

Israel: Fighting Terror With Terror

By Raphael Rothstein

Author of the book, "Fedayeen: Guerrillas Against Israel," Rothstein recently revisited Israel.

ISRAEL has been in an angry, vengeful mood since the guerrilla attack on its athletes at Munich last month. The hawks in the Cabinet—Premier Golda Meir, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, Transport Minister Shimon Peres, Police Minister Shlomo Hillel and Minister Without Portfolio Israel Galili—now have the upper hand over the more dovish element, which includes Foreign Minister Abba Eban, Deputy Premier Yigal Allon and Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir.

At present, Israeli leaders stress their determination to strike at the guerrillas in all possible "legal" ways, such as reprisal raids against fedayeen bases in Lebanon and Jordan. But within Israeli intelligence and military circles, plans are being made for selective counterterror reprisals, both in Arab countries and in Europe.

In the more than two decades of the Arab-Israel conflict, both sides have honored a kind of gentlemen's agreement not to go after each other's leaders. Thus, the Egyptians never tried to kill Premier Ben-Gurion and Israel refrained from attempts on President Nasser's life. But the fedayeen have never abided by any kind of unspoken agreement with Israel. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine once even tried to assassinate Ben-Gurion in Sweden. Now the fedayeen leaders are particularly vulnerable to Israeli reprisals. The Popular Front spokesman, poet and novelist Ghasan Khanafani, was killed by a booby trap rigged to his car shortly after boasting that the Front was responsible for the Lydda airport massacre of May 30. His successor was blinded by an exploding package. Other fedayeen leaders, including Yasir Arafat, have been targeted in the past.

Informed Israeli sources say, however, that these past attempts were fruitless. Now the best minds of the Mosad (the Israeli central intelligence agency), the Shin Bet (the agency responsible for internal security, equivalent to the FBI), and army intelligence are considering how best to destroy the fedayeen leadership.

High on the assassination list of the Mosad is Salah Halaf, 38, known otherwise by the *nom de guerre* Abu Ayad. He is chief of Fatah intelligence and is believed to be the driving force and moving spirit behind Black September, which is largely a loose collection of Fatah members assembled on an ad-

hoc basis for specific missions.

Sharing a priority place on Israeli intelligence's list are two other Black September commanders, Ali Salame, the son of Hassan Salame, an Arab gang leader and Nazi sympathizer during the British Mandate in Palestine, and Razi el-Husseini, son of Abdul Khader, an Arab fighter who died in the 1948 war with Israel.

The War Moves to Europe

ALTHOUGH BEIRUT is the center of Fatah and its affiliate, Black September, many fedayeen operatives are active in Europe, where Arab embassies provide sanctuary and diplomatic passports. An official at the Yemen embassy in Geneva, Daoud Darakat, is believed to have given Black September cover during the Munich operation, and some terrorists now being sought by Dutch and Belgian police are thought to be hiding in various Arab embassies in Europe.

One of the questions now being discussed by Israeli intelligence and military leaders is whether or not to attack Arab embassies abroad that have aided fedayeen. The debate revolves on whether the attacks should be massive or selective. The prevailing view reportedly is that counterterror must be selective and precise, striking only at the guilty and avoiding injury to the innocent. Whatever is done, of course, Israel will not take public responsibility.

The recent bombing of a Palestine Liberation Organization library and bookstore in Paris was carried out by a group calling itself the "Massada Action and Defense Movement" after the shrine in Israel that commemorates the Jewish zealots who fought to the last man against the Romans. The group is linked to the Front Etudiants Juif, which in turn is part of an international Jewish student activist organization.

In the New York area, a 70-member Jewish Student Front is conducting surveillance and espionage among suspected Fatah sympathizers and pro-fedayeen radical circles. Arab consulates and United Nations missions have been warned that any acts of terrorism by the Palestinians will be avenged, and a reliable informant says the Jewish Student Front maintains a training camp and arsenal near New York.

Israeli authorities are concerned over the possibility of anti-Arab actions abroad by so-called vigilante groups like the Jewish Defense League, and are determined to discour-

But for Fatah, Black September, the Popular Front and a dozen other groups in the fedayeen kaleidoscope, Europe is the preferred zone of operation. It is out of range of Israeli artillery and jets and the Israelis cannot necessarily control distant vigilante groups. The fedayeen, as outlaws, are bound by no legal or diplomatic convention. Israel is stressing these points to European authorities in its efforts to win understanding for its new policy of acting directly in Europe instead of relying on defensive intelligence-gathering and local police action.

Israel has often been disappointed by the inability or refusal of local police to act on tips. A recent example occurred when Israeli agents gave Italian police the names of Palestinian terrorists active in Rome—with no result. Days later the same terrorists arranged for two English girls to smuggle an explosive device aboard an El Al plane.

Inevitably, Israeli-sponsored terrorism will lead to political repercussions, but despite this Israel will make every effort to act selectively to keep the fedayeen frightened and on the run. "The idea," one Israeli analyst said, "is to make Europe uncomfortable for the fedayeen, to end their feeling of sanctuary there."

Intelligence Groupings

ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE has divided Europe into three groupings. The first consists of Germany, Italy and Austria, nations where there are large concentrations of Palestinians. West Germany alone has 3,000 to 4,000 Palestinian students and residents among almost 50,000 Arabs, and Fatah is believed to maintain two cells there. These three countries are considered likely locales of future fedayeen activities because they have already operated there and have the necessary apparatus and cover for clandestine missions. Israeli counterterror activity in these nations is expected to be considerable in the months ahead.

A second group of nations includes Denmark, England and Belgium, tolerant countries that Palestinian terrorists use as transfer points and where propaganda and recruitment are carried on fairly openly.

Holland and Sweden are part of a third grouping. These nations are very much on the alert to Palestinian terrorism, especially since the Croatian

18 MAR 1972

**Egyptians say Hussein plan a CIA plot**

CAIRO — Egyptian leaders on March 17 branded the plan of Jordan's King Hussein for a semi-autonomous Palestinian state as a plot of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which played a principal role in the contacts between Hussein and the Israelis. They noted that in her speech rejecting the plan, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir acted as a mother scolding her son, but giving Hussein a cue to come up with a more acceptable version.

JORDANIAN DENIES UNILATERAL MOVE

Aide Says Hussein Seeks
No Accord With Israel

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, March 17—Foreign Minister Abdullah Salah of Jordan denied today that King Hussein was seeking a unilateral peace settlement with Israel.

In an interview published in the pro-Amman newspaper Al Jarida here, Mr. Salah said that "certain Arab quarters want to see Jordan take this step because they themselves want such a settlement."

He did not identify the quarters, but it was clear that he was alluding to Egypt, whose President, Anwar el-Sadat, supports an interim settlement with Israel involving the reopening of the Suez Canal.

Egypt and her partners in the Federation of Arab Republics, Syria and Libya, have not yet taken a formal stand on the plan that King Hussein proposed Wednesday for reorganizing his kingdom to include the East Bank and the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River in a federation.

Rejected by Guerrillas

Reports from Damascus, Syria, today said that the three Governments, which had said they wanted to consult with the Palestine Liberation Organization — the over-all guerilla group — would issue a joint statement within 48 hours.

A guerrilla leader, in an article in a newspaper here, said that the commandos had already said no to King Hussein and asked, "What stand will the Arab states take now?"

The leader, Shafik al-Hout, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization office here, was referring to the statement issued last night by the organization's 13-man Executive

Committee rejecting the King's plan "categorically and conclusively" and declaring that the Palestinians alone had the right to determine their own destiny.

A bulletin circulated here by the extreme leftist guerrilla group, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said that the Palestine Liberation Organization had decided to call for an Arab summit conference to discuss adoption of a uniform stand against Hussein's proposals.

The guerrilla leader Yasir Arafat arrived in Baghdad today for talks with the Iraqi Government, which proposed a union with Egypt and Syria to foil the Hussein plan.

'A Minefield,' Heykal Say

CAIRO, March 17 (UPI)—Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, editor of the semiofficial daily Al Ahram and a confidant of President Sadat, today termed King Hussein's proposal "a minefield from beginning to end."

He said in his weekly article, "Behind this plan is the American Central Intelligence Agency, which played a principal role in the contacts between Hussein and the Israelis and the American State Department."

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Israeli-Jordanian Talks Reported

BY RAYMOND LAWRENCE

Foreign News Analyst

For more than two years there have been persistent reports of peace negotiations between Israel and Jordan.

All have proved abortive or have been repudiated.

Now, the influential Tel Aviv newspaper Haaretz says that King Hussein and other Jordanian officials have held five direct peace meetings with Israeli officials since 1969. The paper reported some of the discussions were arranged by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Israeli government officials immediately denied this report.

Premier Golda Meir's office said there is "nothing to it."

The foreign ministry declared "there is no truth in it."

Newspapers in Cairo leaked information on the secret meetings, Haaretz indicated; and an Israeli official said Egypt apparently instigated the reports "as a continued attempt to damage Hussein's image" in the Arab world.

