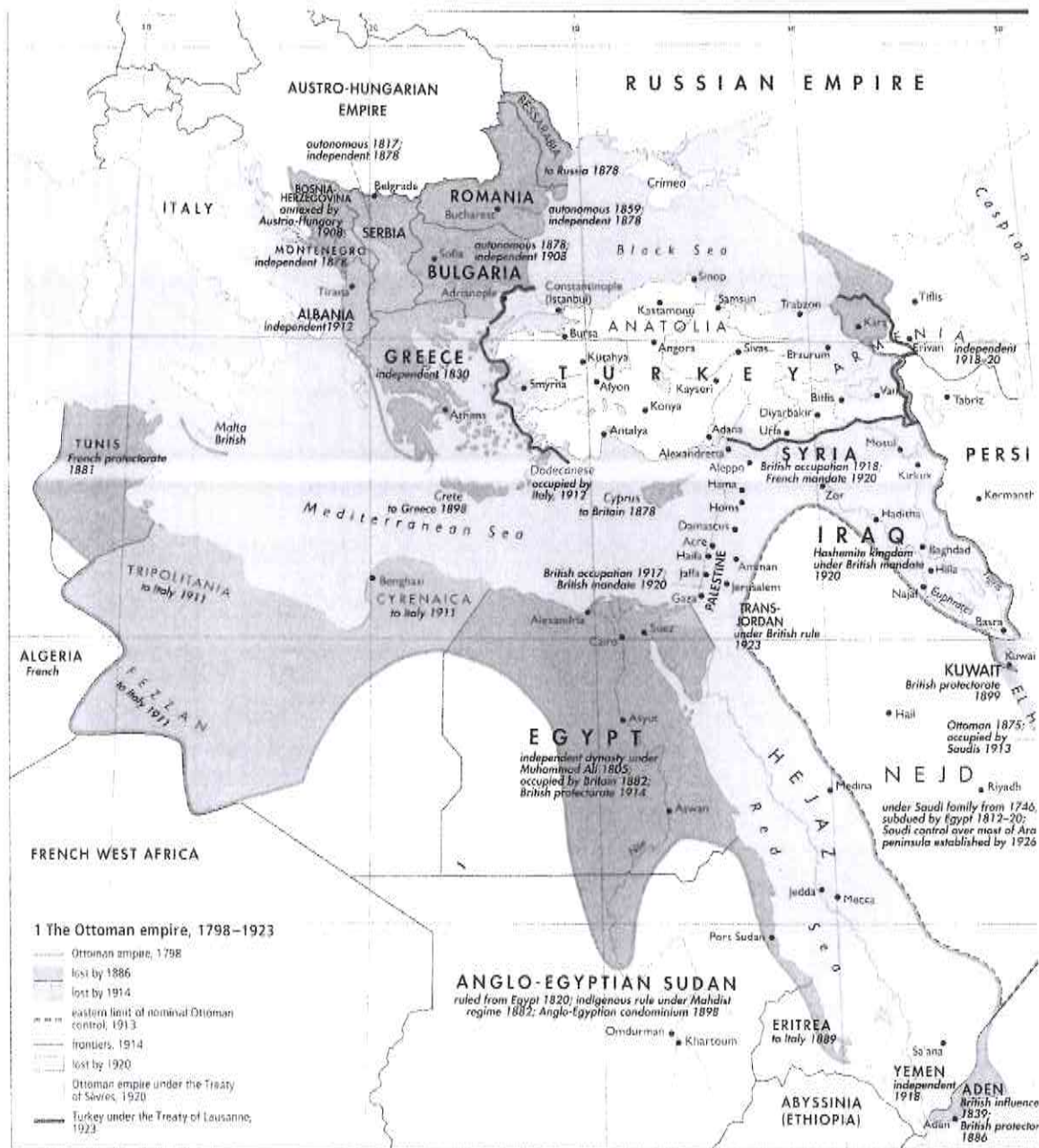


## Appendix I: Map of the Ottoman Empire (1798 – 1923)

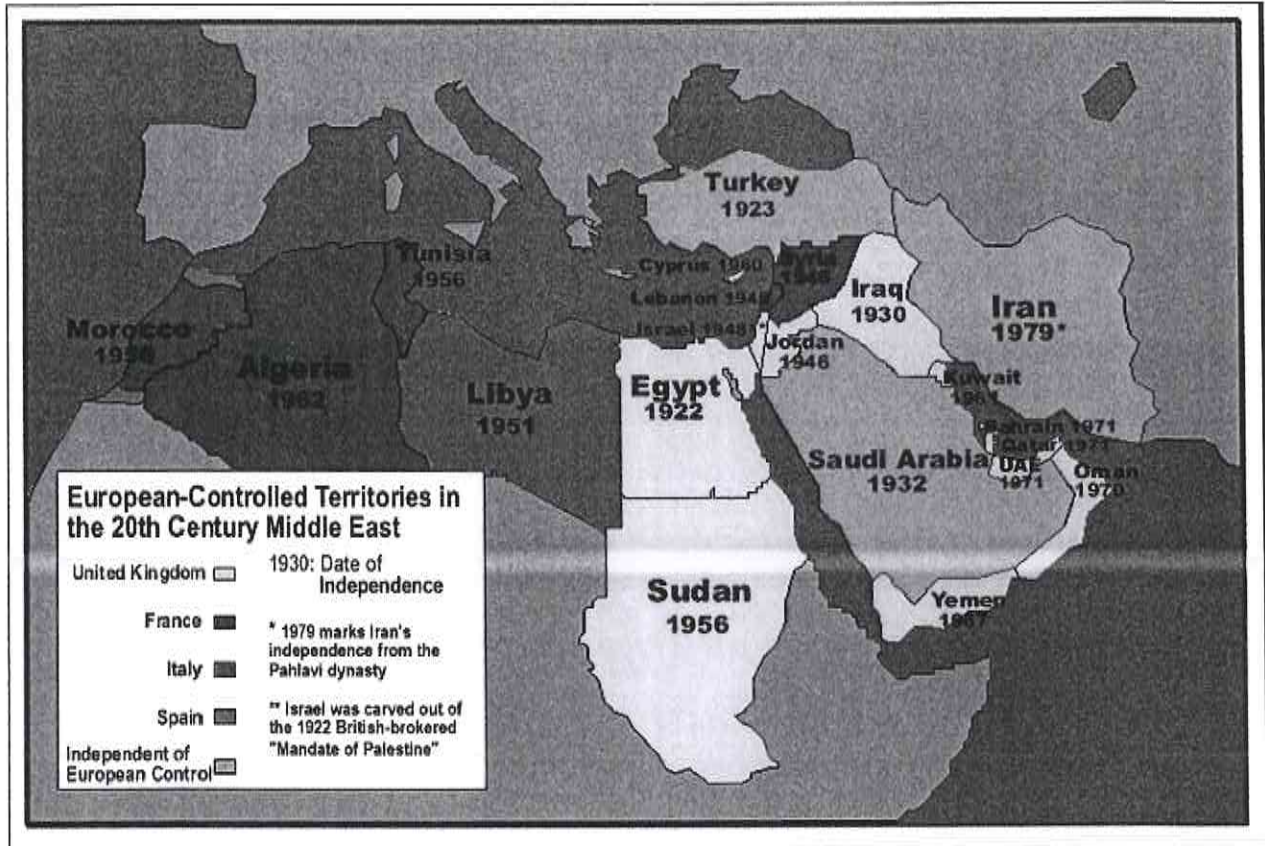
This map shows the territories of the Ottoman Empire that broke apart from Turkey as a result of World War I: namely Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria (including Lebanon), Iraq, and parts of Yemen and the Hejaz (which later became part of Saudi Arabia). Other parts of the Middle East had broken apart from the Ottoman Empire in earlier years.



