

Newsletter

Issue No. 22

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1994

Post-DOP Palestine When the Cairo talks between the PLO and Israel got underway in October 1993 for the purpose of working out the details of the Declaration of Principles (DOP) (signed in Washington the previous month) things seemed to be moving in a modestly smooth direction. The PLO Central Committee ratified the DOP in Tunis on October 11 and elected Yasser Arafat head of the newly created Palestinian National Authority (PNA) for Jericho and Gaza. On October 12, Israel announced that it would allow 5,000 exiled Palestinians to return to their homes each year and free "a significant number of prisoners." It released 700 women, elderly men and teenagers it had imprisoned for throwing stones and also relaxed some of the travel restrictions, imposed in March 1993, on Palestinians seeking to travel to Jerusalem from other parts of the West Bank and Gaza. But the situation in the Occupied Territories (OTs) soon overshadowed these initial moves.

Beginning in October, Israel intensified repressive operations against the population of the OTs, including provocative and massive raids using helicopters and anti-tank missiles against homes in Gaza. In November, two top Hamas commanders were killed in such operations prompting some of the most massive resistance and repression since the beginning of the Intifada, with many Palestinians being wounded and several killed. (As of mid-January, 56 Palestinians and 20 Israelis had been killed since the signing of the DOP, including a 70 year old woman killed by Israeli settlers as she picked olives in a West Bank grove.)

While the authorities announced they would limit searches for activists in return for Palestinian efforts to restore calm, the army killed three activists in an ambush -- one of whom had earlier surrendered to authorities as part of the confidence-building measures

emerging from the Cairo negotiations. Tensions were exacerbated in December by violent Israeli settler activity against Palestinians, as well as Palestinian attacks on soldiers and settlers. Israel sent thousands of additional troops into the OTs on December 8. In response to settler attacks, the army received orders on December 16 to take "strong action" against law-breaking settlers including arrest and the use of curfews. Meanwhile former chief rabbi Shlomo Goren urged soldiers to disobey orders to remove or restrict settlers. Post-DOP Palestine seemed little different -- and in some respects worse -- than Palestine before September 1993.

Business as Usual in the OTs One indication of this was continued Israeli land confiscation. At year's end the Palestine Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC) revealed that of nearly 15,000 acres taken in the West Bank in 1993, some 11,500 acres had been confiscated after the DOP signing with 9,000 acres taken in December alone. A Foundation for Middle East Peace report also indicated that a greater portion of government-financed housing was under construction in the OTs (excluding East Jerusalem) during the first 9 months of the administration of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin than at the height of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's. Of the 8,290 housing units started under Rabin, 18.6% were located in the OTs while only 10.8% of the 61,600 starts under Shamir were in the OTs.

Within days of the December 13 deadline for removal of Israeli forces from Gaza and Jericho, a cornerstone was laid for Modi'in -- a new Israeli city to be built near Jerusalem on confiscated Palestinian land. Israel is also expanding several settlements around Arab East Jerusalem, continues to give settlers grants of up to \$18,000 each in 76 West Bank settlements and has designated additional areas "nature preserves" thus preventing Palestinian construction there. The Rabin government is spending \$660 million on a road system that will connect settlements in the OTs with 1948 Israel and by-pass Palestinian towns and villages. A February 1994 PHRIC report shows how Rabin has disguised Israel's settlement policy as part of its overall economic and development plan (the "Sheves Plan"), revealing the duplicity in Israeli claims to have

instituted a "settlement freeze". The government remains intent on plans to erase the "green line" between Israel and the West Bank, "cantonize" Palestinian population centers and cut off East Jerusalem from the West Bank through the network of new roads.

Settlers Running Amuck Exacerbating the situation has been a significant organized effort by Israeli settlers to wreck any possibility for Palestinian autonomy. There were repeated violent rampages by settlers in November. After Palestinian assailants killed two settlers in separate attacks, settlers in Hebron and Gaza went on rampages, vandalizing shops and homes, destroying greenhouses, closing roads and wounding some 40 Palestinians. Palestinian leader Faisal Husseini of Jerusalem called for international protection of Palestinians in the OTs in the days after the settler riots but settler attacks persisted in December when three Palestinians were killed at settler-erected roadblocks.

Even Rabin found it necessary in November to warn settlers that the army would act to halt their "disturbances." Army units had to declare "closed military areas" in Gaza off limits to settlers to allow Palestinian students safe passage to their schools while Zvi Katzover, a leader of the Kiryat Arba settlement, ominously warned that the days of "Jewish terrorist action were close" and was quoted in an Israeli newspaper telling a senior Israeli army officer that it was not inconceivable that "a settler would take a gun, enter an Arab village and slaughter 30 to 40 Arabs."

Fits and Starts in Cairo Meanwhile the PLO/Israel talks in Cairo stalled over the questions of control of border crossings, the size of the Palestinian autonomous zones and especially Israel's interpretation of the word *withdrawal* -- by which the Palestinians mean *evacuation* and which the Israelis mean *redeployment* of forces to inside their settlements in the OTs and, therefore, the continued presence of large numbers of soldiers in the autonomous zones. This caused the Palestinian negotiating team to walk out of the talks bringing U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to the region where he shuttled to numerous meetings with Arafat, Rabin, and Egyptian President Mubarak. The PLO's insistence that Israel

abide by the December 13 deadline to evacuate its forces from Gaza and Jericho was rejected by Israel and Christopher defended the Israeli position. Arafat then met both Israeli Foreign Minister Peres and Rabin to urge them to honor the deadline but to no avail. It wasn't until late December when Israel and PLO negotiators prepared to resume talks in Cairo that progress was reported. Talks resumed in January and by early February both sides initialed agreements on several issues including settlements, supervision of border crossings and control of tourist sites. Israel, with U.S. backing has been able to flaunt the agreed-upon deadlines and essentially impose its interpretation of the DOP.

A "Deranged Individual" (+ 15,000) In a 1988 interview with the *Multinational Monitor*, Baruch Goldstein, the Brooklyn-born physician and Kiryat Arba (near Hebron) settler stated:

"People say you can't live with the Arabs, and you can't keep so many soldiers here permanently, so the solution is coexistence. I say the land belongs to us, and the Arabs don't belong to us, so the land we should keep. The Arabs we should let go. I think it's feasible to do so. Militarily it's no problem... I'm not looking to punish the Arabs. I'm looking to rid ourselves of this danger, and any way that's possible, I think it should be done... Will the world accept us driving them out? Eventually we're going to have to drive them out or we'll be driven out. Either one or the other."

In the very early morning of February 25 Goldstein, dressed in his army reserve uniform, arrived at the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, strolled past the Israeli soldiers "guarding" the mosque and forced his way past an unarmed Palestinian guard who tried to stop him from entering. Inside the mosque, hundreds of Palestinian worshipers were performing dawn prayers for the holy month of Ramadan. Goldstein, with possibly one or two other settlers, then opened fire, murdering more than 40 and wounding some 200 before he was overpowered and killed.