But Cairo reports also said that Hussein is waiting for Israel and Egypt to reach a settlement on reopening the Suez Canal before reaching an agreement with Israel.

Under terms of the agreement, as reported by Haaretz, King Hussein would allow Israeli paramilitary settlements to remain in the Israeli-occupied territory west of the Jordan River, permit military pacts with other Arab nations. In return, Jordan would get symbolic control of East Jerusalem which Israel captured in the 1967 war.

Haaretz did not specify what was meant by symbolic rule but said it was agreed the Jordanian flag could fly

over Moslem holy places. Israel has repeatedly declared it would never relinquish control over the Holy City.

The UPI quoted Arab diplomatic sources as saying Egypt is apparently going to reactivate guerrilla operations against Israel in the Sinai Desert.

Coordination of guerrilla activities on all Arab fronts, including occupied Sinai, reportedly is advocated by Vice President Hussein Shafei and supported by Sayyed Marci, first secretary of Egypt's only political party, the Arab Socialist Union.

Shafei told an Egyptian rally:

"Reservations must not exist where guerrilla activity is concerned. If escalation of Arab commando activity prompts an Israeli preemptive strike, then we must be ready for this and be prepared to inflict heavy losses on the enemy."

And now for a comment:

While hopes for a just and enduring Middle East settlement are insubstantial, the fact is that of the three Arab nations (Egypt, Syria and Jordan) defeated by Israel in the 1967 war Jordan is the closest to making peace.

King Hussein, although he is an Arab nationalist and certainly not pro-Israel, is comparatively tolerant. He has a deep regard for order and peace in his kingdom, which, despite its poverty and im-providence, is the only Arab nation to curb effectively the guerrilla terrorist tactics. He has suffered reprisals for this course and the repercussions are not yet over.

Moreover, he has pledged that the Hashemite kingdom will never again join another ill-fated war against Israel.

Thus, Mrs. Meir knows that Hussein no longer is hesitant to come to terms with her country, despite today's denials of direct talks on the issues. The indirect contacts have been going on for some time, but Hussein is so dubious about his status and security that an overt avowal is not in the cards.

A Short History of CIA Intervention in Sixteen Foreign Countries

In July, 1947, Congress passed one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the history of America in peacetime. The National Security Act of 1947 created The National Security Council, the Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the United States Air Force and, not least of all, the CIA. This act provided the Agency with five principal duties:

- 1. To advise the National Security Council on matters concerning intelligence.*
- 2. To make recommendations for the coordination of such intelligence matters.*
- 3. To correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to national security and disseminate it to other government departments.*
- 4. To perform "such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally."*
- 5. To perform "such other functions and duties as the NSC would direct."*

In 1949 Congress passed the Central Intelligence Agency Act, allowing the agency to disregard laws that required disclosure of information concerning the organization, to expend funds without regard to laws and regulations governing expenditures with no other accounting than the Director's vouchers, and to make contracts and purchases without advertising.

With such unprecedented authority, with unlimited access to money, with liberty to act without regard to scrutiny or review by either civilian or governmental organizations, the CIA has become a self-contained state. One observer ranks the CIA as the fourth world power, after the U.S., Russia, and China.

Partly because of the CIA's special "secret" status and partly because of the laziness of the press, the total history of CIA intervention in foreign countries has never been reported. What you read instead are fragments—an attempted bribe in Mexico last July, an assassination in Africa last November.

What emerges here is an atlas of intrigue but not a grand design; on the contrary, the CIA's record is as erratic and contradictory as that of any bureaucracy in the Federal stable. But you do begin to comprehend the enormous size of the CIA and its ruthless behavior. The rules permit murder, defoliation and drug addiction for political ends. Look at the record:



29 NOV 1971

Tougher line by Hussein

By JOHN BULLOCH
in Beirut

THE assassination of the Jordanian Prime Minister yesterday brought immediate tension to the country where King Hussein's forces and the Palestinian guerrillas have clashed so often.

Army patrols along the border with Syria were reported to be searching for commandos. Earlier the Jordanian Government in Amman reported that one Army officer was killed and another wounded when commandos opened fire on their car from the Syrian side of the border.

The assassination, on top of that incident, meant that the reconciliation talks between the Jordan Government and the guerrillas were finally and irrevocably ended.

They had dragged on for weeks in Jeddah, under the aegis of King Feisal and President Sadat of Egypt but had achieved little. Now, a new and even tougher policy towards the Palestinians is likely to be adopted in Jordan.

If it is eventually proved that Palestinians were responsible for the killing, there may be ugly reprisals in Jordan. On a previous occasion when a commando group threatened a campaign of political assassination, the Jordanian Army said they would kill 10 Palestinians for every Jordanian murdered.

Security plea

The assassination came only hours after the Jordanian delegation to the Cairo talks had asked the Egyptian authorities to take stringent security precautions to protect Mr Tell.

When Mr Tell was appointed Prime Minister after the savage Jordanian commando clashes a year ago, President Sadat made no secret of his displeasure. And when King Hussein announced his intention of taking his Prime Minister with him on a trip to Cairo, the visit was cancelled after the Egyptian Government refused to receive Mr Tell.

With relations between Jordan and Egypt already strained, his death may well lead to a further deterioration.

This might make King Hussein more ready for bilateral moves towards a settlement with Israel. He had earlier made it clear he had no intention of being dragged into a new war by Egypt.

In Amman an orderly succession to the Premiership is likely, as there are no political parties in Jordan, and the post is in the King's absolute gift. Appointment of another tough East-banker, which is likely, would underline Hussein's determination to have no further truck with the Palestinians, and to go his own way.

Sadat message

President Sadat sent a message to King Hussein expressing Egyptian condolences for the murder. But the Egyptian leader's message was less than fulsome, and managed to combine disapproval of Mr Tell's policies with regret that his opponents should have resorted to murder. His message said:

Please accept my sorrow and the sorrow of the Egyptian people for the crime committed on Egyptian soil against your country's Prime Minister, the late Wasfi Tell. The Egyptian people, with all their moral values, strongly condemn such acts and feel great pain that anyone utilises the generosity of Egypt and the atmosphere of security being provided for her visitors to commit such acts.

President Sadat went on to express condolences to the Jordanian Government and the family of the late Premier and said he was confident the culprits would be duly punished.

Commandos celebrate

In Beirut, members of commando organisations in the refugee camps around the city fired their rifles in the air as a sign of celebration. But commando leaders would make no statement.

The "Black September" group which has claimed responsibility for the assassination obviously takes its name from the events of September last year when the Jordanian Army routed the commandos in a series of battles in Amman and elsewhere.

Former teacher

Mr Tell was a former school teacher who became an Army officer and King Hussein's chosen instrument in restoring order to his country.

He had served as Prime Minister on four previous occasions when he was named by the King to take over the Government in October last year, just after the Jordanian Army had finally and bloodily defeated the Palestinian guerrillas who had established their own state within the state.

His appointment then was rightly seen as an indication that King Hussein did not in the future intend to allow his authority to be diminished as it had been in the past.

Mr Tell, of Bedouin stock, attended the American University of Beirut and taught at various Jordanian schools before joining the British Army, where he served with Intelligence.

CIA claim

In later years, this gave rise to the persistent "smear" that he was a member of the American Central Intelligence Agency.

In fact, he fought in Palestine in 1948 with the Arab volunteer forces, and also served in the Syrian Army. In 1949 he joined the Jordanian civil service, and was later seconded to the Foreign service, serving in Bonn, and Teheran before becoming Jordanian ambassador to Iraq.

At various times he served as one of King Hussein's special advisers, and was chief of the Royal Cabinet. It was an open secret that he was one of those who directed operations last year when the Army fought the guerrillas.

He spent the weeks of the fighting at King Hussein's side at the Royal Palace, just outside Amman, frequently under fire.

Slain Jordanian Angered Many Arabs

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Nov. 28—Wasfi Mustafa Tal, the 51-year-old Jordanian Premier who was assassinated in Cairo today, was one of the Arab world's most controversial political personalities.

To most of his countrymen, he was something of a hero as a symbol of the Jordanian Government's victory over the Palestinian guerrillas. To many other Arabs, however, he was an arch-villain. He was called an agent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency in Damascus, where he was sentenced to death in absentia in 1966 on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the Syrian regime, and was denounced as a traitor by the Palestinian guerrillas.

It was Mr. Tal who, after the comandos were suppressed by Government forces in September, 1970, was largely responsible for consolidating Jordan's sovereignty. For King Hussein, who appointed him Premier in October, 1970, in disregard of the advice of the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Mr. Tal was a tough and able administrator who was instrumental in preserving the Jordanian throne.

Guerrillas Called Him "Tal Aviv"

After Mr. Tal was named to head the Jordanian Government, Anwar el-Sadat, who had succeeded Mr. Nasser as Egypt's President, recalled the Egyptian ambassador from Amman and refused to receive Mr. Tal in Cairo.

