of the imperialist powers, particularly the United States and Great Britain. The "terrible exploitation" visited on the impoverished Arab masses by "oil imperialism" drives them toward struggle with imperialism and its agents, including the Israeli "ruling circles."

The editorial further states that the Israeli masses, if they are to avoid the death trap being laid for them by Zionist policies, must break with United States and British imperialism, break with Zionist colonization at the expense of the Arabs, and turn toward integration into the Arab revolution for a socialist and united Middle East.

### Workers World Party (WWP)

The June 9, 1967, issue of the WWP publication "Workers World" editorially stated that Israel is the willing spearhead for the United States in the Middle East against the drive for Arab unity and popular control of oil resources. It was stated that the United States utilizes Arab animosity toward Zionist Israel to dampen the antifeudal struggle and to stave off the result of such a struggle--Arab oil for the Arab masses. The WWP statement demanded that the United States get out of the Middle East, that Palestinian Arabs should be returned to their homes on a status quo ante basis, and that the Israeli people should renounce all ties to imperialism and seek an alliance with Arabs against it.

### "National Guardian"

The WWP view is shared by the captioned publication, now known as the "Guardian," and self-described as an independent radical newsweekly. An editorial in the June 10, 1967, issue, entitled "Viewpoint-The Mid East Crisis," called for de-Zionization of Israel, its political and economic integration with the Arabs against imperialism, and the rehabilitation of the Palestinian refugee.

### "Ramparts"

The January, 1960, issue of captioned radical publication contained an article by Managing Editor Robert Scheer entitled "Oil and the Arabs." Scheer states that the "solution

of the Mid East crisis demands a revolt on both sides against short-sighted nationalism and against the incursion of the Great Powers in the Mid East." However, he feels that the denial of "nationhood" to Israel is the "subject of deserved ridicule."

Scheer reasoned that having overthrown equally reprehensible nationalisms, which serve the interests of the native bourgeois and imperialism, Israel and the Arab states can then confront the Western governments who control this area rather than each other. He calls on Israel to support the Arabs in this effort and he calls on the Arabs to accept Israel as a partner in freeing the Middle East from Western domination.

#### Leo Huberman

Typical of the position supported by many in left-wing circles is the position of the late Leo Huberman, formerly affiliated with the PLP. In an article entitled "Israel is not the Main Enemy," which appeared in the October, 1967, issue of "Monthly Review," Huberman presented his position on the Middle East, which was identical to that later expressed by Scheer in the "Ramparts" article described above. Huberman admitted that his views on the Arab-Israeli conflict may have been influenced by the fact that he was a Jew, but stated that he is also a socialist and socialist doctrine calls for the destruction of imperialism and not the liquidation of a state or the annihilation of its people.

#### Professor Martin Peretz

In the July, 1967, issue of "Ramparts," Professor Martin Peretz presented another viewpoint on the Middle East situation which is subscribed to by certain segments of the American Left. Peretz is a Harvard University professor, a self-described radical, and a former member of the Board of Directors of "Ramparts."

Peretz was surprised to find that many people on the Left agreed that the cases of Vietnam and Israel were the same and that Israel was a "bastion of imperialism." Listed as key arguments against such "erroneous views" were the following:

a. The colonization of Israel was different from that in Africa and Asia because the immigrants lifted themselves by their own boot straps through socialist groups and not through exploitation of Arab masses.

- b. Israel is not a European colony.
- c. The creation of the Jewish state was not sponsored by the imperialist powers.
- d. Nasser is not socialist.
- e. The failure of the Third World and communist countries to recognize the Arab threat to Israel's existence is "disgusting."

Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

On June 5, 1967, CPUSA leader Gus Hall issued a statement regarding the Party position on the Middle East crisis. This statement was furnished to the news media and reads as follows:

"Whatever may be one's views on the crisis in the mid-East, there can be only one conclusion regarding the military struggle which has erupted between Israel and the Arab States. It is a wrong war. It is a war that benefits only the American and British oil monopolies and no one else. The problems of the Middle East cannot be solved through armed conflict. In the interests of all the peoples of the Middle East, Arabs and Jews alike, the armed forces of all countries should withdraw into the confines of their borders. A resolution of the crisis calls for an end of all military action, for recognition of one another's boundaries and for rejection of all political interference between foreign oil monopolies and their diplomatic spokesmen. It calls for a united anti-imperialist front of all peoples in the area. Above all it is essential that the United States Government avoid any military involvement and make clear that it will give no military support to any side. On the contrary, the Administration is called upon to use its offices to secure a withdrawal of troops and a peaceful solution of the conflict."