Contrary to President Clinton's characterization of Goldstein as a "deranged individual," settlers like him operate in a political, social and military context methodically constructed by official Israeli policy since

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1967. This context has evolved to the point where settlers are armed, required to perform military reserve duty in the OTs, permitted to detain Palestinians without a warrant, participate in a regional "defense" network under their own "civil guard" command and are trained and equipped to conduct military operations. In 1988, then Defense Minister Rabin authorized settlers to shoot Arabs holding petrol bombs or if they were in any "imminent danger" of attack. This is all a formalized part of the Israeli "defense" matrix under which settlers are allowed to act independently of the army.

Goldstein's Kiryat Arba settlement is not just a stronghold of the late Meir Kahane's racist Kach party but is also the headquarters of the 15,000-strong messianic settler movement known as Gush Emunim, known for its violent anti-Palestinian activities. One Gush leader, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, served ten weeks in prison in 1990 for the unprovoked killing of a Palestinian merchant in Hebron. It was disciples of Levinger who during the 1980s placed bombs in the cars of three Palestinian mayors who were maimed, sprayed the Islamic College in Hebron with machine gun fire killing three students, firebombed houses and a soccer stadium, tossed grenades into churches and mosques, and tried to dynamite five buses full of Palestinian passengers and the al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock Mosques in Jerusalem. Those arrested for these deeds served fewer than seven years in prison. Convicted settlers, after receiving pardons from the Israeli president, were reintegrated into settler military patrols in the OTs.

It is official Israeli policy -- not the work of a "deranged individual" -- that enables thousands of such terrorists to continue their activities. The Israeli police superintendent of Hebron, Meir Tayar, told the commission investigating the massacre: "Even if I had been there, I would not have been able to do anything ...The order was if...a Jewish settler shoots his gun, even in the street...toward locals...it is forbidden to shoot at him..." Major General Danny Yatom, commander of Israeli forces in the West Bank further explained: "You have to understand the basic situation....An Arab who is carrying a weapon is a terrorist. A Jew with a weapon is defending himself

and he is allowed to shoot. We forbid soldiers in the IDF to open fire at them" Israeli Labor Minister Ora Namir summed it up: "There is one law for Arabs and one law for the Jews. This group of crazy people can do whatever they want"

Punishing the Victims Rabin's response to the massacre was to "calm" the situation by imposing a round-the-clock curfew for two weeks in the Gaza Strip and over a month in Hebron while -- except for detaining 5 settlers and preventing Kiryat Arba residents from entering Hebron for one day -- settlers were allowed to roam freely. Curfewed Palestinians in Hebron reported that settlers danced in front of their houses, celebrating the massacre. Within two days of the massacre 21 protesting Palestinians were killed by soldiers firing live ammunition. On March 22-23 the army made a Hebron hospital its base and fired 100 anti-tank missiles into a building in a 20-hour battle with "wanted" suspects. Five people were killed, including a pregnant woman as she watched the military operation from her home. At least four houses were destroyed. By this time the number of Palestinians shot dead since the massacre was over 40. Furthermore, Israel tightened its closure of the OTs after the massacre. By the beginning of May some 30,000 Palestinians were still being prevented from reaching their jobs in Israel, thereby costing them an estimated \$3.5 million in lost income each day.

Since the massacre the people of Hebron have suffered economic losses estimated at over \$165 million. To make matters worse, on April 19 over 100 Palestinian families were evacuated from the Mufafer area of Hebron as Israel confiscated 20 square kilometers of their land. A week later, soldiers killed Kamel Hussein Alwreidat at a roadblock and clashes erupted around the town. The temporary international force sent to "guarantee the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians" under U.N. Security Council Resolution 904 finally arrived on May 7 but without the pistols they were originally intended to carry for self-defense. Nine days later the observers were ordered out of a "closed military zone" in the city where soldiers and settlers were firing on residents, wounding 19 Palestinians. The army has built a cement wall around the Jewish settlement of 450 in central Hebron and now requires Palestinians living nearby to carry special permits to

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enter their own neighborhoods. For their part, the settlers insist on clearing 90,000 Palestinians out of the city so they can have it to themselves.

Coming Home to Roost The terrorist settler underground has a web which extends to the U.S. Kiryat Arba is also the home of those accused of assassinating Alex Odeh, a Palestinian-American and West Coast director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Odeh was killed in 1985 when a bomb was planted in his Santa Ana, California office. The connection of these terrorists with the U.S. was reaffirmed in late November when Israeli authorities arrested Rabbi Avraham Toledano, affiliated with the Kach movement, for attempting to smuggle bomb-making materials from the U.S. and again on December 19 when Israeli police arrested 5 American Jews and one Israeli on suspicion of plotting terrorist attacks on Arabs. On January 5, two crude bombs were left outside the New York buildings housing the New Israel Fund and Americans for Peace Now. Notes left with the explosives accused Rabin of "selling out the Jewish people" and was signed the "Shield of David Maccabee Squad" On March 7, Vice President Al Gore announced that the Justice Department would open a domestic investigation of "possible ties to U.S. sources" of the Hebron massacre. If that investigation is thorough, it may lead to New York state where Kahane Chai, a U.S.-based extremist settler support group, has members and followers who are known to engage in disruptive political activity. Furthermore, according to a December 25, 1992 article in the *Syracuse Post-Standard* Kahane Chai conducts paramilitary training exercises in the Catskills.

Going the Extra Mile for Israel While the Clinton administration condemned Goldstein's acts, U.S. diplomats resisted inclusion of any mention in U.N. Security Council 904 of East Jerusalem as part of the OTs and rejected PLO and international requests for U.N. protection of Palestinians there. Instead, the resolution calls for "a temporary international or foreign presence, which was provided for in the Declaration of Principles." The U.S., taking the Israeli position, agreed to a purely symbolic and temporary U.N. presence in Hebron. Every Council member voted in favor of the entire resolution except the U.S. which

abstained from voting on two clauses in the resolution's preamble which referred to "occupied Palestinian territory" and reiterated the international consensus that East Jerusalem is part of the land Israel occupied in 1967 and the applicability to it of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. At the same time the U.S. threatened to veto the entire resolution if the PLO didn't return to talks with the Israelis. The U.S. in effect was blackmailing the representatives of the victims of the massacre to return to talks with the party curfewing and repressing their constituency under occupation.

The Crucible Which brings us to the question of the Palestinian zones of autonomy. The May 4 signing of the Cairo Agreement between Israel and the PLO and the May 17 arrival of the first contingents of Palestinian police in Jericho and Gaza marked the beginning of a transition period fraught with dangers created mainly by Israeli settlements and settlers. Many Palestinians under occupation have questioned the Cairo Agreement. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, the former head of the Palestinian negotiating team stated: "The most dangerous thing occurring now is the Palestinian side's refusal to confront the settlement issue." He was one of 23 prominent Palestinians who signed a petition in late April declaring that any interim agreement was non-binding if it legitimizes Israel's illegal acts such as the settlement policy. Faisal Hussein called on Arafat to refuse to sign if Israel refuses to end the restrictions on travel between the OTs and East Jerusalem.