The map is part of the World Statesmen.org encyclopedia of the leaders of nations and territories collection and can be found at: <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Ottoman.jpg>.

## Appendix II: Map of the Middle East after World War I

This map shows the political map of the Middle East as it was drawn up by the European powers after World War I. The map shows which countries were under British, French and Italian control and lists the years in which they became independent.



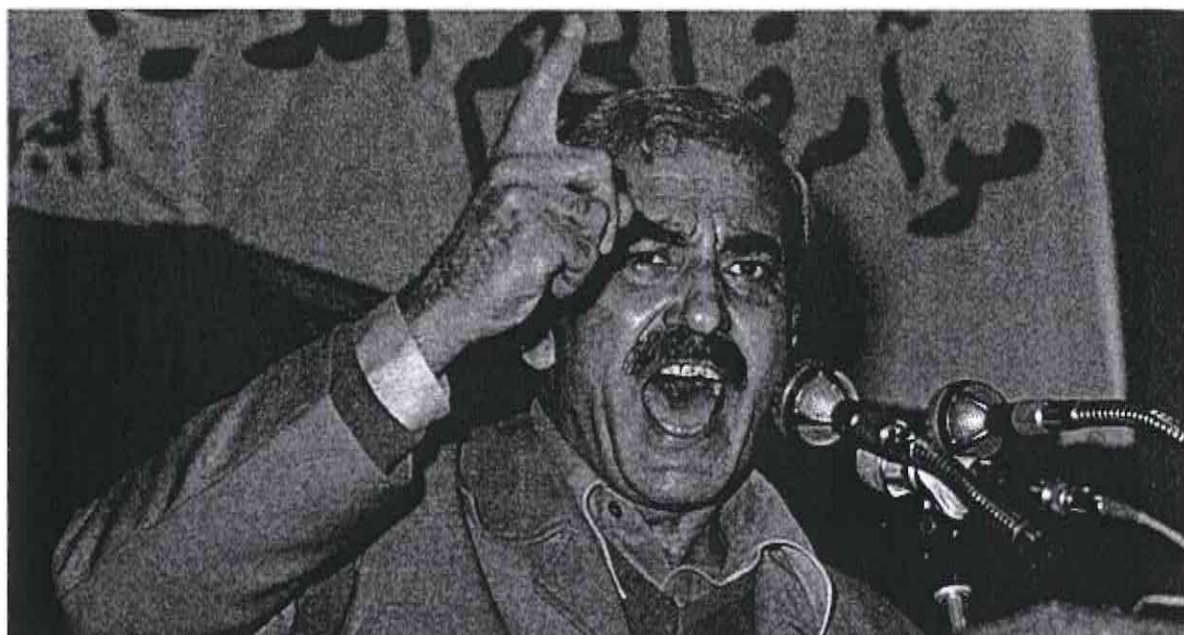
This map was created by David Poell and can be found at the University of Notre Dame OpenCourseware site <http://ocw.nd.edu/arabic-and-middle-east-studies/islamic-societies-of-the-middle-east-and-north-africa-religion-history-and-culture/lectures/lecture-4/?searchterm=None> as part of the information for a lecture entitled "Modern Period: The Rise of Colonial Interests in the Middle East."

