

OUTPOST

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U.S. ECONOMIC AID TO ISRAEL: TIME FOR A NEW PERSPECTIVE

Herbert Zweibon

Last year's controversy over American loan guarantees for Israel was a painful reminder of the extent to which Israeli reliance on U.S. assistance has the potential to undermine Israel's independence. Israel's freedom to determine its own policies was deeply compromised by the assumption on the part of the Israeli leadership and public alike that the Jewish State desperately needed the loan guarantees. By the time the dust had settled, the State Department's clever manipulation of the loan guarantees dispute had, in effect, determined the outcome of Israel's national elections. It was a shameful episode, perhaps the lowest point in the history of the American-Israeli relationship. Friends of Israel must now consider what steps should be taken to avoid a repetition of those disastrous events.

Acknowledging current political reality is the first and most crucial step. Key friends of Israel in Congress, and other well-informed observers have in recent months tried to warn Israel of what is just around the corner. Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and *New York Times* columnist A.M. Rosenthal have pointed out that America's domestic budget strains, combined with the U.S. public's semi-isolationist mood, make it inevitable that current levels of U.S. aid to many countries will be reduced. There is no reason to think that Israel will be the exception. What we can assume is that there will be no immediate cut, because the State Department needs the threat of a cut for leverage on Israel if the Arab-Israeli negotiations bog down. That fact alone illustrates the whole problem of Israel relying upon U.S. aid and then being vulnerable to the whims of Foggy Bottom.

What Inouye and Rosenthal are talking about is not America's military aid to Israel. The continuing Arab military threat to the Jewish State makes it strategically and morally necessary for the U.S. to provide its only reliable ally in the Mideast with the means to defend itself against enemy aggression.

Economic aid, however, is problematic. It

discourages Israel's leaders from taking action to privatize the Israeli economy. It encourages Israeli socialists to think that they can go right on promoting the discredited semi-Marxist economic theories of yesteryear, with Uncle Sam ready to bail them out when they fail.

During the years when Likud was in power, important steps were taken in the direction of transforming Israel from a socialist economy to one based on free market principles. One of the unfortunate prices paid in the course of putting together the two national unity governments, of 1984-1988 and 1988-1990, was handing the Finance Ministry to socialist diehard Shimon Peres, who promptly raided the treasury to rescue kibbutzim and socialist industries that were deeply in debt. Peres knew that no matter how much he doled out, he could count on getting more than \$1-billion each year in U.S. economic aid. Imagine how different things would have been if Israel had weaned itself from American economic aid before Peres took over.

Ultimately, however, Israel's addiction to U.S. economic aid is mostly psychological. Recent Israeli press reports reveal that despite all the hysteria over the loan guarantees, the Rabin government is not even sure it needs them—and may use them not for housing immigrants but for paying off assorted government debts. But those debts will increase unless Israel takes affirmative steps, now, to privatize its economy and rid itself of an addiction to foreign aid that is increasingly becoming a political albatross of the first order. ♦

Herbert Zweibon is chairman of Americans For a Safe Israel.

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SHOW SOME RESPECT FOR ISRAELI DEMOCRACY

A *Jerusalem Report* public opinion survey, published in June, found that 62% of Israelis oppose surrendering any part of the Golan Heights to Syria. A Gallup poll, carried out for the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* in May, reported that 51% of Israelis believe that Prime Minister Rabin has made too many concessions to the Palestinian Arabs; just 35% of Israelis believe that Rabin's concessions accomplished anything, and a mere 6% think Israel should make more. Other findings: 82% oppose permitting the return of the 415 deported Hamas terror leaders; 89% reject any change in the status of Jerusalem; 69% want Israel to retain control over Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, regardless of the disposition of those lands; and 54% think that a public referendum should be held prior to the signing of any treaty with an Arab country.

These poll results, which are consistent with the findings of other surveys taken in recent months, pose a serious dilemma for both the Israeli left and its American Jewish counterparts. The Meretz-Peace Now-American Jewish Congress claim that the Labor Party has a popular mandate to make sweeping concessions to the Arabs is patently false. With regard to issues of territory and security, most Israelis still feel the same way they felt before last year's elections.