Adding to the sense of vulnerability among Palestinians armed settlers in the Jericho area vowed to defy the Palestinian police who demand that they not carry guns when they visit a tourist site guarded by Palestinian police. This recalled the settlers' statements some months earlier that they would not obey the Palestinian police to be deployed by the PNA. Some vowed to shoot armed police on sight. In Gaza some 4,000 settlers remain on 30% of the land in Gaza and the Israeli military has been redeployed around the settlements and the roads leading to the settlements. This has already elicited attempts by armed Palestinians to attack soldiers guarding settlements. In both cases the settlers are the potential cause of considerable friction and violence in the autonomous zones. While reports are that the Palestinian police are

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slowly imposing authority, there is heavy dependence by them on the joint Israeli-Palestinian security offices dominated by the Israelis. The DOP and Cairo Agreement build-in this dependence. Moreover, having Palestinian police in the OTs does not change Israel's legal status as an occupying power and the ultimate sovereign to which the Palestinian police must answer. In effect, through the DOP and Cairo Agreement, Israel has *sub-contracted* protection services to the Palestinian police.

This is indicative of the arrangements governing the relations between Israel and the PNA. What seems to be emerging is a *patron-client* relationship between Israel and the PNA since Israeli military law and procedures will continue in place. In effect, the Palestinians are entering a new form of domination in which it will appear to the outside world that they are "running their own affairs" but in reality will be subject to continued direct and indirect Israeli control.

We are already witnessing the limits to Palestinian maneuverability in the recent Israeli and U.S. protests over Arafat's attempts to rescind Israeli military law in the autonomous zones and his use of the services of already existing Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem. The Israelis call this prejudgement of the final status of the city -- as if their daily pronouncements of a united Jerusalem as their "eternal capital" and confiscation of East Jerusalem land were not that. (SA)

[Sources: *ADC Times*, March 1994; *Breaking the Siege*, June-July 1994; *EXTRA!*, March 1994; *New York Times* (various); *Report on Israeli Settlements in Occupied Territories*, May 1994; *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (various)]

Monitoring the Local Media on Palestine The national media's treatment of the Hebron massacre as another "cycle of violence" driven by "extremists" on both sides was as banal as it was outrageous. Such formulations imply a symmetry in the power relations between the "extremists." In fact, according to the U.S. State Department, there were 49 Israelis killed by Palestinians in 1993 while there were 3.7 times as many Palestinians killed by Israeli military forces (184). Such symmetry equates the rationale of settler

violence -- to terrorize and dispossess an indigenous population -- with that of Palestinian violence -- mainly to defend people and property against an occupying power.

The mainstream media's spin on the massacre was tantamount to blaming the victims. One front-page *New York Times* story seemed to justify the rage of murderer Goldstein with lines like: "When several friends were killed by Palestinians, something in him snapped." The *Times* continued to emphasize settler rationalizations for violence against Palestinians in an article headlined "Settlers Say the Arabs Can Now Know Fear Too" in which settlers were allowed to claim, without contradictory evidence (see above), that before Goldstein's attack, all violence was aimed by Arabs at Jews. *Times* columnist and ultra-Zionist William Safire chimed in: "Until now, terror was the weapon of Arab organizations. Now, thanks to the Jewish gunman at Hebron and the bloodthirsty few who praised his act, many profess to see a rough balance of Israeli and Palestinian terrorists." Reporting of the incident in other major news outlets was similar in scope and depth.

On the local scene the *Albany Times Union* (ATU) and the *Schenectady Daily Gazette* (SDG) provided wide coverage of the massacre and subsequent events. The ATU even published a photograph on March 1 of a demonstration by members of New York City area peace groups outside the Israeli Consulate. Some of the signs they held read: "Stop Settler Violence Now," "Stop Israeli Terrorism Against Palestinians," "Disarm Israeli Settlers Now," and "Stop U.S. Aid to Israel." On March 5 both the ATU and the SDG carried editorials about the massacre. Using the same worn-out formula, the ATU referred to "an endless cycle of violence that has its roots in Arab-Israeli hatreds -- violence that begets violence." They praised Rabin and Arafat for putting "their careers, and possibly their lives, on the line for peace." To the ATU's credit, they placed responsibility for the massacre on Rabin and Peres and Israeli policy of building settlements in order to make peace impossible. The editorial urged the Israeli leadership to place "more Israeli soldiers on duty in order to control settlers" as a way to guarantee security for Palestinians. The SDG's editorial cited the Israeli government's token removal of

A Demand for International Protection for the Palestinians

No one deserves to live in violence or under oppression. All humans have fundamental civil, political, and economic rights, including that of self-determination. The massacre of Palestinian worshippers by an Israeli settler on 25 February 1994 was one of a long series of violent acts committed by Israeli soldiers and settlers during 27 years of occupation. Such a consistent pattern of gross and systematic abuse demonstrates that the Israeli occupation by its very nature violates the Palestinians' basic rights. The U.S. is bound by domestic law not to support such human rights violations and by the Fourth Geneva Convention to ensure respect for the human rights of occupied populations. Therefore we demand:

- U.S. support for a UN resolution calling on Israel to allow an international, armed force to protect Palestinians under occupation
- U.S. insistence that Israel immediately halt all land confiscation, settlement construction/expansion, and settler infrastructure building, including roads.
- That the U.S. abide by its obligation to "ensure respect for" the Fourth Geneva Convention by insisting that Israel remove all settlers from the Occupied Territories.
- A halt to U.S. aid, as required under domestic law, to Israel while it engages in a consistent pattern of gross and systematic human rights abuses.
- That the U.S. support an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip and support the Palestinian right to self-determination and the creation of a Palestinian state.

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Please return the completed petition to the Capital District Committee for Palestinian Rights, 33 Central Avenue, Albany, NY 12210. Thank you.

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army-issued guns and placing of temporary limits on settler movement as "small" but "important" steps. The editorial, against ample evidence to the contrary, stated that such actions mark "a real shift in official [Israeli] reaction" and sent the message "that the government will not tolerate violent, racist acts by anyone." It then exonerated the government by stating that the "Israeli government need not take responsibility for the murderous acts of one Jew." Finally, the SDG called on the U.S. government to "urge Israel to consider" pushing up discussions with the PLO on the settlements and urged compromise on all sides to achieve peace.

Neither editorial examined the U.S. role in providing the material aid and political cover which has allowed Israel to flaunt international law, confiscate land and establish settlements which are armed and protected by the Israeli army. Nor did these moulders of local opinion call for the dismantling of the illegal settlements and the return of land to those from whom it was confiscated. One wonders what sort of editorial response these two papers would have produced had the massacre been perpetrated by a Palestinian against Israeli Jews as they prayed in a temple.