**Appendix III: Map of Jordan, Israel and the West Bank**



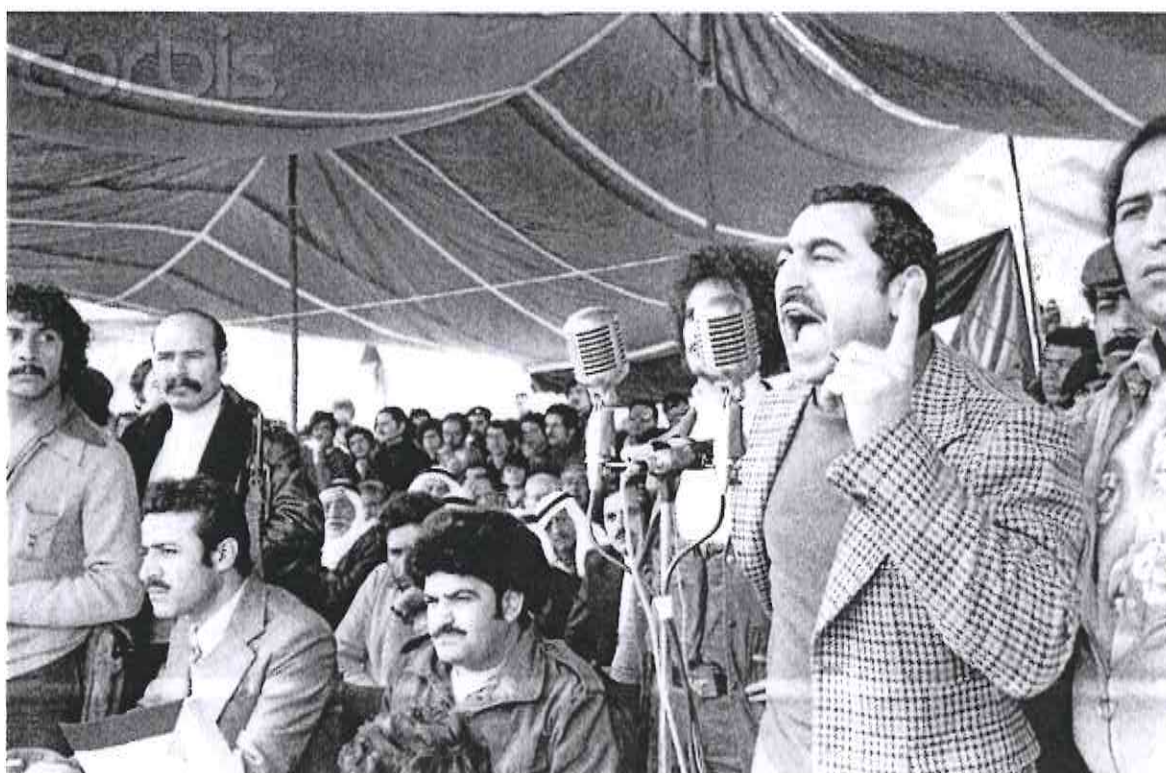
This map was taken from the InventorSpot website at [http://inventorspot.com/articles/israeli\\_peace\\_canal\\_7827](http://inventorspot.com/articles/israeli_peace_canal_7827) (accessed March 4, 2012). It shows Jordan, Israel and the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

**Appendix IV: Pictures of George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh**



Vaetan/Associated Press

George Habash, founder of the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine, delivering a speech in Beirut after he was expelled from Jordan. Picture was taken from the New York Times [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/middleeast/27habash.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/middleeast/27habash.html?_r=1) (accessed March 15, 2012).



Nayef Hawatmeh, founder of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, delivering a speech in Beirut after he was expelled from Jordan. From Corbis Images. <http://www.corbisimages.com/stock-photo/rights-managed/42-18355181/christmas-palestinian-meeting> (accessed March 15, 2012).

## Appendix V: The PFLP and DFLP Organizational Logos



The Logo for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The red circle symbolizes the group's Marxist-Leninist heritage. Inside the red circle is the first letter of the PFLP's name in Arabic transformed into an arrow pointing from the outside Arab world (especially Jordan) to Palestine symbolizing the need to liberate the Arab countries as a step toward the liberation of Palestine and then unity of the Arab world.