In commando publications, the Jordanian Premier was always called "Tal Aviv," in consequence of the Palestinian belief that Mr. Tal had collaborated with the Israelis in sup-

pressing the guerrillas in Jordan.

Mr. Tal, who was born in 1920 in a small village in what is now the northern Jordanian district of Irbid, received a bachelor's degree from the American University in Beirut in 1941, and then embarked on a military career.

After having been trained at a British-run military academy in what was then Palestine, now Israel, he joined the British Army. Then in 1948 he joined the Arab Liberation Army, an irregular force fighting Zionist forces in Palestine.

After the Arab-Israeli ceasefire, he served briefly with the Syrian Army before entering the Jordanian civil service in 1949.

Headed Government 5 Times

Holding a variety of government posts, from director of the Jordanian Bureau of Statistics to Ambassador to Iraq, he became known for his absolute loyalty to King Hussein. At the same time, he stayed close to the Jordanian armed forces, and never gave up his military-style haircut — close-cropped at the sides—despite his British-tailored tweeds and London-made turtleneck shirts.

Mr. Tal had already served as head of the Government four times before his recall last year from four years of retirement to undertake what was to be his last term as Premier. By then he had become known, in the King's words, as the "crisis man."

The final crisis was that of dealing with the guerrillas. As head of a Government whose principal goal was to re-establish order in the wake of the civil war between the Government and the Arab comandos

who swarmed over the country, he took tough measures, including the execution of guerrillas who violated the ban on possession of arms.

The success of his campaign provoked growing hostility. The comandos tried to strike at his Government by operations against Jordanian interests, including the hijacking of Jordanian aircraft. But this same success prompted Jordanian crowds to cry: "Jordan, Jordan, not comandos. Long live Hussein, Long live Tal!"

Mr. Tal lived outside Amman with his Syrian-born wife. They had no children. His manner was authoritative, and he was known for his quickness of mind and his indifference to the harshest criticism.

KING'S CHOICE**Tell—Enemy of Guerrillas**

BEIRUT, Lebanon (AP) — King Hussein of Jordan, firmly in control of his kingdom after expelling the Palestinian guerrillas in July, told a visitor: "I regret all those long years before getting to know Wasfi Tell."

Tell, the 51-year-old Jordanian prime minister who was assassinated in Cairo yesterday, was a bitter enemy of the guerrillas. He urged Hussein to keep up the pressure on them after his army defeated them in the September 1970 civil war.

Political circles in Amman repeatedly predicted Hussein would replace Tell to achieve a reconciliation agreement with the guerrillas. But the negotiations broke down Friday and the guerrillas warned: "A new round with the Jordan government will begin." On Saturday they attacked a Jordanian army vehicle on the Syrian border.

Got King's Attention

Born in the north Jordan town

of Irbid in 1920, Tell was a captain in the British Army in World War II, served with the Arab armies in the 1948 Palestine war and was a major in the Syrian Army briefly before completing his education at the American University in Beirut. Then he entered the Jordanian civil service.

He attracted King Hussein's attention as chief press officer in 1955, then served in embassies in Bonn, Tehran, and Baghdad and became prime minister for the first time in 1962.

Called CIA Agent

Hussein, who has frequently shifted governments because of personal rivalries among Jordan's politicians, chose Tell four more times because he was tough, efficient and backed the monarch against the leftist tide that swept the Arab world in the 1960s.

After his crackdown on the

Jordanian Communist party, leftist newspapers in Beirut accused him of being an agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

The Palestinian guerrilla groups voiced strong opposition when he took over the government for the fourth time after the civil war and solidified Hussein's sovereignty.

Tell was no favorite in Cairo. The late president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, tried to promote a coup to overthrow the king. Tell played a leading part in the resistance. The Egyptian government canceled a visit by Hussein to Cairo early this year because of displeasure at his naming Tell prime minister.

Tell's wife, Sadia Jabri, once was married to a Palestinian leader of the 1940s, Moussa Alami. She divorced him to marry Tell. They had no children.

16 JUN 1971

STATINTL

Resurgence in Palestinian resistance

By Richard Gibson
Special to the Guardian

Beirut

Despite repeated claims by its many enemies and hasty reports by superficial observers, the Palestinian resistance movement has not been crushed by the murderous attacks of King Hussein's troops.

Like the badly misnamed "Six Day War" of June 1967 which simmered along with a high casualty rate for the Israelis until the truce of 1970, the Jordanian civil war is still being fought, although at a lower visible level than last September. Hussein is frenziedly launching sporadic attacks on Palestinian liberation forces that still hold considerable areas of northern Jordan and constitute a major obstacle to the success of the Rogers Plan.

At the end of 1970, to many observers and even a few Palestinians, the resistance movement seemed to have reached such a low ebb that its virtual liquidation was thought highly probable. Hussein's Bedouin army had decimated the ranks of the fedayeen, sweeping them out of the south of the country, leaving them with only a toehold in Amman, the capital, while in the north Palestinian strongpoints were tightly encircled in Salt, Jerash, Ajlun and Irbid.

And yet, by the end of May 1971, the commando organizations pledged to the destruction of the Zionist state—greatly reduced in number and lacking men, arms and money—once again posed a credible political threat to Hussein's regime and were continuing sabotage and guerrilla attacks on Israeli occupation forces in Gaza and the West Bank and even striking on several occasions deep inside Israel.

Contrary to all expectations, no major Palestinian leader had yet accepted the U.N.'s Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, which would liquidate Palestinian claims on Israel, while at the same time obliging Israeli troops to withdraw from Arab territory occupied since June 1967. This is the keystone of the Rogers Plan.

Fatah rejects UN scheme

Al Fatah, the largest of the Palestinian commando organizations, rejected Resolution 242 in a statement to the U.N. General Assembly in October 1968, declaring that "acceptance thereof by any of the parties concerned will not be binding upon the Palestinian Arab people and will never deter them or prevent them from continuing their sacred task to resist foreign occupation and liberate their stolen homeland from the usurpers." In fact, neither the U.N., the League of Arab States, Israel nor the two "superpowers" [the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.] had viewed the Palestinian resistance organizations as "concerned parties" whose acceptance was necessary for the success of the scheme. The Arab regimes, and especially the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan, claimed to represent adequately and speak on behalf of the 2,500,000 Palestinians.

The fighting in Jordan between September 17 and 28, 1970 took a high toll in lives. The Palestinian Red Crescent estimated some 650 were killed and 1500 wounded in the north of the country, while neutral observers reported at least 2000 killed and more than 10,000 wounded in Amman and Zarka. Perhaps because of doubts about the loyalty to the monarchy of

Jordanian regulars, many of whom are of Palestinian origin, direct assaults on commando positions were relatively few and then generally carried out by Hussein's Bedouin forces, indoctrinated in hatred of the "godless and licentious Palestinians," with all the ferocity of a razzia. The main tactic of the Jordanian military was the encirclement of Palestinian forces and civilian centers and their reduction by indiscriminate artillery bombardment.

Although the civil war officially ended after about 10 days, sporadic clashes have never stopped as the Jordanian Army pressed its advantage in manpower and firepower, attempting a quieter, piecemeal liquidation of the fedayeen. The inter-Arab committee, headed by Bahdi Ladgham, to supervise the agreements made in Cairo and Amman between the Jordanian regime and the Palestinian resistance, found its work frustrated by Jordanian lack of cooperation. Ladgham returned to his native Tunisia in dismay, accusing the Hashemite monarchy of seeking to flout the accords and wipe out the Palestinians. In reply, a Jordanian spokesman accused Ladgham of pro-Palestinian bias, and claimed that he had come to Amman "with the intention of participating in the reinforcement of the idea of a Palestinian entity." Despite some tactical victories over Palestinian units, the mere survival of the Palestinian movement threatened Hussein's throne, especially as it was suspected that the United States and Soviet Union were beginning to reconsider positively the proposal for an independent Palestinian state.

The first upsurge of the Palestinian resistance followed the Israeli victory in June 1967 and became visible on March 20, 1968 when fedayeen successfully repulsed a much larger Israeli attack force at Karameh. This created a situation throughout the Arab world that favored the rapid expansion of the commando organizations.

Leadership crisis

"There was massive response on the part of the Palestinian and Arab masses making available social and political energy never before so fully mobilized in Arab modern history," commented Professor Hisham Sharabi of Georgetown University in Washington. But the leadership and organizational crisis that followed the heavy fighting in Jordan last September appeared to have brought the movement to full circle, once again leaving the road open for the Arab regimes and Israel to work out a settlement, and for the political liquidation of Palestinian claims upon Israel, that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. desired as one part of a worldwide "lowering of tensions." Small wonder then that the leader of Fatah's left wing, Salah Khalaf, alias "Abu Iyad," declared, in a speech in Kuwait, that China was the only great power that gave unstinting support to the Palestinian resistance.