Letters from readers were, on the whole, somewhat better. A March 9 letter in the ATU, signed by three local Jewish leaders, expressed shock at the massacre but had nothing to say about the settlements or the occupation. But several letters from local Jews either justified the massacre or criticized those who condemned it arguing that it was a response to years of Arab violence against settlers. On March 10, a letter from Masood Sheikh of Clifton Park strongly condemned the massacre and the U.S. and Israeli government policies which made it possible. Sheikh rightly called for cutbacks in U.S. aid to Israel until it withdraws from Arab lands. The best contribution was a courageous letter from Jose Rossy-Millan of Schenectady which appeared in the April 8 ATU. Mr. Rossy-Millan explained that, as a Jew, to be silent about the "long history of many vigilante-like actions committed by settlers that have gone virtually unchecked" makes "me an accomplice" to the "mass murderer of Hebron." (TE & SA)

Petition We are including a petition to demand that the U.S. government support the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to security and self-determination. We urge you to make copies of the petition, pass them around to friends, sign them and return them to us at the address given below. We will collate them and send copies to President Clinton, Secretary of State Christopher, Senators Moynihan and D'Amato and Representatives McNulty and Solomon to voice our support of a just solution to the on-going conflict.

Housekeeping The *Newsletter* now reaches about 700 people and costs approximately \$200 per issue to produce and send. We also have fees for the use of the space in the Social Justice Center. We thank all of you who have already sent in donations. We beg those of you who haven't to please do so as this will assist us in continuing this much needed corrective to the distorted view of the Palestinian struggle that residents of the Capital District receive from the mainstream media.

If you would like to be notified of upcoming meetings and/or help us out in media work, monitoring elected officials, producing the *Newsletter* or other activities, please drop us a line at:

CDCPR
33 Central Avenue
Albany, NY 12210

Recipe We continue this column with a recipe for another popular dish from the Eastern Mediterranean -- *baba ghanouj* -- a vegetarian delight on par with humus.

First, take a medium-sized egg plant and, with a fork, puncture it in four or five rows around its entire surface. Put it on a cookie sheet or in a Pyrex dish and bake it in an oven at 350° for about 20-30 minutes or until the contents becomes a pulp and the skin peels away cleanly.

Second, get a food processor (or grinding bowl). Peel three large cloves of garlic, crush them to release the garlic essence and put them in the processor (bowl). Add five tablespoons of tahini (sesame seed paste), the juice of one large lemon, one teaspoon of salt and one tablespoon of cumin (optional) to the garlic in the processor (bowl). Mix (crush) these ingredients

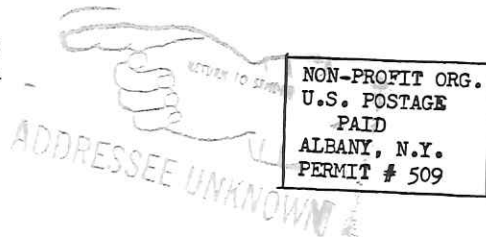
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together until they blend into an off white colored dip.

Third, blend (mix) the egg plant pulp together with the tahini dip until there is a smooth consistency. Fourth, spread the contents of the food processor on a 8"-12" dish forming a depression in the middle with higher walls on the perimeter. Sprinkle either **paprika** or **chili powder** over the face of the dip, then pour on a thin layer of **olive oil**. You can garnish the dish with pickles, olives or parsley. The **baba ghanouj** is ready to be eaten by dipping into it with slightly warmed **pita bread** which has been cut into quarters. Serve as an appetizer or in place of a salad with a main dish.

Capital District Committee for Palestinian Rights
A Project of the Social Justice Center of Albany, Inc.
33 Central Avenue Albany, NY 12210

Address Correction Requested



ARAB-AMERICAN MEDIA SOCIETY
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capital district committee for palestinian rights

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الْجَلِيلَةُ الْأَخْبَارِيَّةُ



McNulty Encourages Bush and Baker to deny Arafat a Visa

First year US Representative Michael McNulty wrote to President Bush on September 14, urging Bush and Secretary of State James Baker to deny Palestinian President Yasir Arafat a visa to speak at the United Nations (UN), should he seek a visa.

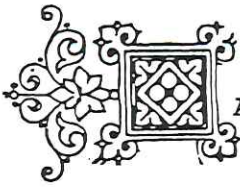
The letter (which is included in this Newsletter) was full of scorn for the Palestinians and the UN. It began with, "I write to voice my grave concern at the possibility that Yasir Arafat, the head of the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization,...". His letter was incredibly insulting to the Palestinian people. In his three page letter, he repeatedly referred to Palestinians as terrorists, he did not say anything positive about the Palestinians, nor did he say anything the slightest bit critical of the Israelis. He concluded his letter by stating that refusing a visa is in "the best interests of the United States, the state of Israel--our staunch and only democratic ally in the Middle East--and the peace process to which you have given so much impetus".

McNulty said it was legal for the US to deny Arafat a visa. He did not mention the 1947 headquarters agreement the US has with the UN in which the US agreed to allow invited guests of the UN permission to enter the US in order to attend UN sessions in New York City.

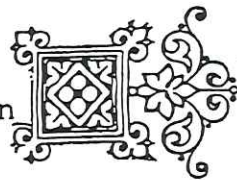
The Capital District Committee for Palestinian Rights encourages people to contact Mr. McNulty at (518)-465-0700 and let him know that his views on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are badly out of tune with the sentiments of the American people. He should also be told that constantly referring to Palestinians as nothing but terrorists is racist and unacceptable.

Refer to McNulty's Letter at the end

(1)



(2)



A view of Mubarak's Plan
By Salah Sanjak

Mr. Mubarak's "10 point plan" is undermining the Palestinian peace initiative. Before talking about the proposed 10 points, I would like to remind people about the Palestinian peace plan.

The PLO gave the world a peace plan which was, in general, a result of years of conflict and, in particular, a result of the Intifada. Remember how this plan had so much support from the Arab World, the European Countries, the Socialist Block Countries and the Third World Countries. On the other hand, it put Israel in very bad shape. It also put the U.S. in a confusing position which led the U.S. to start dialogue (albeit at a very modest pace) with the PLO.

Now let us look at Mubarak's 10 points. The Mubarak points are a mixture of Shamir's election plan, Mr. Baker's plan and the Camp David Accord. The sum of this mix is the denial of the Palestinian people's right to their land; instead the Palestinian problem is considered as a political rights or election problem. But the true issue, as the U.S. and Mubarak know, is the Palestinian's right to their land. the question is, what are the real reasons behind the 10 points?