The Logo for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The five pointed red star was frequently used by Marxist groups and symbolized the group's strong adherence to Marxism. The map of Palestine within the star symbolizes the quest to liberate Palestine with the two olive branches denoting reconciliation and victory. The DFLP, unlike most other Palestinian factions, worked to unite and reconcile with Israeli Marxist groups to liberate both Arabs and Jews from what they saw as the oppressive pro-Western Israeli government.

The logos were taken from the website of the Anti-Defamation League. "International Terrorist Symbols Database" <http://www.adl.org/terrorism/symbols/> (accessed March 14, 2012).

**Appendix VI: Scenes From Karameh After the Battle of March 21, 1968**

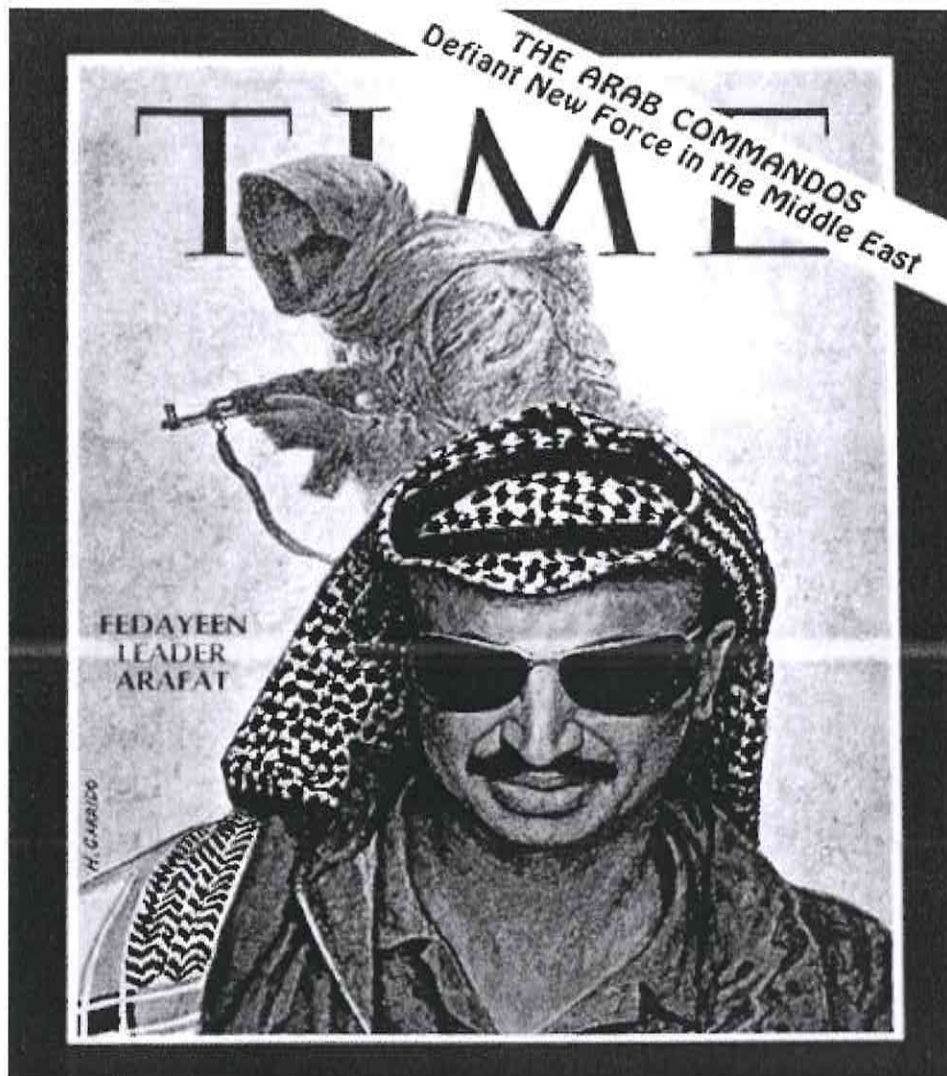


A picture showing some of the destruction that took place during the Battle of Karameh. Picture was taken by the Jordanian military and reprinted and taken from <http://mannaismaya.adventure.com/2011/09/27/> (accessed on March 8, 2012).