One other important point: Diaspora Jews who are skeptical about the wisdom of Israeli concessions should not be intimidated by leftists' accusations that they are "attacking Israel" if they dissent from the Labor Party line. Such dissent is no attack: it is an expression of the views held by Israel's democratic majority. If the left had a little more respect for Israeli democracy, it would pay more attention to what the people want and less attention to furthering narrow political interests. ♦

WORDS THAT ASSAD JUST WON'T UTTER

Does Syria's willingness to negotiate with Israel necessarily mean that Syria accepts Israel's right to exist? The question arises because in a recent *New York Times* interview, Syrian dictator Hafez Assad again refused to explicitly say that the Jewish State has a right to exist. Assad was interviewed by Patrick Seale, a British journalist whose recent biography of the Syrian tyrant was, to put it mildly, glowing. During the interview, Assad discussed various technical points about the negotiating process, without once saying that he accepts Israel. Finally, Seale

asked his hero if he "could truly accept Israel's presence" in the Middle East. Given the conventional wisdom that Assad is a "moderate," one would have expected him to answer in the affirmative. Instead, he responded by referring to U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. "Accepting the U.N. resolutions," he said, "means that the Arabs have agreed, de facto, that both the Israelis and the Arabs have their place in Palestine." Of course the Israelis have "their place" in "Palestine"--in traditional Arab nationalist rhetoric, their place would be comparable to the place of Jews throughout the Arab world, as third-class citizens living amidst an Arab majority. That always was Assad's dream, and evidently nothing has changed. ♦

YES, ROCK-THROWING IS SERIOUS BUSINESS

The Maryland Court of Appeals has upheld the conviction of a Washington, D.C. teenager who was found guilty of "assault with intent to maim" for hurling rocks at automobiles on the Capital Beltway in 1990. Maurice Ford had appealed his conviction on the grounds that the prosecution failed to prove that he intended to hurt anybody when he threw the rocks. The court thought otherwise. "It is a reasonable inference that a 'natural and probable consequence' of throwing a large rock through the windshield of a fast moving vehicle is permanent injury of various forms to the vehicle's occupants," the judges ruled. More than a dozen drivers and passengers were injured by Ford's rocks. The most serious was 15 year-old Destiny Morris, who suffered permanent brain damage when hit in the head by one of the rocks. She will never function higher than the intelligence level of a fourth-grader.

The next time somebody complains about Israeli soldiers being too "rough" on Arab rockthrowers, remind them of the Maryland Court decision. And remind them of what happened to little Destiny Morris. ♦

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STILL NO JUSTICE FOR THE PAN AM VICTIMS

Susan and Daniel Cohen

Our 20 year-old daughter Theodora --Theo, we had called her-- was a drama student at Syracuse University. She had spent the fall semester of 1988 in England, and was returning home on December 21. Her flight was Pan Am 103, and it was blown apart by a terrorist bomb at 31,000 feet. Her body landed in a sheep meadow in Lockerbie, Scotland.

This is not the sort of experience that you ever "get over" or "put behind you" to "get on with your life." It destroys your life as surely as if you had been on the plane yourself.

Yet in the nearly four and one-half years since the murder --a period of time in which those who are responsible for bringing justice, have delayed, lied and done nothing-- we thought we had become reasonably shock proof. Still, an article in the May 31 issue of the *New Republic*, titled with callous cuteness "Muammar Dear-est," was like a kick in the stomach.

The writer was Judith Miller, a *New York Times* reporter currently on leave at the Twentieth Century Fund. In April, Miller had written a long piece in the *International Herald Tribune* about a 90-minute interview she had with Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi of Libya: "the first he had given to an American journalist in more than a year," she crowed.

Qaddafi did his usual "promise them anything" routine. Among other things, he invited all Libyan Jews who fled the country in 1967 to come back to Libya, if only for a visit. And he said he would implement a law providing compensation to Jews who left property in Libya. The Libyan dictator said he considered "the Democrats our allies" and that he "won't do anything to harm Bill Clinton."

But one thing even this notorious liar did not promise was that he would turn over the two suspects in the Pan Am 103 bombing. Indeed, as Miller pointed out, his whole performance seemed aimed at "circumventing the impasse on the Lockerbie affair by demonstrating Libya's good faith in resolving other problematic issues, such as its protracted hostility to Israel."

To report the words of a powerful man, even a notorious liar and thug like Qaddafi, is responsible journalism. But to say that we should fall for the ploy and forget the death of Theo Cohen and 269 other innocents on Pan Am 103 is not. But that is just what Miller advocated in her *New Republic* piece.