First, some historical reasons. The 10 years of political and economic isolation of Egypt from the rest of the Arab World after the Camp David Accord created a new policy atmosphere in Egypt in which the Egyptians were left looking for new international relations to fill the gap that the Arab nations left open. Not surprisingly, the player who benefited the most from Egypt's predicament was the one who created the gap, which was the designer of Camp David; the U.S.. The U.S. benefits from controlling the policy of Egypt. For example, when Mubarak was in the U.S. visiting President Bush and watching a baseball game, the Egyptian market was empty of flour, rice, and some other things which are usually imported from the U.S.. The change in grain exchange policy seems to have been a punishment to the Egyptians for taking a positive step toward the PLO and the Uprising. When Mr. Mubarak

went back from his visit, he brought with him a plan to bring Jordan into the picture again after Jordan declared the West Bank independent from the Jordanian government. Thus, they could delay the Palestinian peace initiative. Their plan did not succeed because of the world's support for the PLO.

Second, some political reasons which resulted from the historical events. The Egyptian government policy in the Middle East basically supports U.S. Foreign policy goals. In fact, Egypt is the second hand for the U.S. after Israel. The Egyptian role in the Middle East is to assist the American goal, which is monopoly control of Middle Eastern Affairs. Thus, it is not surprising when the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. was talking to the U.S. Secretary of State about the proposed International Peace Conference, Mubarak revealed to the world his alternative of the 10 points. This action might pull the carpet from underneath the Soviets and Western Europeans who are supporting the PLO plan, and allowing the U.S. to play with the future of the Middle East without any concern for what its people and, in particular, the Palestinian are struggling for now as

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Israel Asks for Trouble in Occupying Lebanon

By James Zogby*

(Los Angeles Times/Tuesday, August 8, 1989)

In all of the reporting on the kidnapping of Sheikh Abdel Karim Obeid and the execution of Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, very little attention has been paid to a key element in these events: Israel's continuing occupation of Southern Lebanon.

Obeid was a Muslim preacher in a village in that region and well-known to Israeli authorities. After his abduction, the Israeli military described him as an "inciter" of violence and the mastermind behind "attacks against Israel". But almost immediately, the government radio was reporting the possibility of swapping him for three Israeli soldiers believed taken by Shiite forces in the area. The Israeli spin doctors went to work. Obeid, snatched from his home and family in the middle of the night, was now a hostage being offered for trade. His kidnapping was now an "arrest", and the three missing military men, presumably prisoners of war, were now "hostages".

One can reasonably ask whether the designers of the operation against Obeid foresaw the twists and turns that it would produce. Regardless, the Israeli image machine lost no time in keeping up with the changing headlines. At one point they sought to implicate Obeid in everything from the holding of U.S. hostages in Lebanon (which, it should be noted, was not one of their initial charges) to the planning of the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing. At week's end, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin was taking credit for refocusing U.S. attention on our hostages in Lebanon, whom he said, Washington had forgotten "but we have never forgotten".

Spin aside, Obeid's kidnapping was not intended to serve U.S. interests or to secure the freedom of U.S. hostages. In fact, only a month earlier a high Hezbollah leader indicated the possibility of movement toward their release. Obeid was taken simply to secure Israel's control over Southern Lebanon.

Israeli Defence Forces first invaded and seized Lebanese territory, up to a depth of more than 10 miles, in 1978. They have continued to control this area, under military administration, ever since. In addition to

their direct presence, the Israelis also sponsor, fund, train and arm a surrogate force called the South Lebanon Army (which is a militia, not a government army) at a cost of some \$30 million a year.

The Media and Public Opinion

Israel's suppression of the media was targeted by many cartoonists. Contradicting its proclaimed freedom of the press, Israel censored the media and charged that the press were "outside agitators" inciting the Uprising. Undeterred by the media blackout, the public continued to question Israeli motives.



Israeli (sic) withdrew to the 10 miles north of the border in 1985 after its ill-fated march on Beirut, giving the world the impression that the occupation was temporary. Since then, however, steps have been taken to establish a de facto annexation of this area: Water resources have been diverted and are now administered under Israeli control; Electricity and telephone lines have been severed from the Lebanese network and are now hooked up directly with Israel's. The economy has been brought under Israeli control and Israeli currency is used. Daily, thousands of Lebanese cross into Israel to work, and because the

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Economic Strangulation, Oppression & Mobilization

By Amy Trabka

Although our media coverage of the Palestinian Uprising has diminished, within Occupied Palestine, daily resistance and the accompanying casualties are a continuing reality. During the month of June, I had the opportunity to visit the West Bank and experience some of the resistance and repression first hand.

Economic warfare is still in full swing with the unanimous participation of Palestinian businesses in daily half-day strikes intended to reduce consumer dependency on Israeli products. In addition, local processing of agricultural produce has increased to the point where most towns and villages now have small scale cooperatives to produce yogurt and several dairies are marketing bottled milk. Previously, consumers had no choice but to purchase Israeli versions of these products. Farmers are no longer able to obtain permits to export fruits and vegetables to Jordan. In an attempt to take advantage of the low prices of these "locked in" commodities, women's committees have established small cooperatives to produce fruits and vegetables for home consumption and local distribution. Their small scale precludes licensing requirements and subsequent repression.

However because of reduced sales from shorter hours of operation and a scarcity of cash among the economically strained population, businesses have been devastated by the exorbitant taxes being levied by the Israeli civil administration to finance the huge cost of occupation. Although many businesses have refused or delayed paying taxes as a form of resistance, eventually the administration finds ways of collection, such as setting up check points until payment is made. At that time the merchant may have to come up

with, not only the tax, but also an additional 500% penalty as well as two year's taxes in advance. Frequently this additional burden is enough to put a small merchant out of business. Additional sources of funding the occupation are exorbitant automobile registration fees (\$1500), license plate costs (\$700) and high insurance premiums for policies available now only through the state.

Economic strangulation is a primary method of trying to break the Palestinian's steadfastness. Part of this plan is the construction of a new system of highways enabling Israelis to travel directly from settlements to cities. The bypassed Arab villages are virtually being turned into ghettos outside of Jewish "development towns". The roads which service Arab villages are narrow and in disrepair, sharply contrasting the new road system connecting the settlements. The new roads decrease but do not eliminate confrontation between Uzi-armed settlers and Palestinians. On one occasion my Palestinian companions were forced at machine gun point, by a single Israeli settler, to clear stones from a road servicing both village and settlement. Unsatisfied with their efforts, the settler smashed the roof of our car with a rock and stoned our back window as we drove away.

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Palestinian women play a significant role in the intifada.

Side by side with economic resistance, the war of the stones continues. In the town of Ramallah, about 20 Kilometers from the village here I was staying, demonstrations occurred daily with the army responding to road blocks, burning tires and stones with gunfire; first tanks, then tear gas and live ammunition. Frequently, the demonstrations and army response shut down large sections of the town even before the regular 12 noon shop closings. The demonstrators are respected by the population, who follow their directions for road blocks and rerouting traffic. Still commerce attempts to continue; street-side vendors sharing the sidewalk with masked demonstrators. Residents who do not actively participate in the demonstrations act as advocates for those arrested, asking tear gas to be used (usually unsuccessfully) for their release.