Another group, the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), while strengthening military cooperation with Fatah and other commando forces, renewed its long-standing criticisms of the Arab regimes as "local managers for U.S. imperialism and/or Soviet social-imperialism." Nevertheless, the PFLP recognized the necessity of the agreements made with the Jordanian regime and called for their strict

13 MAY 1971

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

By Jack Anderson

STATINTL

Headlines and Footnotes—
The Central Intelligence Agency is secretly training counterinsurgency forces in Jordan . . . Some space scientists believe the rilles on the moon might be underground lava tubes, which could be converted into permanent lunar bases . . . The National Geographic Society is the last holdover from the B'wana school of journalism. Its expense account forms include the category, "Gifts to Natives." . . . Art Buchwald's former partner, Robert Yoakum, has come out with his own column of political satire. With a typical touch of Yoakum's hokum, he explains his return to humor: "Because of envy over Mr. Buchwald's success and a feeling that humor is in short supply, in that order."

15 APR 1971

8 Arab Envoys Gather To Solve Jordan Crisis

United Press International

Ambassadors from eight Arab nations met in Cairo today on ways to end the fighting in Jordan between government troops and Palestinian guerrillas. Egypt's Council of Ministers called a conference to consider measures to prepare Egypt for war with Israel.

The presidents of four of the Arab countries also were to weigh plans to unite their countries.

The fighting in Jordan had forced postponement of the confederation talks until today.

In Washington, senior administration officials said there is a strong possibility Israel within the next 10 days will suggest an interim Mideast settlement pegged to reopening the Suez Canal.

Pressure on Israel

Israel is being pressed by the United States and others to approve Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's suggestion that Israeli forces pull back so Egypt can remove the sunken vessels that have blocked the canal since the 1967 war.

The State Department has made no secret of its disappointment over Israel's failure to be "more forthcoming" and respond to this and other suggestions by Sadat in recent weeks.

In Jerusalem, Israeli diplomatic sources said Israel will submit to Washington early next week its counterproposals to Egypt's terms for reopening of the Suez Canal.

The diplomats said the counterproposals envisage a "limited" withdrawal of Israeli troops from the eastern bank of the 100-mile-long waterway, with elaborate precautions for preserving the balance of military power in the area.

These safeguards include Egyptian guarantees of a permanent cease fire along the canal and that no Egyptian or Russian troops will cross it.

The Egyptians Monday rejected essentially the same proposal, posed by Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan at a news conference Sunday in Jerusalem.

CIA Is Accused

Al Fatah guerrilla leader Yasser Arafat said in Beirut the American Central Intelligence Agency was plotting a "barbaric" war in Jordan to exterminate the Palestinian people.

The ambassadors from Egypt, Jordan and the Sudan, Syria, Kuwait, Lebanon, Yemen and Southern Yemen were expected to issue a communique containing their recommendations for

restoring peace in Jordan before they convene their four-day conference.

Sources at the so-called Tripoli Charter Conference said the opening session of the two-day meeting today may indicate how fast Egypt, the Sudan, Syria and Libya are moving toward their planned confederation.

The Egyptian sources said the presidents, besides their plans for closer, quadrilateral cooperation, will take up the prospects of peace in the Middle East and the Jordanian situation. The conference is the fifth since the Tripoli Charter was signed in December of 1969.

Jordan Denounced

Laghdam, in an interview with Al Ahram, said a completely new approach was needed to the Jordanian problem. He said Jordan's tactics toward the guerrillas have been "wrong, inhuman and unacceptable." Jordan should adhere strictly to the Cairo agreement and "care for the guerrillas just as it cares for the Jordanian people," he said.

In London, diplomatic sources said Moscow's recent supply of "new types" of combat jets to Egypt was motivated by political considerations, and because the Soviets fear the Israelis have found at least a partial defense against the SAM2 and SAM3 Soviet ground-to-air missiles.

They said the move indicated an alarming possibility that Russia may intervene directly in the Arab-Israeli confrontation if things do not go as planned.



We will keep the peace if Hussein does • I blame
the CIA • The Resistance is stronger than ever
• No more hijackings

STATINTL

Yasser Arafat

talking...

AS THE renewed bloodshed in Amman earlier last week suggests, the confrontation between the Jordanian Army and the Palestinian Resistance is by no means over. In the battered stone house that serves as his headquarters amid the blackened ruins of Jordan's capital, Yasser Arafat, speaking as the leader of all the Resistance groups, told me recently: "We Palestinians want peaceful co-existence with the Jordanian regime and we are determined to honour the agreement we signed with King Hussein on October 13 establishing the rights and obligations of the Resistance within the sovereign state of Jordan. But co-existence depends on the regime doing likewise and, regrettably, the way the Jordanian Army are acting towards us does not augur well for their good intentions, but rather calls for an ever-increasing state of alert and watchfulness on our part."

so "to play America's game by forcing the Resistance constantly to look over its shoulder instead of mobilising and fighting for the liberation of the homeland."

More support in Arab world

YET in spite of these handicaps, Arafat believed that the Resistance had emerged from last September's confrontation greatly strengthened. For one thing, it had proved that it could resist even the ferocity of the Bedouin armoured regiments by guerrilla tactics. "Had we been as weak as the army thought," he said, "we would never have been able to hold off three Jordanian divisions over 12 days and we would then have been finished off." This resistance had gained the Palestinians much popular support in the Arab world and outside. Therefore, he maintained, "we do not feel isolated any more."

quired to maintain discipline.

Arafat modestly discounted the prevailing view that his own position had been greatly strengthened by the events of September. Likewise, he declined to confirm that the position of George Habash had been weakened by the fact that he had been out of the country while the Palestinians were fighting for their survival. It was not he insisted, "a matter of personalities." But, at the same time, Arafat emphasised that his Fatah group was now the "core" of the Resistance, comprising half the PLO's armed strength.

Arafat made no bones about his belief that the attack launched against the Palestinians in September by the Jordanian military regime was not simply directed towards crushing the Resistance, but was "an attempt at genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole." And it was for this reason that he and his fellows on the Central Committee of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) had agreed to the ceasefire, ordered by the Cairo Summit Conference of Arab Kings and Presidents, to avoid further slaughter.

Even the death of President Nasser, although a great loss to the Resistance, would not, he felt, help their enemies as much as some people might think. The Palestinians had "good friends" in the new Egyptian Government; and in Lebanon the return of Saeb Salam as Prime Minister should help to avoid a repetition of the last year's troubles between Fatah and the Lebanese Army.

My own findings in Jordan confirmed what Arafat had to say on the improved co-ordination of the PLO. The latest report that George Habash has been deposed as leader of the Popular Front should not affect the general cohesion.

More particularly, Arafat claimed that the confrontation had brought about a much-needed co-ordination among Resistance groups. The Central Committee of the PLO had asserted its authority and "firm decisions have been taken to secure greater unity particularly in the military sphere." The mavericks Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine now realised that their sensational hijackings of foreign airliners last September had damaged the Palestinian cause and, by causing dissension within the ranks of the PLO, had probably encouraged the Jordanian Army to strike when they did.

Although the Popular Front continues to claim that it is gaining adherents at the expense of Fatah, the evidence suggests that the bloodshed of September has welded the Resistance together and that Arafat and the Central Committee of the PLO today hold unchallenged authority. A number of the smaller splinter groups have been dissolved and the Resistance now centres mainly on Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Army and the Syrian-based Sa'iq, which are co-ordinated under Arafat's supreme command.

Moreover he insisted that the regime's plan of campaign had been "written, produced and directed by the American Central Intelligence Agency" to whom the very existence of the Palestinians in Jordan was a threat to their hopes and those of the United States Government to impose a peace settlement on Israel's Arab neighbours, which would give Israel most, if not all, of Palestine in perpetuity.

Arafat therefore doubted there would be more hijackings. But he added that while "the decisions by democratic methods," it was "not lacking in disciplinary powers" and would not hesitate

The latest agreement between King Hussein and the PLO undoubtedly gives the Resistance all it needs, including the right to "escalate the battle for liberation" and the promise that "no organ or agency of the Government shall operate against the interests of the Resistance," which shall be free to have its own radio, newspaper and other services, as well as to operate action against the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian homeland.

STATINTL

SPOKANE, WASH.
SPOKESMAN-REVIEW

NOV 2 1970

M - 84,759

S - 127,047

Troubled King

Jordan's King Hussein could have predicted the bitter Arab reaction to his appointment of a new government last week.

The new premier, Wasfi Tell, is opposed to the Palestinian guerrillas.

That fact alone was enough to prompt Syria to call Tell a "known agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency." Similar outcries were heard in Lebanon and in Egypt.

But Hussein had little choice in the matter. His previous premier, a Palestinian, resigned after only three weeks in office and Tell is a veteran politician in Jordan who has been prime minister on numerous occasions in the past. The recent civil war with Palestinian guerrillas has so polarized opinions in that small country that it is evidently impossible to find a qualified middle-of-the-road man to take charge.

