official versions have repeated ever since (cf. Al-Hut 1981: 381–82). Today the event is generally celebrated as a great moment of national unity when all differences were put aside in the interests of the fight with the common enemy. When remembered in this way, it perhaps conveys current popular desires for an end to political squabbling among PLO factions. The story also reflects the interests of the Fatah-led nationalist mainstream, which resolutely excludes social ideology and programs—which might occasion disunity—from its platforms and stresses an exclusively nationalist political line. People who recounted this tale—I heard it many times during my stay in the West Bank—usually said that men put on the *kufiya* spontaneously or obeyed the order freely and "forgot" that rebel fighters often imposed it by force upon reluctant effendis.

But I did hear some accounts of this event with a subaltern inflection. One was related by a Palestinian friend from Nazareth, whose grandmother told him that peddlers hawking *kufiyas* in the streets of Nazareth during the fall of 1938 chanted: "Hatta, hatta bi 'ashr 'urush / In'al abu illi labis tarbush" (Hatta, *hatta* for ten qurush [piastres] / Damn those who wear the *tarbush*). Another friend, Sami Kilani, related another anecdote which he heard while in jail in the late 1970s. One of his cellmates, an elderly peasant serving time for "security offenses," had fought in the struggles of 1936–39. Abu Muhammad made his younger comrades chuckle when he told them about what happened after the order was issued to put on the *kufiya*. The urban effendis, who often didn't know how to wear it, were unable to keep the symbol of the nation from slipping off their heads.

The *kufiya*—and the *fallah* as well—once again became national symbols in the mid-sixties, with the rise of the fedayeen, the Palestinian guerilla fighter.[13] When the Palestinian national movement was reborn in the mid-to-late sixties, the guerillas took up the *kufiya* as their sartorial emblem. The adoption of the peasant and his black-and-white checkered *kufiya* as nationalist signifiers represented an attempt to recall earlier struggles and to give the national movement a popular dimension. (It was also at this time that, thanks to the spectacle of hijackings, the Western mind began to associate the *kufiya* with "terrorism.")

But as the leadership of the Palestinian national liberation movement gradually took on a more respectable, middle-class and bureaucratic cast, and as diplomacy began to take precedence over