Pre-dawn raids on villages and neighborhoods continue in an attempt to find persons suspected of resistance activity. These are accompanied by vandalism (smashing glass in rooftop solar heaters) and theft. Women in the village where I stayed complained of being locked into one room of their house while the soldiers searched the other rooms, confiscating life savings. Most villagers do not have bank accounts, savings are stored at home. Gold jewelry, was also missing after army searches. Since these raids have occurred continuously, those who are wanted by the army have been sleeping in the hills outside of the village for the last two years in order to avoid arrest. Family members have been severely beaten by frustrated soldiers trying to force information of their whereabouts. Those who are detained are made to ride on the floor of buses to the army compound where they are kicked and hit by the arresting soldiers. Some of those who are arrested, even if they are not charged with any

offense, are being issued green "activist" ID's which will limit their movements to the territories as well as subject them to continual arrest at check points.

Another new technique was arbitrary selection of young men who are forced to stand next to anti-occupation graffiti with spray paint cans while they are photographed by soldiers. These photographs are then used as "evidence" of guilt, with prison sentences ensuing. Much of the anger in the village is directed against Palestinians who collaborate with the occupation forces as the presence of the collaborators incurs much stronger military repression. Those arrested may be pressured to collaborate. Use of force under interrogation continues; some come back from questioning unable to stand. On June 2nd, the twentieth anniversary of the death of Mohammed Khawaja was commemorated, the first Palestinian to die from torture under interrogation during Israeli occupation. The fact that this anniversary was celebrated all over the West Bank, with photographs and banners marking roadways and areas of commerce was an indication of a new level of coordination of different political entities of the underground leadership. Also commemorated during my stay was the death on June 4th of Omar Qassem, a Palestinian resistance leader who died in prison after serving 21 years of a life sentence. About 8000 Palestinians participated in his funeral in Jerusalem, while symbolic funerals were held in other towns.

With the realization that actual independence will take a long time to achieve, the Palestinian people are gradually but steadily working toward the creation of an independent economic and political infrastructure on which to build their new state. Originally initiated by the young activists in coordination with the Unified National Leadership, older, more established members of the

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gion is now cut off from other markets, Israeli agricultural and industrial products have a monopoly.

Currently visiting Washington, the governor of the district, Halim Fayyad, characterizes the situation as part of Israel's "imperial signs" on Lebanon. "They seek to expand borders and gain rich water resources", says Fayyad, and do so "in the name of their national security".

The U.S. has refused to press Israel to withdraw from Southern Lebanon and to enforce U.N. Resolution 425, which calls for the withdrawal and for the securing of the region under U.N. forces. This has left the Lebanese to want to regain sovereignty over the territory with no recourse but to wage a war of national resistance.

While the Israeli propaganda machinery describes the resistance forces as terrorists, it requires a remarkable contortion of logic to define attacks against an occupation army as anything other than legitimate resistance.

In fact, it would seem more appropriate to describe the forced expulsion of thousands of Lebanese from their land, the use of collective punishment against entire villages, the prolonged detention of male leaders without charges or due process as a form of terrorism. After all, the accepted definition of terrorism is the use of force against non-combatants in order to create fear and intimidation for the achievement of political objectives.

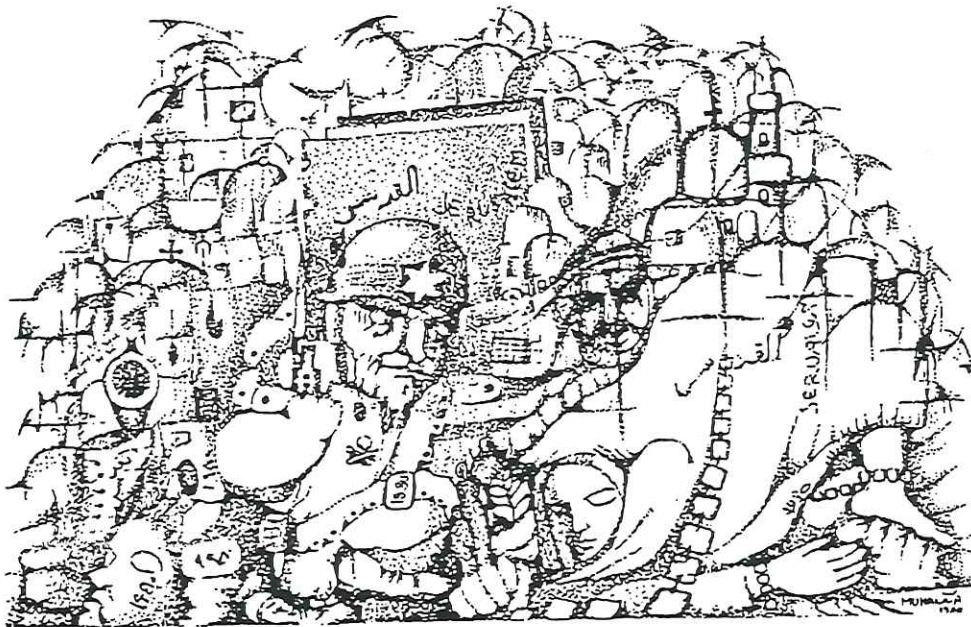
But as repressive as Israeli practices have been, they have not subdued the Lebanese resistance. It is in this context that Sheikh



Obeid's role can be seen and understood.

Given the resolve of the Lebanese not to submit to Israeli occupation, the crisis will continue to expand and may threaten further harm to the U.S. if we do not firmly distance ourselves from Israel's Lebanese adventures. Just as no civilized person can condone the holding or killing of innocent hostages, neither can a civilized nation such as ours condone Israel's holding Southern Lebanon hostage and the kidnapping and killing of its people.

*James Zogby is president of Save Lebanon, a relief organization, and executive director of the Arab American Institute.



Noted Pakistani Scholar
Eqbal Ahmad Lectures
About Palestinians at RPI

On Sept. 28, Eqbal Ahmad lectured for about two hours about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict at RPI. About 70 people attended.

Dr. Eqbal said that he is struck by how little interest there is in the US in hearing both sides of this issue. He described the Israeli policy towards the Palestinians as genocide. He said genocide is done either through murder or the taking away from the victims, their land, water, leaders, and culture. Dr. Eqbal said, Israel now controls 85% of the water, 60% of the farmable and in the occupied territories, and he Israeli prisons are filled with Palestinian leaders and Israel is attempting to destroy every Palestinian Institution.

Dr. Eqbal described the Intifada as an "extraordinary event", unprecedented in history. He said the Israeli goal is to eliminate the Palestinians. Expulsion has now come "transfer", the same word that is used during the first years of the Nazi regime. He also said the Palestinians are an abandoned people. They can only go to the American people, because the US government is a party to the conflict, or to Israel. He said "The Palestinian is the shadow of the .. and he will not leave until .. is embraced". And added the Palestinians are not merely theorists who want to destroy Israel, or freedom fighters, or fighting for their self-survival.