Hussein has always been more than fair to the Palestinian refugees in the past and the irony of the situation is that he has reaped only scorn for his actions.

After the first war with Israel and again after the six-day war he was the only Arab leader to admit all refugees who wanted to enter his kingdom. Now the Palestinians almost outnumber the native Bedouins.

All the other Arab countries preferred to keep Palestinian refugees pinned up in camps, such as the Gaza Strip, so they could provide a handy excuse for invective against Israel.

And last month, Hussein proposed a free vote in his country, open to Palestinians and Bedouins alike, to determine the future of the nation.

Indications are that the Palestinians, and other Arab countries also, would be satisfied with nothing less than outright conquest of Jordan.

Summary: Young King Hussein has managed to walk the tightrope of crisis to keep his kingdom intact. Other Arab countries scorn him partly because he acts in a responsible manner.

Jordanian Hit as U. S. Agent

AMMAN, Jordan, Oct. 30 (AP) — Arab newspapers lashed out yesterday at new Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tell as an agent of United States intelligence.

Hussein named Tell Wednesday to succeed Premier Ahman Toukan, a Palestinian who was named head of the government only three weeks ago. Tell is a veteran politician opposed to the activities of the Palestinian guerrillas. Al Baya, newspaper of the ruling Baath Party of Syria, charged that Tell was "a known agent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency." It said his return to power was "a provocative act" against the guerrillas.

The pro-Egyptian newspaper Al Moharrer of Beirut called Tell "an avowed foe" of the

guerrillas. The Lebanese Communist newspaper Al Nida of Beirut said Tell was "a well-known imperialist agent." Guerrilla spokesmen in Beirut said privately the move was bound to stir up more trouble in Jordan. One of them observed that "Tell was the actual mastermind of last month's ruthless army crack-down" on Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan.

STATINTL

FLINT, MICH.
JOURNAL

E - 115,014

S - 115,373

OCT 4 1970

GUERRILLA CHIEF BLAMES CIA FOR ARMY CRACKDOWN

BEIRUT, Lebanon * — Palestinian guerrilla leader Yasir Arafat said Saturday the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency masterminded King Hussein's recent crackdown on Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan.

"But the blow the guerrillas received in the nine-day civil war with the royal Bedouin army was not fatal," Arafat said in an interview with the Beirut newspaper Al Jarida.

He was flanked by five senior guerrilla aides including his second in command, Salah Khalaf, when he spoke to the Newspaper's Cairo correspondent after President Gamal Abdel Nasser's funeral, Al Jarida reported.

Arafat said the Cairo peace agreement he signed with Hussein before Nasser's death could serve as a good basis to solve the crisis between the king and the guerrillas "if rightly implemented."

Arafat declined to elaborate on what he thought was the rightful implementation of peace accord. But the paper said its correspondent understood that the guerrilla leadership wants Jordan's military-dominated regime replaced by a "national reconciliation government."

27 SEP 1970

STATINTL

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BETWEEN DOVES AND HAWKS

Agony of an Embattled

King

"Lucky the man who speaks last to the king. His majesty will sleep with his dream."—Jordanian proverb

EDWARD R. F. SHEEHAN

In the days before Jordan's King Hussein ordered his Bedouin army to attack the Palestinian guerrillas, he brooded in the Hommar Palace outside Amman, tinkering with his ham radio transmitter, torn between his real compassion for human life and a mounting rage against his own declining powers, undecided what to do.

Hussein must be the prototype of a monarch who is the victim of contradictory advisers. On the one hand,

The author is a former State Department press officer and foreign correspondent.

he was being urged by his Doves—Premier Abdel Moneim Rifai, the chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Mashur Haditha, among others—to conciliate the commandos as best he could, to avoid the bloody showdown that would irretrievably divide the country to the further advantage of the real enemy, Israel.

On the other hand, he was being taunted by his Hawks to crush the commandos once and for all, however horrible that endeavor might be, if he wished to reestablish law and order and rescue his tottering Hashemite throne.

The king's Hawks included his uncle, Nasser Ben-Jamil (whom he exiled to London last July but who was said to be flying in and out of Jordan and who remained, in any case, in frequent contact with the king); his cousin, Zaid Ben-Shaker, a deposed senior officer in the army; Zaid Rafai, the chief of the royal cabinet; Wasfi Tell, a former premier and once an officer in the British army; and Field Marshal Habes Al-Majali, the commander of the Jordanian forces during the defeat by Israel in 1967.

Wasfi Tell was particularly vehement in his exhortations, slipping in and out of Hommar Palace day after day, sometimes even spending the night, pleading with the king to make up his mind. The king's Doves

with him, but then hesitated and turned his other ear to Premier Rifai and Gen. Haditha.

"Lucky the man who speaks last to the king. His majesty will sleep with his dream."

Hussein wanted to strike the commandos down but he could not decide when—and when he did strike he wanted to avoid drowning all of Jordan in blood.

The whole country had become a mist of ambiguities, contradictions and divided loyalties—a perfect prescription for anarchy, violence and royal irresolution.

Very roughly, Jordan is split between more than a million Palestinians who long to return to the land that they say Israel has usurped, and nearly a million East Bank natives who owe their first allegiance to the Hashemite crown.

The Bedouins, the least politically advanced and most primitive of all, are blindly loyal to the king. The Bedouin units of the army provide the backbone of Hussein's power and passionately hate the sophisticated Palestinians.

However, even the Bedouin tribes are divided between this hatred of the Palestinians and some sympathy for their plight. Moreover, the army itself was full of Palestinian officers, wondering whether to be loyal to their adopted king or to their brothers in blood.

The commandos, too, were no less divided among themselves. Though they were all nominally joined under an umbrella group called the Palestine Liberation Organization and supposedly subject to the decisions of its Central Committee, the movement was split into a dozen quarrelsome fragments.

Furthermore, Al Fatah was seething because some of its members were defecting to the more exciting Popular Front since the hijacking of the four American and European airliners.

On Sept. 11, I went to the Hussein Refugee Camp near Amman to visit the headquarters of Al Fatah, the largest, most moderate guerrilla organization.

An unshaven, bespectacled Palestinian intellectual named Abu Omar

"In the last two weeks the government has engaged in a series of calculated provocations against the commandos. The government is not all of one mind, but generally they have been cultivating a spirit of hatred against the fedayeen. Particularly in the army, a distinction is being stressed between Jordanians and Palestinians. Since the government accepted the Rogers peace plan in July, there has been a concerted effort to recognize Israel behind her old frontiers and to liquidate the Palestinian revolution.

"The Americans—and I mean particularly the CIA—are pushing the king to do this, as the price he must pay for winning back the West Bank of the Jordan.

"As I said, the government is not all of one mind. Premier Rifai and General Haditha are sympathetic to us but they have no power. When the premier asks the army to stop shooting, they laugh at him.

"We are now demanding that the government honor its old agreement and order the army back to its bases. To accomplish this, we are also demanding that the cabinet be given the authority to enforce its will. We are sick and tired of hearing conciliatory policies announced by the cabinet and then seeing them rejected by the powers in the royal palace.

"The army, security forces and special forces must be purged of criminal elements, especially those responsible for the atrocities at Maan and Irbid. Otherwise, we will choose death rather than go on living under such an army.

"I'm not, however, very optimistic that these contradictions can be resolved. New and terrible fighting seems inevitable.

"If the king decides to liquidate us in one brutal blow, our own self-defense will probably require us to reverse our previous policy and to bring down the monarchy."

The king, in a conversation with some French friends, noted that this impasse cannot continue. The commandos must cease their provocations, stop shooting at the army,

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continued

THE WORLD

Arab Guerrillas v. Arab Governments

AMONG superstitious Arabs, the young King of Jordan is regarded with particular awe because of his uncanny gift for survival. Small wonder. As a teen-ager, Hussein narrowly escaped the assassin's bullets that cut down his grandfather King Abdullah outside Jerusalem's Al Aqsa mosque. Since mounting the chronically shaky throne in 1953, Hussein, now 34, has repeatedly evaded bullets and bombs.

Last week the King's luck held, but barely. Friction between cocky Pales-

if Jordan's government could not control the guerrillas, Israel would.

Just who started the battle between the swaggering guerrillas and Jordanian soldiers loyal to Hussein is unclear. The guerrillas were members of the ultra-militant Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is led by a radical Arab Christian physician named George Habash, an exponent of terror tactics against civilians, including children. In the small town of Zarka, twelve miles north of Amman, quarrels broke out be-

Shopkeepers pulled down their metal shutters and fled for home; Arabs wearing kaffiyehs that looked like the head-dress issued to Jordanian army troops took them off to be safe. Roadblocks suddenly appeared. The army began rounding up guerrillas and brought up artillery to shell the refugee camps.

Melted Ice Cream

The fedayeen responded by invading Amman's elegant Jordan Intercontinental Hotel. There they rounded up 62 foreign guests to be held as hostages until the shelling stopped. The hostages, including the youngest son of former Lebanese President Camille Chamoun as well as 14 Americans, were confined for a time in the hotel basement, where they lived on hamburgers, beer and ice cream. It was not a particularly uncomfortable jail until the beer got warm and the ice cream melted after fedayeen rockets hit Amman's principal power station and electricity failed.