During June, 1967, however, it was learned that Party members of Jewish extraction were so concerned over the support given the UAR by the Soviet Union that the Middle East crisis caused serious dissension within the CPUSA. At a meeting in New York City in June, 1967, Party members of Jewish extraction called on the Party to express blanket support for Israel in opposition to the pro-Arab stand of the Soviet Union. They believed that Israel was fighting a just war.

Jewish Party members in Illinois collected money, blood plasma, and supplies for Israel. Jewish Party members in Chicago condemned the Soviet Union and compared it to "Hitler Germany." Paul Novick, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA and the editor of "Morning Freiheit," a Yiddish-language communist newspaper, maintained that Soviet support for the Arabs reflected another form of Soviet anti-Semitism.

#### Active Support for Arab Position

Characteristic of the active support domestic subversive groups in this country have given the Arab position generally and Al Fatah, particularly, during the past year are the following

On February 8, 1969, OAS and the SWP youth group, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), sponsored a "teach-in" on the "Arab liberation struggle and its relationship to Zionist Israel" at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. Listed among the speakers was Hasan Sharif, supra, and Walid Khadduri, vice president of OAS, Washington, D. C. Also in attendance were members of the Detroit branch of SWP. Handed out during the "teach-in" was a leaflet entitled "The Palestine Revolution; The Present Stage of the Survival Struggle of the Arab Nation."

On May 10, 1969, an OAS-sponsored teach-in was held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Included among the speakers were representatives of black and Left groups, including Youth Against War and Fascism, and Randa El Fattal, editor of the "Arab World Journal," who spoke concerning Al Fatah.

On October 18 and 19, 1969, a regional meeting of SDS was held at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. During the meeting, a leaflet captioned "Fatah" was handed out. The leaflet was designed to develop sympathy and financial support for the "Palestine revolution" and mentioned such groups as Al Fatah and PFLP. It also gave several United States

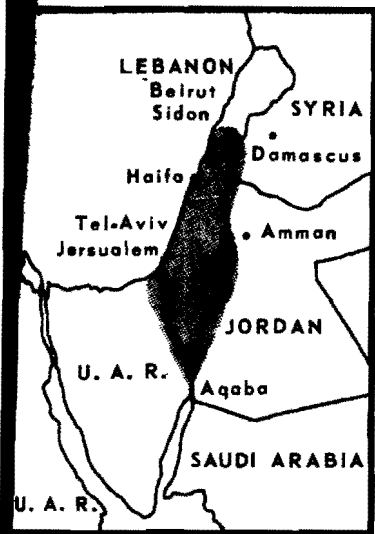
addresses to which funds could be sent, including the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, a front group of the Youth Against War and Fascism.

In December, 1969, a YSA pro-Arab leaflet, entitled "The Middle East Question," was handed out at the University of Illinois. It stated that Zionism is sponsored by Western imperialism in order to inject into the Middle East a European population to provide a counterweight to revolutionary stirrings among Arab masses. It stated that the only solution is socialism, a "mid-Eastern unity," resettlement of the Palestine refugees, and an end to special privileges granted to Jews who immigrate to Israel. It concluded by stating that this can only come about through continued struggle for self-determination, such as that carried out by Al Fatah.

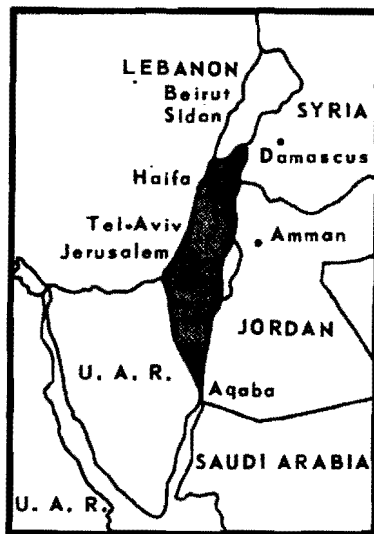
On January 31, 1970, an Arab conference was held in Montreal, Canada, which was attended by New Left students from the United States, particularly those with SDS affiliation. The Arabs at this conference indicated a desire that some sort of "international brigade," made up of students in the United States and Europe, be raised to fight in the Middle East for the Arab commandos during the coming summer.