Eqbal said that Zionism has nothing to do with the liberation of Jewish people, but it is a pretext for a Jewish state and is concerned about the Jewish people. He said it is incorrect to say the Arab governments strongly support Palestinian rights, but they

collaborate with Israel either directly or indirectly. He said American Universities are largely failing, the Social Sciences departments are occupied by functionaries, and that Noam Chomsky is the most brilliant mind produced in the US in this century and he can barely get published. Of newly-elected US Representative Michael McNulty, he said, "McNulty is either ignorant, and I do not think so, or he is not responding to the wishes of the American people."

Finally, he said, those of us who support Palestinian rights should write lots of letters, talk to the politicians, demand equal time from the news media, and encourage others to get involved.

Times Union runs Racism Series,
Omits any Discussion of Anti-Arabism

For seven days, beginning on October 22, the Albany Times Union News Paper ran a series of articles on racism in the Capital District. There was plenty of discussion of racism against blacks and Jews, but nothing about racism against Palestinians and other Arabs.

Michael Winograd, the Regional Director of the ADL was quoted twice during the series. In the article on 10/27, he made comments that surely applied to himself and the ADL. He said, "What people say and what they do are two different things. There are a lot of closet bigots. There is a whole range of bigotry from very polite background bigotry to actual violence. A lot of people who claim not to be bigoted have bigoted attitudes".

This the same Mr. Winograd who two years ago had a letter printed in the Schenectady Gazette describing the

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PLO as a terrorist organization. One time when I asked him what is the difference between a Palestinian killing a Jew in cold blood and a Jew killing a Palestinian in cold blood, he said the former is "terrorism", the latter "terrible". This the same Mr. Winograd who has refused to acknowledge that it is repugnant for the ADL to run both an anti-prejudice campaign (A World of Difference) and a prejudice campaign (the ADL's decades long proactive of publishing books and articles about what it calls Palestinian and Arab terrorism and Arab anti-Semitism) simultaneously.

On August 23, on a live TV show on WTEN, CPR member David Aube challenged Mr. Winograd about the ADL's two-faced approach to prejudice and he replied that he and Mr. Aube have had differences on this issue. He refused to discuss the substance of the CPR charge. Thousands of the Capital District residents saw this cowardly response.

I called the Times Union reporter Tim Beidel and told him about the ADL and its prejudice record, but the Times Union refused to include anything about it in its series of articles.

It is a shame that while there is a tremendous amount of discussion of prejudice against Jewish people, there is virtually no discussion of prejudice by Jewish people. On many occasions, I have stood in demonstrations in support of Palestinian rights and been verbally attacked by Jewish people who called me a Nazi, a racist, a Jew-hater, an anti-Semite, ect. Rather than fighting against prejudice wherever it occurs, the ADL has in recent deads become the major promoter of the surprisingly large amount of Jewish prejudice against Palestinians and other Arabs.

CPR Members meet with Bishop Hubbard

On October 24th, three members of the Capital District Committee for Palestinian Rights met with Howard Hubbard, Bishop of the Albany Roman Catholic Diocese. Shelia Oweida, Faisal Zahrey, and Tom Ellis discussed a variety of issues during the 70 minute meeting.

The meeting had been requested by CPR members to discuss the Bishop's accepting an award last June from the virulently Anti-Arab Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). Bishop Hubbard said he would not apologize for accepting the award, but said the packet of information provided to him by the CPR documenting the ADL's long bitterly hostile negative stereotyping campaign of Arabs and its intimidation of people, including religious leaders, who speak out in support of Palestinian rights, was a "strong indictment" of the ADL.

The Bishop stated there is a major distinction between the political Israel-Palestinian conflict and the interreligious activities between Christians and Jews. In response to that, we said that this is correct but there are many Jewish people who do not make distinction and that it was painful for us to see the Bishop socializing with Jewish leaders who refer to us as anti-Semitic for criticizing Israel. Father Hubbard said he has told Jewish audiences that it was inappropriate for them to label critics of Israel as anti-Semites. He also added that at times when he speaks in synagogues, he has spoken out in support of Palestinian rights.

CPR members asked him if he would hold a memorial service for the victims of the Intifada and he said that he would consider it, but not until after a November conference of US bishops in Baltimore. The Bishop will be finalizing a policy statement on "Toward Peace in the Middle East: Problems and Principles". He said,

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they have been for tens of years.

Our call is for Egypt to back away from the 10 point plan and return to join the Arab League in supporting the Palestinian peace initiative, and for the U.S. to move forward toward a real peace in the Middle East.

Palestinian Theatre Company
By Laurie Kirby*

El-Hakawati, a Palestinian theatre company from East Jerusalem, performed their play "The Story of Kufur Shamma" in Kingston New York, on August 27.

The group gained some notoriety in this country when Joseph Papp of New York's Public Theatre abruptly canceled his invitation to them to perform as part of their North American tour. The outcry caused by Papp's decision forced him to reconsider and invite them to appear next year, along-side a Jewish play for "balance".

Papp claimed the play might "offend" Jews, but this moving and atmospheric production could only offend those who find offensive the fact that Palestinians are human beings, capable of love, humor, anger and the sufferings of exile. The story concerns one man's search for the people of this village, Kufur Shamma, who were dispersed when the village was erased from

the map (and from the earth) in 1948. We follow the adventures of the little band of fellow exiles he gathers around him in a series of scenes in which the company of six actors and actresses use modest means to evoke a variety of people and situations. El-Hakawati means The Storytellers, and this element of Arabic culture is fused with modern theatrical techniques. The tragedy and alienation of life in a refugee camp are movingly presented. And there is a powerful scene when the far-flung exiles finally meet in Massachusetts after 40 years, only to realize the unbridgeable gap that has grown between them. (It is interesting to reflect on the similar experiences shared by the diaspora's of other nations).

El-Hakawati will be back in the U.S. next year. Try to catch them then.

*Laurie Kirby and other concerned people are working to educate people about Palestinian Rights in the Woodstock/Saugerties area. If you live in

that area and would like to help call (914)- 679-5822.



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about the memorial service, that "I need to know what the service was, what the context was". He said that he did not remember the 1982 request of CPR member Alice Azzam for the Bishop to hold a memorial service for the victims of the Sabra-Shatila massacres.

When we asked him to make a strong public statement in support of Palestinian rights, he said, "I am very concerned and very upset about the ill-treatment of Palestinians and I will express it in my own way". He also said the Israeli treatment of Palestinians is "deplorable".