Other guerrilla detachments commandeered the less impressive Philadelphia Hotel (known fondly among visiting newsmen as the Filthadelphia) and seized 15 guests as hostages. Guerrillas also mounted two unsuccessful attacks on Amman radio on the edge of the city. "We're shooting at the station," a fedayeen leader explained, "because it is telling the people lies." The guerrillas stole dozens of cars and looted houses. Their fury, many of them said, was directed against Americans to protest what the guerrillas insist is CIA activity against their movement.

U.S. Embassy First Secretary Morris Draper, 42, was seized by guerrillas on his way to a dinner party and held captive for 22 hours. The single American casualty was Major Robert P. Perry, 34, an Arabic-speaking assistant U.S. Army attaché in Amman. Perry was called to his door by guerrillas, who fired right through it, killing him as his wife and eleven-year-old son looked on.

Suicidal Episode

The violent conflict between Arab monarchy and Arab guerrillas brought anxious pleas for Arab unity. Speaking over Amman radio after the station switched to emergency power, Hussein said: "Continued dissension will only expose our country to destruction and annihilation. The events of these days are the most painful period of my life." In a choked voice, he added: "It is a disgrace for us all to use against Arabs arms that are entrusted to us by the blood and the funds of Arabs." Egypt's President Abdel Nasser, who called Hussein from Cairo to congratulate him on having escaped injury, appealed



HUSSEIN INSPECTING U.S.-BUILT JORDANIAN FIGHTER PLANE
"This is the last chance. There will be no other."

tinian guerrillas in Jordan and army troops loyal to Hussein erupted into three days of bloody warfare. The King's government—and the King as well—nearly became casualties of the battle. Hundreds died, including a U.S. embassy official machine-gunned in front of his own family. In the wake of a frenzy of fedayeen looting and beatings, Westerners were hurriedly airlifted out of Amman; among them were at least 300 Americans. In Beirut, Lebanese officials nervously wondered whether the outburst would have an echo in their capital. And in Tel Aviv, Israeli authorities were ready to move their forces toward Amman if the situation deteriorated. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan warned that "the events in Jordan are different to events in Jordan"; Chief of Staff Haim Bar-Lev stated bluntly that

tween guerrillas and soldiers of the Saiqa (Thunderbolt) Regiment, a unit especially faithful to Hussein. Both sides were armed, and the confrontation quickly expanded into episodes of violence. By the time it ended, nine fedayeen and civilians had been killed, along with 13 soldiers. As hysterical funeral corteges wound through Zarka, the guerrillas' Voice of Asifa radio station in Cairo broadcast the news. When fighting spread to Amman, Hussein hurried to Basman Palace from his summer villa outside the capital. Along the way, the King and two Jeeploads of royal bodyguards were slowed by a roadblock. Shots rang out, one guard was killed and five were wounded.

Some days, skirmishes between irregulars and regulars had broken out across Amman.

to both sides. Nasser also insisted that Hussein order the resignation of his cousin, Brigadier General Sherif Zeid Ben Shaker, an anti-fedayeen royalist whose 3rd Armored Division guards Amman. Hussein yielded, but warned that this was the last time he would comply with fedayeen demands. Announcing that he was personally taking over as commander in chief of the armed forces, he vowed: "This is the last chance. There will be no other."

The guerrillas seemed unimpressed. For their part, they did little more than promise to stop shooting. "Ruling Jordan is not our ambition," said Arafat. "But we will never give up Jordan as a base of operations." He added: "We

Jumping-off Point

This has hardly endeared Hussein to the Palestinians. At the same time, the fedayeen have made things difficult for him by using Jordan as a jumping-off point for raids across the border. Before the latest confrontation, Hussein twice attempted showdowns with the guerrillas. Both times he lost.

Last week made it three defeats in a row. Yasser Arafat, who heads the Al-Fatah guerrillas and last week was named commander in chief of the twelve major guerrilla organizations, flew into Amman from Cairo to arrange a truce. In an all-night session at the palace, he and Hussein hammered out a ten-point pact, mostly favorable to the fedayeen.

In a major concession, the King agreed to accept the "resignation" of his uncle, Major General Sherif Nasser Ben Jamil, as commander in chief of Jordan's army. The fedayeen and many other Jordanians despise the obese Sherif Nasser, who became rich enough from smuggling guns and hashish to build a \$900,000 palace for himself and his young second wife. Mainly, however, the fedayeen feared that Sherif Nasser was using his relationship and access to the King's ear to provoke a showdown with them. They were almost surely right. Sherif Nasser apparently feared that the guerrillas were rapidly growing strong enough to topple Hussein, and he proposed that they be stopped. Together he and Hussein started visiting army camps two months ago to reinforce loyalty to the King and to Jordan. On a visit to the Saiqa regiment, the King presented each soldier with a

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and this has conditioned the way we think and act. We have the right to do anything to serve our cause." Breaking into a grin, Habash concluded: "I hope you were treated well. Our men have no experience in running a hotel."

Ideological Split

At week's end, convoys bearing the symbol of the International Red Cross escorted foreigners to the Amman airport to be flown to Beirut and Athens aboard airliners sent by the U.S. and West German governments. Relief workers added up the casualties in three days of civil war. The Red Crescent (the Arab Red Cross) estimated 200 dead and 500 wounded. "There was so much shooting," said one medical worker, "that we couldn't even bury the dead." About 50 wounded were treated in hospitals in Damascus, where they were taken by ambulance when Jordanian hospitals became overcrowded.

Hussein still held his throne, but it seemed less secure than ever. And he was not the only one to suffer. The disturbances pointed up a serious ideological split between Habash's extreme leftist outfit and Arafat's bigger, more moderate Fatah. To make matters worse, the twelve biggest fedayeen groups range from Maoist to moderate in their political views; unless they can achieve something more than paper unity, their quarrels will surely bring more violence to the Middle East. Last week, for example, observers in Amman insisted that they had seen guerrilla groups shooting at one another.

Familiar Refrain

Jordan's troubles also threatened to engulf Lebanon. In Beirut, guerrillas gathered in front of the Jordanian embassy to demonstrate against Hussein. They ultimately became so agitated that they burned down the building. Though directed against Jordan, the demonstration was probably a message to the Lebanese government as well. This week Beirut is scheduled to begin enforcing a tough new decree forbidding guerrillas to fire across the border into Israel, plant mines along the frontier or carry arms in populated areas. Such decrees have been issued before to discipline the fedayeen and avoid Israeli retaliation, but they have always been quickly ignored. This time the Lebanese army, embarrassed by continuing Israeli patrols inside Lebanon, has orders to make the decree stick.

Whether it can do so is doubtful. "There's no question that we could crush the commandos," said a senior Lebanese army officer last week, "but that's not the whole problem. Any move we make against them brings 300,000 Palestinian refugees out of their camps and down on our necks. Most of them are armed, and we cannot cope with them and with the commandos." That was becoming a sadly familiar refrain in the tormented Middle East.



HABASH AT INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL
"We have the right to do anything."

want Amman to become the Hanoi of the Arabs, but we do not want it to become another Saigon."

After Arafat and the King reached their agreement, the battle flared up again, then finally faded. At the Jordan Intercontinental, sleepy hostages were roused from bed and assembled to meet P.F.L.P. Leader Habash. "We believe that we had the right to use you and your lives to put pressure on the Jordanian government and on the Americans," he told them. "I must be frank and tell you that we were near to executing our plan. We were determined to blow up the hotels. You must try to understand why we did it." For 23 years, we have been living in tents and huts

Hussein Says 'I Am Useful,' Won't Abdicate

STATINTL

By Jesse W. Lewis Jr.

Washington Post Foreign Service

AMMAN, June 17—King Hussein, in his first public appearance since last week's crisis that rocked Jordan, ruled out the possibility today that he would abdicate "as long as I am useful to my people."

Describing the clashes between the Jordanian army and Palestinian guerrillas as his most serious crisis in his 17 years as Jordan's monarch, Hussein said:

"I'm not the type of person who can quit. This nation is part of me. I am part of it, and so is my family.

I am always fighting its battles and I'll do so to the end."

The fighting, which brought the army to brink of mutiny and the guerrillas to the point of forcing an armed showdown with the king, claimed about 1,000 casualties.

No More Phantoms

The king, speaking at a press conference in Basman Palace, which was surrounded by camouflaged armored vehicles, said relations with the United States were directly connected with the U.S. attitude toward Israel. "We certainly are not happy or likely to be happy if more Phantoms arrive in Israel," he said.

"We have always tried to keep bridges open through which better understanding can bring about an improvement in the situation and in this part of the world."

The king did not answer questions about Palestinian guerrilla allegations that the American CIA played a role in Jordan's recent troubles.