## APPENDIX

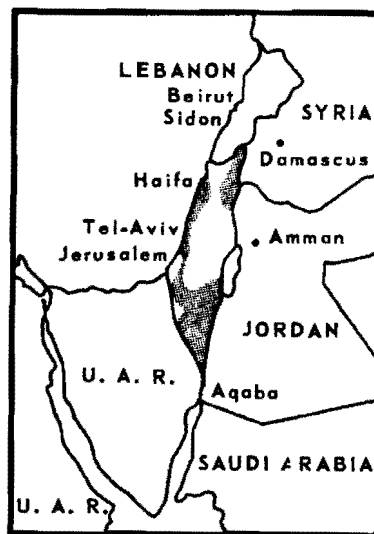
# PALESTINE 1919 - 1967



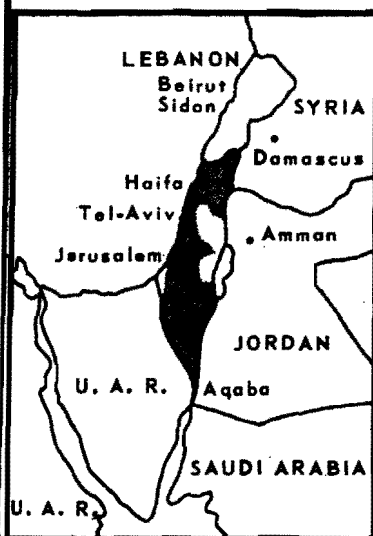
ZIONIST PLAN 1919



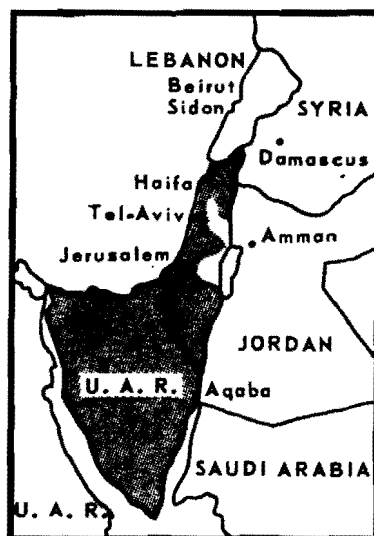
PALESTINE MANDATE 1922



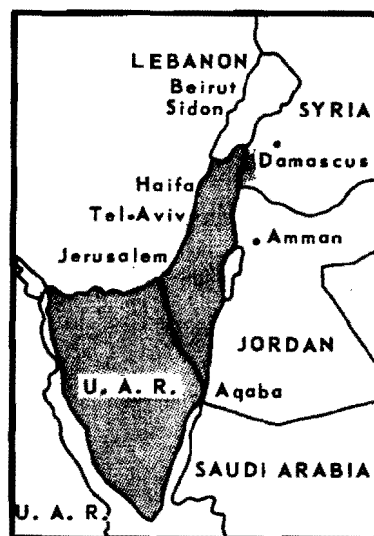
PARTITION PLAN 1947



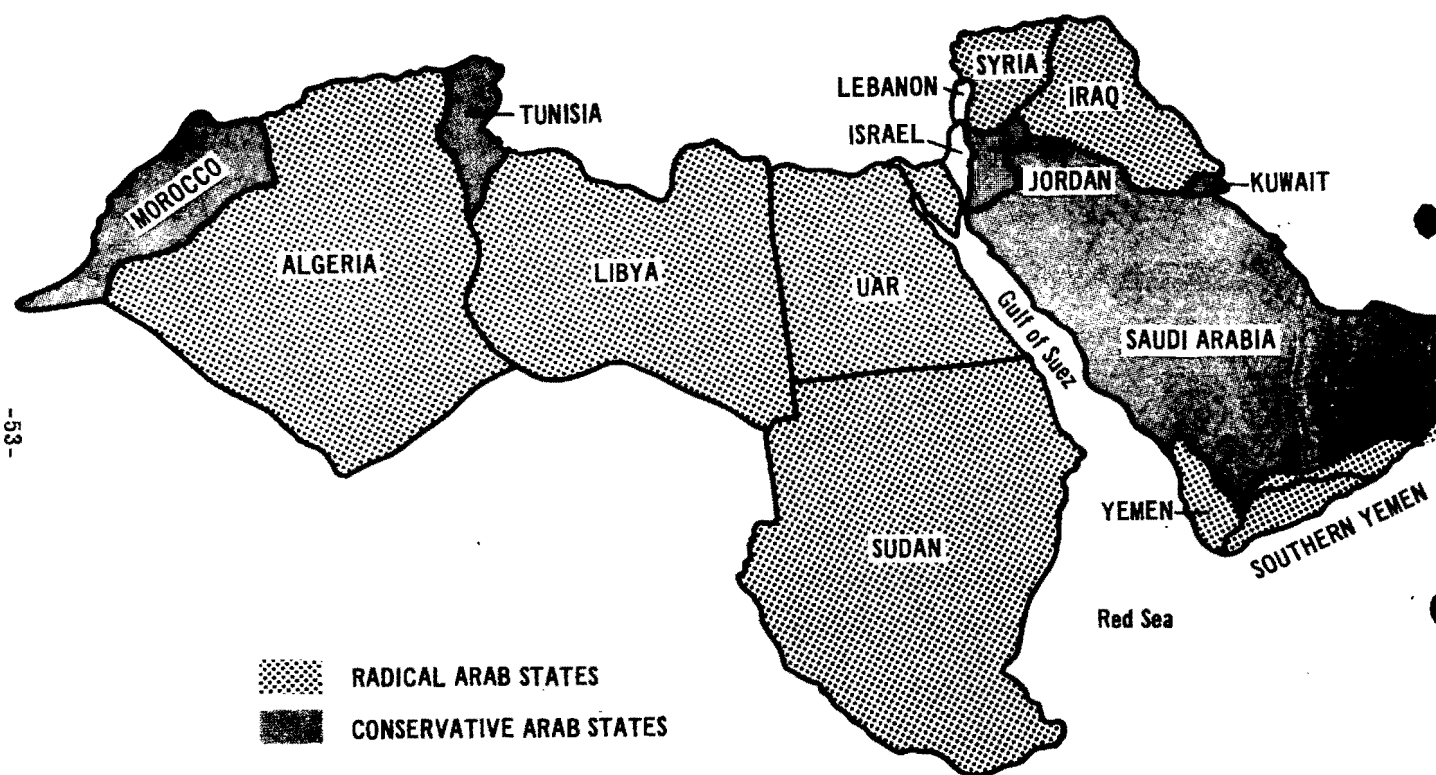
AREAS CONQUERED 1949





AREA OCCUPIED 1956



AREA OCCUPIED 1967



 ISRAELI OCCUPIED TERRITORY  
 FEDAYEEN OPERATING BASES





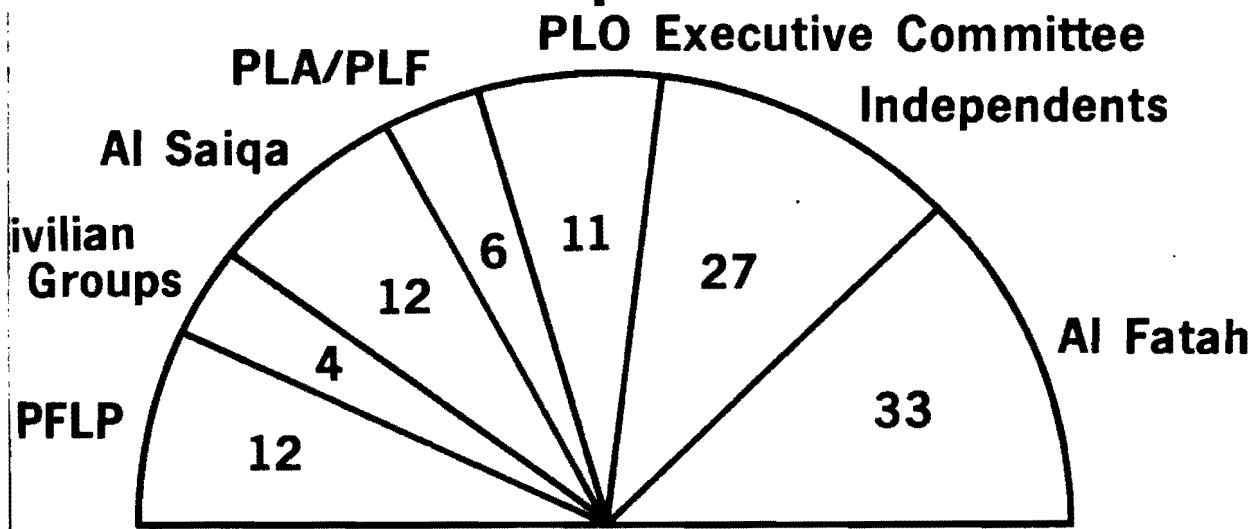
ORGANIZATION	LEADERSHIP	POLITICS	OPERATIONS	PROPAGANDA
AL FATAH	YASIR ARAFAT	Deliberately apolitical in the past, but may be swinging to the left.	Has limited its actions to military and civilian targets inside Israel and the occupied territories. Its fighting strength is 4000 - 6000. It has headquarters in Amman and Salt, Jordan. Al Asifah is military arm.	"Voice of Fatah" is broadcast from Cairo. The "Voice of Asifah" is broadcast from Baghdad. A monthly periodical is published, "Al Thawra Al Falestiniya."
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION	YASIR ARAFAT	Acting as a "parliament" of fedayeen groups, it cannot speak politically for its members.	