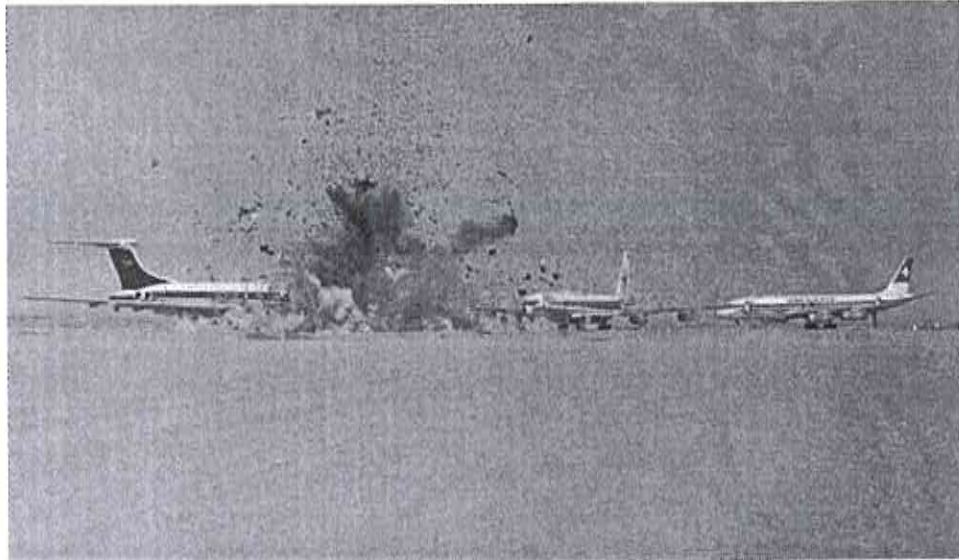
King Hussein (in the middle) along with Jordanian soldiers inspecting an Israeli tank destroyed during the Battle of Karameh. This is a Corbis/Beltman picture taken from <http://www.corbisimages.com/stock-photo/rights-managed/U1587127/king-hussein-inspecting-a-tank?popup=1> (accessed March 8, 2012).

Appendix VII: Picture of Yasser Arafat on Cover of Time Magazine, Dec. 13, 1968



The December 13, 1968 cover of Time Magazine featured a picture of Yasser Arafat, the leader of Fatah.

**Appendix VIII: Picture of Hijacked Planes Being Blown Up in Jordan on Sept. 12, 1970**



The Planes hijacked by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine on September 6, 1970 and taken to Dawson's Field in Jordan are shown here being blown up on Sept. 12. This is a POPPERFOTO/GETTY IMAGE taken from the Telegraph <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/worldnews/6890490/Terrorism-in-the-sky-four-decades-of-plane-hijackings-and-bombings.html> (accessed March 9, 2012).

**Appendix IX: Picture of Yasser Arafat Receiving a Standing Ovation at the UN, 1974**



This photo shows PLO leader Yasser Arafat receiving a standing ovation when he called for a peaceful resolution of the Palestine-Israel dispute in a November 13, 1974 speech at the United Nations in New York. The photo was taken from an article originally in the Ha'aretz newspaper and reprinted on the Elders of Zion website <http://elderofzion.blogspot.com/2011/11/us-state-dept-arafat-was-behind-1973.html> (accessed March 14, 2012).

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Personal Interviews

Emoush, Shahira El-. Interview with author. Austin, Texas. January 24, 2012.