Jordan, the king said, was "facing a period of crisis and we still are."

"For me," he said, "it was the most anxious (time) in my life, as a man who handles responsibility in this country.

"Anxious not for myself-- for my people, for their unity, for the Arab nation."

Like a Minefield

The king said last week's fighting and the atmosphere it created was like "moving through a minefield."

"We are sure that what happened here was not a mere accident, though we are unable to determine at this point what was intended here."

The king did not identify who or what group he had in mind, but left the impression he was referring to some of the left-wing Palestinian guerrilla groups.

Through most of the press conference, which was divided into Arabic and English sessions, Hussein spoke in low, somber tones. He was wearing a khaki uniform with open neck and the sleeves turned up in neat folds above his elbows.

When the English portion of his press conference opened, Hussein was asked whether the events of last week altered Jordan's stand on the 1967 U.N. Security Council resolution that calls for the political settlement of the Middle East Crisis.

The king exploded in anger, saying: "Indeed, to hell with the 22 of November 1967 resolution, and this is not the time to discuss or talk about it."

Hussein, however, indicated Jordan still held out hope for a political solution.

"I said repeatedly that there is no peaceful solution or warlike solution. There is one solution that we will accept and that is the return of our usurped homelands and the . . . return to us of our holy city (Jerusalem) and every inch of territory occupied in June, 1967.

"We have worked and are working in every field to achieve that," he said.

The question is a particularly sensitive one in Jordan now because most observers

feel that Hussein's ability to make a peace and make it stick is impaired by the guerrillas who have demonstrated their power to influence the king's policies.

"Such questions," the king said, "I believe have been always aimed at trying to create suspicions and disunity."

The king said he will be going to Cairo shortly for talks with President Nasser. Observers in Jordan said Hussein will probably ask for wider Arab help in improving relations between his government and the Palestinian guerrilla organizations.

Several times Hussein spoke with praise about the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the main Palestinian political group, and Al Fatah, the largest guerrilla group, headed by Yasser Arafat.

Arafat is also chairman of the PLO executive committee. Both groups are generally considered to be moderate.

Provocative Groups

When referring to left-wing commando calls for him to disband the Jordanian Army special forces, the king described them as "provocative" and said such groups "will have to bear responsibility for them."

"I don't think they will get support for the majority of the people," he said.

Following last week's fighting, the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine demanded—and got—Hussein to fire army commander-in-chief Maj. Gen. Sharif Nasser ben Jamil, the king's uncle, and a cousin, Maj. Gen. Zaid ben Shaker, leader of the Third Armored Division.

He defended both former officers as honorable and patriotic men. "I would like to say that had it not been for their combined efforts with mine, the situation might not

have been as it is today," he said.

Both men were accused by some guerrilla groups of advising the king to crack down on the guerrillas in Jordan. The Jordanian Army has been smarting for some time at the growth of guerrilla power in the small Arab kingdom.

Hussein did not make a direct reference to reports of a mutiny by some army troops, but said there was a morale problem in the ranks of the predominantly Bedouin force.

[George Habash, who heads the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said yesterday in an interview in Beirut's Al Nahar that he did not foresee a possibility that Hussein would abdicate, but if that were to happen, then "we will form a liberated zone, the first of its kind, bordering Israel." He defined the zone as a revolutionary state composed of workers and fighters.]

Threat grows of American intervention in Jordan

Daily World Foreign Department

The threat of U.S. intervention in the Jordan crisis grew on Friday as Washington set up two special task forces to deal with the situation. White House spokesmen said President Richard Nixon was "very much involved" with Jordan and concerned about American residents there.

A flood of reports from "U.S. officials" in Amman, the capital of Jordan, said that Palestinian resistance forces were stealing American cars, raping American women, and that there was "widespread destruction of American property." Later, all these reports were described as "unconfirmed" and "based on fragmentary information."

Administration officials revealed Friday in Washington that the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, had been placed on alert late Thursday as part of emergency plans to deal with the Jordan crisis. The officials denied that the U.S. was on the point of intervening militarily in Jordan.

Marines to the 'rescue'

Also on Thursday, the White House Special Action Group, headed by Henry A. Kissinger,

Nixon's National Security Adviser, and composed of leading State and Defense Department officials, discussed how to use U.S. Marines from the Sixth Fleet to "rescue" the 535 American citizens in Jordan.

But the U.S. State Dept. announced on Friday that an emergency civil airlift would evacuate about 100 U.S. citizens from Jordan to the safety of fascist Greece and that Palestinian forces in Amman had released 84 foreigners they had been holding hostage in two hotels.

A newly-established special task force on Jordan was functioning in the State Dept., headed by former U.S. ambassador to Jordan, Harrison M. Symmes. Symmes is listed in the book, "Who's Who in the CIA" (Berlin, 1968), as being involved in Central Intelligence Agency work

since 1955. His ouster was demanded by Palestinian forces in Jordan last April. They accused Symmes of being a CIA agent and of working closely with Jordan's army and intelligence service to crush resistance groups.

King Hussein of Jordan announced late Thursday night on Radio Amman that he had fired his uncle, Sherif Nasser Ben Jamil, as commander-in-chief of Jordan's armed forces, and was taking over the job himself. Also dismissed by Hussein was Gen. Sherif Zaid Ben Shaker.

The Palestinian resistance had demanded that both be removed from their posts, along with former premier Wasfi Tal and former Jordan intelligence chief Rasul el-Kailani. All four earlier this year were named as those plotting with Symmes and the CIA to put down the resistance.

STATINTL

STATINTL

King of Jordan is urged to oust pro-U.S. plotters

Daily World Foreign Department

Palestinian resistance forces in Jordan yesterday delivered a virtual ultimatum to King Hussein to get rid of pro-U.S. and imperialist elements who have provoked this week's fighting, which has led to an estimated 500 killed.

Hussein said the situation in Amman, the capital, was returning to normal. He made the statement in replying to an appeal from leaders of progressive Arab states.

United Arab Republic President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Libyan revolutionary leader Mu'ammarr al-Qaddafi in Cairo had yesterday appealed to Hussein and Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to stop the fighting.

"The tragic events in Jordan have alarmed the entire Arab people at a moment when it is necessary to unite all forces to halt aggression and liberate Arab lands," Nasser and Qaddafi said.

In a message from Baghdad, Iraqi called for a meeting of all Arab countries on the situation. Iraq has several thousand troops in north Jordan.

Power struggle cited

Despite a cease-fire agreement between Hussein and Arafat, Jordanian "Special Forces" units continued to attack Palestinian refugee camps and resistance bases with tanks and artillery.

Al-Fatah, the largest Palestinian resistance group, headed by Arafat, said yesterday that Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan, together with Jordan Army commander Sherif Jamil Ben Nasser (who is King Hussein's uncle), were attempting to oust Hussein and crush the Palestinians at the same time.

"We would like to know who is really ruling Jordan," an Al-Fatah spokesman said in Amman. "There is a struggle for power by Hassan and those imperialist hirelings against the king. But this struggle for power should not have as its price the blood of our people and our revolution."

U.S. Army attache in Jordan, Maj. Robert P. Perry, was killed



Japan Press Service

Member of Jordanian Communist Party studying Marxism-Leninism is interrupted by young friend.

Wednesday when he was caught in a crossfire.

Members of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," a terrorist group opposed to Al-Fatah, are holding 84 foreigners hostage in Amman's Intercontinental Hotel. William Tuohy of the Los Angeles Times and Jesse Lewis of the Washington Post managed to slip away from the hotel and reach Beirut in Lebanon.

In two previous clashes, one in

1968 and one earlier this spring, the army and Jordanian intelligence had to give way to the Palestinians. Jordan's security chief, Maj.-Gen. Rasul al-Kailani, a friend of the CIA, was ousted. The latest outbreak seems to be an attempt by pro-U.S. forces to regain control.

The last U.S. forces withdrew from Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya yesterday. This leaves the U.S. with no bases of its own in the Mid-East.

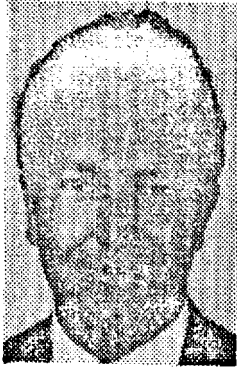
9 JUN 1970

Arabs call off sniping

BEIRUT, Jordan (UPI)—Jordanian Army troops and Arab gunfire around Amman today, just hours after the guerrillas released American diplomat Morris Draper.

Mr. Draper, 42, first secretary and political officer at the embassy, was seized at a roadblock near Beirut just after a bloody battle Sunday between the Jordanian Army and commandos of the left wing Popular Democratic Front.

More than 100 people, including women and



Mr. Draper

children, were killed or wounded. This was the most serious clash between the army and the guerrillas since the country was brought to the brink of civil war in February.

CEASE-FIRE

Today's fighting ended with a cease-fire announced by Amman Radio. Guerrilla sources said the fight started when Jordanian troops attacked the headquarters of the Palestinian Army Struggle Command, the Arab guerrilla coordinating body.