Military actions are confined to targets inside Israel and the occupied territories. Fighting strength of its military arm, PLF, is estimated at 1000 - 1500. It has headquarters in Irbid and Jarash, Jordan.	"Voice of Palestine" is broadcast from Cairo. It also controls the Palestine Research Center in Beirut.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	GEORGE HABBASH	MARXIST	PFLP believes struggle against Israel should not be confined to Middle East, but should be international. Has conducted terrorist acts in Europe and threatens to extend them to U. S. Fighting strength is 500 - 1000. Its headquarters is in Amman.	PFLP communiques are broadcast by "Voice of Palestine."
Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	NAYIF HAWATMAH	Strongly Marxist - Leninist. Hawatmah is owed follower of MAO Tse-tung.	Basically a political organization, it engages in little military activity. Its estimated fighting strength is 200 poorly armed men. It has headquarters at Amman.	Newspaper "Al Hurriyah", published in Beirut.
AL SAIQA	TAHER DABLAN	Marxist - It follows the line of its parent organization, The Syrian Baath Party. Its ideology is closer to Peking than U.S.S.R.	Military operations are similar to those of Al Fatah with which it has cooperated in actions against Israel. Estimated fighting strength is 1000 - 1500. Headquarters is located at Damascus.	Radio Baghdad broadcasts Al Saiqa communiques.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command	AHMAD JABRIL	APOLITICAL	PFLP-GC conducts operations against Israel and the occupied territory and claimed credit for the 2-21-70 bombing of a Swissair plane bound for Israel. Its fighting strength is 500. Headquarters is at Irbid, Jordan.	No organized facilities
Action Organization for the Liberation of Palestine	ISSAM SARTAWI	MARXIST - Calls for revaluation in all Arab countries.	AOLP concentrates its attacks on Israeli occupied territory and claimed credit for 2-9-70 attack on Israeli passengers at Munich airport. Its fighting strength is 100 - 400. Its headquarters is in Amman.	No organized facilities

# Palestine Liberation Organization

**PLO Executive Committee -**  
Yasir Arafat - President

<b>Al Fatah</b> 4 seats	<b>PLO</b> 2 seats	<b>Al Saiqa</b> 2 seats	<b>Independents</b> 3 seats
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## Palestinian National Council



**TOTAL: 105**

# EVOLUTION OF THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