While no future meetings were scheduled, it is clear that the local Palestinian community has begun a dialogue with the Bishop and hopefully he will be more sensitive to our concerns.

community have become increasingly involved in the creation of cooperative industries, popular schooling and community resistance against the occupation. Palestinian intellectuals are participating in the establishment of research centers to coordinate the cooperative movement, writing grants to obtain funds from European countries to aid in the development of individual and collective industry, and attempting to record popular history. Despite the crack down on neighborhood organizing, the women's committees continue to be active. Functioning in small groups as their increasing membership prohibits large meetings, they continue to demonstrate against harsh prison conditions, provide social visits to the injured and imprisoned and participate in popular teaching and medical relief. Their primary emphasis has been on the cooperative movement and the processing of food stuffs for local consumption. The creation of a higher women's council now facilitates coordination between the four original women's committees as well as new committees (representing alternative political viewpoints) which have recently formed.

As the extent and duration of my visit was limited to three weeks in the Ramallah district this hardly purports to be a comprehensive study of the Intifada, but rather the much abbreviated testimony of one individual. To even begin a more intimate portrayal would take many pages more. Although the uprising may have disappeared from our television screens and newspapers, it is still very much present in the spirit of all those that I encountered. Palestinians continue to search for creative forms of resistance to the occupation, to heal their wounded and to mourn their dead. No one spoke of going back.

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The Student Committee for Palestinian Rights

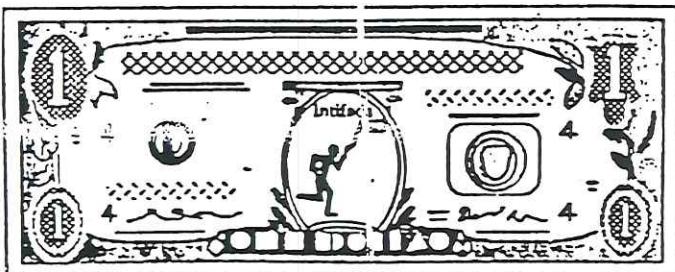
Formed several years ago by SUNYA students concerned with the lack of understanding on campus of the Palestinian quest for self-determination, the Student Committee for Palestinian Rights has remained an outspoken voice. Over the past several years, while working in conjunction with the Capital District Committee for Palestinian Rights, we have sponsored and co-sponsored speakers and presentations. With an excellent budget allotted to us by the Student Association last year, we look forward to many more activities. For instance, during the Spring semester, we will be holding a Palestinian Pride Week, which will include speakers, films, and other cultural events. Already this year we have co-sponsored with the Capital District Committee and the RPI Peace Club, Egbal Ahmad.

Although the group slackened off towards the end of last year due to members involvement in the budget cut fight at SUNYA, several new students and the previously active members will bring the group past its previous activity level.

In addition to the Palestinian Pride Week and more speakers, we will be continuing to have literature tables on campus to provide students with information on the Palestinians quest for justice and peace.

The co-chairs this year are Rana Halaby (455-6970) and George Rosamond (455-6996). We warmly welcome and encourage new members to attend. Meetings are held on Monday evenings at 07:15 Rm BA 215 at SUNYA. Your help is greatly needed and appreciated. Feel free to call either chair for information. We look forward to working with a broad range of students and community organization on Palestinian Rights and Justice for all people this year. Victory to the Intifada!

George Rosamond



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

September 14, 1989

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

(1)

Dear Mr. President:

I write to voice my grave concern at the possibility that Yasir Arafat, the head of the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization, may--upon his request--be granted a visa to visit the United States for the purpose of addressing the United Nations.

There is no question in my mind, Mr. President, that granting a visa to Mr. Arafat will undermine all you have done to promote the peace process in the Middle East over the last nine months.

Mr. Arafat heads an organization that still supports and engages in terrorist activities, including numerous assassinations.

PLO terrorism is being used not only against Israel but also against Palestinians, who disagree with the PLO, including those who favor negotiations with Israel and those who do not agree that the PLO represents all Palestinians resident in Israel, in Jordan, on the West Bank, or in Gaza. That terrorism has taken hundreds of American and Israeli lives, and not once has Yasir Arafat renounced such terrorist acts.

On the contrary, on January 1, 1989, our Embassy in Riyadh recorded a message from Mr. Arafat in which he states: "Whoever thinks of stopping the intifada before it achieves its goals, I will give him 10 bullets."

Despite his public declarations last December, numerous statements by Mr. Arafat and other senior PLO officials make clear the PLO's continuing commitment not only to the Cairo Declaration of November 1985, which called for terrorist operations against Israel, but also the elimination of Israel.

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As recently as last month, the 1200 delegates attending the 5th General Congress of the Fatah Movement's Revolutionary Council in Tunis--Mr. Arafat's own constituent within the Palestine Liberation Organization--adopted a commitment for "Continuing to intensify and escalate armed action and all forms of struggle to liquidate the Israeli-Zionist occupation of our occupied Palestinian land and guaranteeing our people's right to freedom, and independence."

On what basis, then, Mr. President, can we justify granting a visa to Mr. Arafat? Do we permit him into the United States to address the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 25? Of course not. The opening session of the United Nations is addressed and/or attended only by heads of state. To permit him to come to this session would constitute implicit recognition for the non-state for which he seeks United States recognition.

Do we, on the other hand give him a visa to participate in the United Nations general debate on the Israel-Palestinian issue, scheduled for November of this year? Of course not for the following reasons:

- * Mr. Arafat and his PLO have been actively seeking support for an international conference on the Middle East, and has mobilized considerable support for his position within the United Nations. His appearance before that body will put the international conference on the UN agenda. The United States and Israel are opposed to such a conference for good and valid reasons.
- * By coming before the United Nations, Mr. Arafat will be perceived not as one who is against peace in the Middle East, but as one who embraces the idea of an international conference. With the kind of support he has in the United Nations, this would place the United States in an extremely difficult and disadvantageous position.
- * If the United States accedes to the will of the United Nations, the peace process is ended.
- * If the United States opposes the international conference within the United Nations setting, the pressures upon us will be so great that the peace process will be ended.

What can take place under the circumstances outlined above can have a reverse policy effect for the United States.


In addition, as you well know, Mr. President, there is a legal basis for barring Mr. Arafat's entry into the United States under Public Law 80-357.

As our Ambassador on October 6, 1972, you yourself explained to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim a decision to bar Dia-Allah El-Fattal, the head of the International Organizations Department of the Syrian Foreign Ministry, from joining his country's delegation in the General Assembly. This exclusion resulted from his recruiting individuals for terrorist operations of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It was under this section of Public Law 357 that former Secretary of State George P. Schultz barred Mr. Arafat's entry into the United States, citing the Chairman's "associations with terrorism." And, as you know, Mr. President, there have been a number of other less publicized cases.

For all of these reasons, I urge you to deny Yasir Arafat a United States visa that would enable him to participate in the proceedings of the United Nations. I sincerely believe this to be in the best interests of the United States, the State of Israel--our staunch and only democratic ally in the Middle East--and the peace process to which you have given so much impetus.

Respectfully yours,



Michael R. McNulty
Member of Congress

MRM:cms

cc: The Secretary of State

(4)

CAPITAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS
A PROJECT OF THE SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTER OF ALBANY, INC
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