Arab Commandos sealed many roads and seemed to control several districts of Amman at the time of the ceasefire.

A spokesman said guerrillas turned back to Amman King Hussein's motorcade which was headed for Zarqa, 20 miles northeast of the city and the scene of Sunday's battle.

Most of today's shooting was concentrated around the prison belonging to the Jordanian

intelligence service. The cultural attache of the French embassy, Yves Aubyn, was shot three times in the back. His condition is serious.

The U. S. embassy was guarded like an armed camp. Embassy officials said on the telephone that Mr. Draper was back at work today.

The kidnapers had said they would hold Mr. Morris until 40 commandos arrested after Sunday's fighting were released.

The guerrillas accused the American political officer of being the "chief plotter in the area," and said that Sunday's fighting was fomented by the Central Intelligence Agency and its "local agents."

The kidnaping was a direct undermining of the authority of King Hussein, who avoided civil war last February only by a complete backdown.

JUN 1970

Arabs Seize, Free U.S. Aide in Jordan

From News Dispatches

AMMAN, Jordan, June 8—The second-ranking U.S. diplomat in Jordan was kidnaped last night by an Arab guerrilla group which said it planned to use him as a hostage in a new dispute with Jordanian authorities. He was released unharmed today.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman in Amman said Morris

Draper, 42, head of the embassy's political section, apparently had not been ill-treated during the time he was held by the Marxist Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The guerrilla group had planned to hold him until Jordan's government met certain demands. But a spokesman for the guerrilla group said that Draper had been released "on orders of the Palestine Armed Struggle Command," the guerrilla-coordination body, despite the fact that the demands had not been met.

Reportedly, the demands had included release of a number of guerrillas captured by Jordan in weekend clashes and, according to one report, dismissal of two high-ranking army officers. The officers are Sherif Nasser ben Jamil, the commander in chief, who is an uncle of King Hussein, and Ali ben Nayef, commander of the special forces who were involved in the clashes.

Draper's release on orders of the Palestine Armed Struggle Command would be the first indication that the new guerrilla coordinating group, bringing together militants and more moderate elements of the Palestine movement, is able to control the actions of combat-oriented groups such as the Popular Front.

Draper has been in Amman since June, 1968. As first secretary of the embassy, he ranks second to charge d'affaires Harry I. Odell in the absence of an ambassador. The U.S. ambassador to Jordan, Harrison Symes, was withdrawn at the request of

King Hussein after the cancellation of the planned April visit to Jordan of Joseph Sisco, assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs.

Jesse W. Lewis Jr., of The Washington Post Foreign Service, reported from Beirut:

Two guerrilla groups claimed responsibility for the kidnaping of Draper: the Marxist-oriented Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Central Committee of the Militia, a body formed recently to police the guerrilla ranks.

There was no word as to where Draper had been held during the 24 hours he was missing, or of the circumstances of his release. Other details are also unclear.

However, an American embassy official in Beirut said that Draper had been on his way to a dinner party in the Jebel Ashrifiya section of Amman when he was stopped at a guerrilla roadblock and picked up.

The official said that the guerrillas' demands "apparently were dropped," but he added that there "may have been" some deal worked out between the guerrillas and the Jordanians concerning the release of the prisoners.

Draper's kidnaping follows clashes over the weekend between guerrillas and the Jordanian army during which 50 persons were reported killed or injured. The fighting took place in Zerka, a village 12 miles northeast of Amman, in the capital's outskirts.

The kidnaping also follows charges by the Cairo-based radio of Al Fatah that the Central Intelligence Agency and the American embassy in Amman "instigated" the fighting between the guerrillas and the army.

Meanwhile in Beirut the Marxist Popular Democratic Front, a small guerrilla group, said that it was holding several Jordanian soldiers as hostages for the release of detained commandos.

BOSTON, MASS.
GLOBE

M - 237,967

S - 566,377

MAY 3 1970

Guerrillas, Jordanians in battle

Reuters

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Two Palestinian commandos and eight civilians were wounded yesterday during a 10-hour battle between commandos and Jordanian troops, the Palestine Armed Struggle Command announced last night.

The command said a commando unit was on its way to attack a target in Israel when it was intercepted and fired on by Jordanian troops.

The statement said the Jordanian troops used tanks, artillery and machine guns during the fighting in the vicinity of Northern Shunch in the Jordan Valley. Three houses were destroyed.

The two wounded commandos were taken prisoner by the Jordanian forces who refused to return them, the statement said.

The statement, issued by the command here, said the clash started as the commandos headed north toward the Israeli settlement of Nahareim to blow up a new reservoir.

The statement said the Jordanian action was proof that certain army commanders were "persisting in their plot against the Palestine revolution."

It called on Jordanian soldiers — "comrades in arms" — to stand against the conspirators to prevent the army being turned into a force for the protection of enemy settlements and installations.

The statement said the commando unit was traveling by car when Jordanian troops stationed in the area intercepted it and opened fire. The commandos returned the fire.

The Jordanian local commander was asked to allow a Palestine Armed Struggle Command vehicle to approach to arrange a ceasefire. But when the car drew near, it was fired upon and its driver wounded, the statement alleged.

It went on to say that Jordanian troops refused to hand over two wounded commandos to their colleagues and "opened fire on an ambulance which arrived at the scene to pick up the injured."

The clash was the first major incident between the commandos and the Jordanian army since the February crises in which more than 80 persons were believed to have been killed.

A secret agreement ended the crisis, which erupted while Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization's executive committee, was on a visit to Moscow.

But on Thursday the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine said that along with other commando organizations it had foiled a plot, perpetrated in Jordan, to liquidate the Palestine resistance movement and assassinate its leaders. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was said to be involved.

At a press conference in Beirut, a spokesman for the front charged that Maj Gen Sherif Nasser Ben Jamil, commander in chief of the armed forces

and King Hussein's uncle, was the man responsible for the alleged plot.

Asked why Fatah had not participated in announcing the alleged plot, the spokesman said this was for purely technical reasons and because it was uncovered by the popular front.

The leaders said to have been marked for assassination were named as George Habash, the front's leader, and Arafat.

Yacoub Ziadin, a leading Communist, was to have been abducted.

WASHINGTON
DAILY NEWS

29 APR 1970

Henry J. Taylor / Mideast alarm



SHOCKED by Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco's secret report on the Mideast emergence of fanatical Palestine Arab Yasser Arafat, President Nixon now confronts an added question in that part of the pressure-cooker world.

On July 12, 1968, I revealed for the first time that President Johnson had privately advised his policy intimates that the explosive Middle East problem alarmed him even more than the Vietnam war. Seeing this at the time I published it, Mr. Nixon told me that he felt the same. Mr. Nixon now feels still further alarmed. For, behind the scenes, fiery-eyed Arafat has visited Moscow.

Communist Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev quietly invited him to the Kremlin, not only as the leader of Al Fatah, the largest Arab guerrilla commando group, but as the leader of the all-encompassing United Commando Command thru-out the Arab world.

ARAFAT, alais Abu Ammar, has now made his headquarters in Amman, Jordan's capital. He sits in a shabby room with an automatic rifle on the table in front of him. He is guarded even more heavily than Castro by what he calls his "armed militia" in camouflaged uniforms.

His second leader is former Syrian diplomat Ahmed Shukairy. Next comes George Habeche, a Palestinian who became a doctor in Lebanon. Habeche has all but taken over the Palestinian Red crescent, affiliated to the International Red Cross in Geneva. Moreover, he has now made a special arrangement with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to Hospitalize Arafat's

most seriously wounded commandos and they are being sent there. Habeche himself is away from Amman at the moment and is believed to be in Red China.

Arafat shuns all know U. S. diplomats, and was the power behind King Hussein's recent demand for recall of American Ambassador Harrison M. Symmes from Jordan and is similarly pressing the Lebanese government for the recall of Ambassador Dwight J. Porter. But in a piece of remarkable planning by CIA Director Richard M. Helms, his undercover agents have penetrated Arafat's circle, a true coup.

ARAFAT is proving evasive about the results of his Kremlin visit, saying only that "the hearts there are warm and the snow is cold." He clearly got recognition, however, as a power thruout the Arab world in his own right, pendent of the Arab governments.

Arafat feels that, except perhaps for the Soviet Union, the outside world "is living in the past, still tied to the power-balance days of the 1956 Suez crisis. But now our movement makes reliance on any Mideast governments totally unworkable."

Altho Arafat teaches his immense number of followers to hate Zionism and not individual Jews, he insists that "we can lose two, three, four times over. The Israelis can lose only once."

President Nixon is convinced that the United Commando Command is far along in an Arab world revolution. And now Brezhnev's injection of the Soviet Union into the revolutionists' good graces raises the further question: The U.S.S.R. already has a Mideast Castro in Nasser. Is it to have, with Arafat, another who— even better—ignites the Arab world?