*Shahira Al-Emoush is a Palestinian who married into a prominent Jordanian tribal family. She explained to me the demographic situation in Jordan with the differences between the Palestinians and Jordanians in the country. She explained that Jordan was originally inhabited only by Bedouin tribes with very small urban settlements such as the city of Salt. Only when Palestinian merchants and later refugees started coming into Jordan did the capital city of Amman become large. She noted that the majority of people living in Amman are Palestinians and that Palestinians are concentrated almost solely in urban areas. My interview with Ms. Al-Emoush helped me understand the demographics of Jordan and thus provided an important context for understanding what led to the revolutionary ferment of the late 1960s and the 1970 civil war.*

Hussein, Jamal. Interview with author. Houston, Texas. December 24, 2011.

*Jamal Hussein was a Palestinian high school student living in Amman, Jordan in the late 1960s. He is currently an engineer living in Texas. He explained to me the frustrations and disenchantment that those of his generation had with respect to the Arab leaders, especially the kings in Jordan and the Gulf and the hopes and aspirations that many of them placed in the Palestinian revolutionary movements, which they believed would liberate not only Palestine but would also overthrow the monarchies, unite the Arab world, and bring about the kind of change that would make the Arab world economically and militarily strong. He said that the overwhelming majority of Palestinian youth in Jordan in the late 1960s felt that living under a monarchical regime was an "anachronistic embarrassment" and at the time very few people thought that King Hussein would remain king for very long.*

Khawaldeh, Abduraof Al-. Interview with author. Houston, Texas. December 24, 2011.

*Abduraof Al-Khawaldeh is from a prominent Jordanian tribe and served in the Jordanian air force. He was a very young child in 1970 but does recollect that at the time, Jordanians serving in the armed forces used to be scared to walk in the streets of Amman wearing their military uniforms because of the Palestinian roadblocks. He also said that he recalls some Jordanians who disappeared during the late 1960s when the Palestinian revolutionaries had established a de facto state within the Jordanian state. Mr. Al-Khawaldeh notes that while the vast majority of Jordanians supported the Palestinian struggle for independence and that many of them agreed that the monarchy in Jordan needed to be reformed,*

*there was also a widespread belief that the Palestinian revolutionaries had gone to an extreme and that by 1970 the actions taken to put an end to their excesses was welcomed in most Jordanian quarters. The interview provided me with an excellent insight into what is meant by a state-within-a-state and what Jordanians actually felt in Amman when the Palestinian revolutionaries were at the height of their power.*

### **Online or Printed Speeches and Interviews**

Abdel Nasser, Gamal. Television broadcast announcing his resignation. June 9, 1967. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JshfnSfHL28&feature=related> (accessed January 15, 2012).

*This broadcast just after the humiliating Arab defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war shows a defeated Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser offering his resignation to the Egyptian people. While Nasser did not ultimately resign, the broadcast and the admission of responsibility for the defeat underscored the kind of humiliation faced by all the leaders of the Arab states who had repeatedly failed to stop Israeli advances in the region. The 1967 war was especially humiliating as it led to the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights.*

Abu Daoud, Interview from "PLO: History of a Revolution Part I: Masters of their Own Destiny." *Al-Jazeera*. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGC\\_hHii1jo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGC_hHii1jo) (accessed November 20, 2011).

*Abu Daoud was a leading member of Fatah. In this interview on an al-Jazeera produced documentary he discusses the early years of the PLO, how the organization was established with the goal of being a tool in the hands of the Arab states but was soon won over by the guerrilla factions, most notably Fatah. Abu Daoud's interview provides an important insider account of the way the PLO was viewed by Palestinian resistance fighters before they were able to take leadership over it.*

Abu Sharif, Bassam. Interview from "Dr. George Habash - Hakeem al-Thawra." *al-Jazeera*. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pl6BOBoq6Pg&feature=related> (accessed January 4, 2012).

*Bassam Abu Sharif was a former leading member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. In this interview on an al-Jazeera produced documentary about the life of George Habash, Abu Sharif explains how Marxist ideas began spreading among the Palestinian youth in the late 1960s and became the official ideology of the PFLP and other Palestinian groups. This interview enabled me to see how one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement described the objectives, methodology and ideology of the revolution.*

Arafat, Yasser. Interview, August 1969. Reprinted in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (ed.). *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008, 135-139.

*This interview with the leader of the PLO in late 1969 underscores the feelings many Palestinians had at the time that their movement was the most progressive force in the Arab world. Arafat openly stated that he hoped not only to liberate Palestine but also to actively participate in any struggle anywhere in the Arab world aiming at establishing a more progressive society. He also said that the Palestinians welcomed aid from leftist movements and states throughout the world as part of the international struggle against oppression. The interview provided me with the clearest proof that even Arafat and Fatah, while not espousing Marxism, needed to use leftist slogans to maintain credibility with the Palestinian youth in the late 1960s.*

\_\_\_\_\_. address at UN General Assembly, Nov. 13, 1974. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQrbPhrPJ7I> (accessed January 21, 2012).

*In this conciliatory speech before the UN General Assembly, Arafat made a famous statement that he was holding out an olive branch of peace to Israel. The language in this address contrasts markedly from the language in his August, 1969 interview. The words of the speech and the manner by which it was delivered do not convey the kind of revolutionary posture that the PLO had adopted in its earlier years, underscoring the transformations that had taken place within the Palestinian national movement after the failed revolution in Jordan.*

Habash, George. Speech. Amman, Jordan, September 1970. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XaP-7U1FCIA> (accessed March 2, 2012).

*This video recounts the text of the speech George Habash, the leader of the PFLP, made to the hostages whom were taken off the airplanes that his organization hijacked in September, 1970. In his speech, Habash recounted how King Hussein of Jordan was working to thwart the Palestinian movement and why the Palestinians felt justified in taking hostages as a means of overthrowing King Hussein. The speech of George Habash helped me understand the thinking of the person most responsible for the revolutionary ferment of the late 1960s as well as his rationale for attempting to remove the Jordanian Monarch as part of a larger movement to liberate Palestine.*

### **Official Documents**

Central Committee of Fatah. "Fatah: the Seven Points," January, 1969. Reprinted in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (ed.). *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008, 130.

*These seven points passed by Fatah in 1969 compared the Palestinian struggle to the struggle of the Vietnamese and noted that it was part of an international struggle against colonialism. Hints of the kind of revolutionary ideology that was more pronounced in the writings of the PFLP can be found in this Fatah document underscoring the leftist nature of Fatah in the late 1960s.*

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). *The Economic Development of Jordan: Report of a Mission Organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the Request of the Government of Jordan*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1957.

*This IBRD report provides statistical evidence of how the Palestinian businessmen who had come to Jordan after 1948 brought considerable financial resources with them and that with other Palestinian merchants who had come to Jordan even earlier, controlled most of the financial resources in the country in the 1950s. The report provides strong data backing the contention that the Palestinians formed the commercial and economic elite in Jordan and helped me understand some of the underlying economic tensions between Palestinians and Jordanians in Jordan.*

Palestine National Council. "The Palestinian National Charter," July 1968. Reprinted in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (ed.). *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008, 117-121.

*This document helped me understand the thinking of the Palestinian leadership at the time when they were the most revolutionary. The Charter declared that armed struggle was the only way to liberate Palestine.*

Palestine National Council. "Resolutions," June, 1974. Reprinted in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (ed.). *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008, 162-163.

*These resolutions used different language and tone than the resolutions of 1968. Reading the actual text of the resolutions and comparing them to previous resolutions helped me to understand the transformation in thought that had taken place within the leading Palestinian institution before and after the failed revolution in Jordan.*

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. "PFLP Platform," 1969. Reprinted in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (ed.). *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008, 139-142.

*This document clearly showed me the revolutionary nature of the PFLP ideology. The platform discusses class war, revolutionary theory, and the benefits of guerrilla struggle over conventional war. The platform helped me understand the ideology of the PFLP and how that ideology led it to take the kinds of actions it*