She says Qaddafi "is in a position to be helpful to American goals in the Middle East." He can be helpful with Israel, Egypt and with the Islamic fundamentalists. What are we to offer Qaddafi for being helpful? Miller does not quite come and say absolution for Pan Am 103, but

she comes close. She writes that the Clinton administration, "while continuing to insist on [the two Libyan suspects'] surrender, can begin to test Qaddafi's ostensible desire to be no longer part of the problem, but part of the solution." Translated, that reads: "Put up a show of trying to get the bombers, but see what kind of a deal you can cut on the side."

This plays perfectly into the Libyan strategy of confusion and delay. Keep stringing the U.S. along until Pan Am 103 is dismissed as ancient history.

Why is Qaddafi so anxious to save the two Libyan suspects from a trial? It is not because, as Miller says, one of them is a member of a "powerful tribe" or because Qaddafi would suffer "a stark loss of face." It is because the two are not just terrorists who happen to be Libyans; they are Libyan agents and a real trial would bring out evidence that the Libyan government, right up to Qaddafi himself, was involved in the plot.

There have been rumors that a few Israelis have been taken in by Qaddafi's rhetoric. But in the end, Pan Am 103 is not an Israeli problem or even a Middle Eastern problem. It is an American problem. Will the world's only superpower allow its citizens to be murdered by an international outlaw and not respond?

Miller's *New Republic* article does make one important point. The current United Nations sanctions on Libya are not likely to make Qaddafi turn over the suspects. Only an oil embargo might inflict enough pain to make him do that. But the Europeans --who have rarely shown courage in the face of terrorism-- probably won't go along; Europe buys 90% of Libya's oil.

Miller sees no other option than to play Qaddafi's game and give up on Pan Am 103. But there is another option. We still have the largest air force in the world, capable of inflicting considerable pain on Libya.

According to Jim Hoagland, writing in the *Washington Post* on May 24, that option was considered by the Bush administration back in 1990 when the extent of Libyan involvement became clear. But Bush didn't want to distract attention from the coming war with Iraq, and so he delayed and then kicked the matter to the United Nations, where it now stagnates. The moral, says Hoagland, is "if the international crime is big enough, international punishment is by comparison almost always insignificant."

It is time, indeed well past time, for Clinton to reverse Bush's wrong decision on the use of force against Libya--whether Judith Miller likes it or not. ♦

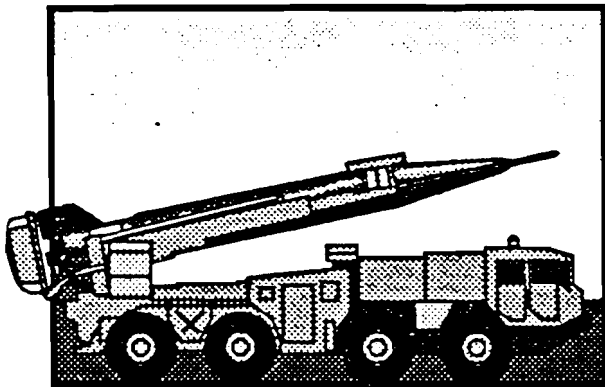
This essay is reprinted, with permission, from the June 3, 1993 edition of the Washington Jewish Week.

THEY CALL IT THE "EYES OF THE NATION"

William Mehlman

"For us the Hermon was like the Western Wall. We wanted to get to the top and we were not prepared to give it up. I would rather have died there and not come down. Not only myself--everyone went with this decision. They instilled it in us from the beginning, that we would not come down until we saw the flag of the Golani Brigade flying from the top. They said the Hermon was the eyes of the nation...I no longer look there. I do not want to see it anymore. The blood of my comrades flowed there like water."

This poignant description of the mindset of the Israeli soldiers who confronted, survived, and did not survive the 24 hours of the fury that brought about the recapture of Mount Hermon from an elite Syrian commando group on the final day of the Yom Kippur War comes to us, direct and unfiltered, from the mouth of an ordinary rifleman, just as he conveyed it to a stunned nation, on Israel Television, one night nearly two decades ago. I can see him as though it were yesterday: a small,



dark, intense teenager of Yemenite origin, still in his battle fatigues--bearing witness to a mission and an ideal for which his 20 year-old commanding officer and so many of his comrades had given their lives. The shattering poetry he spoke that night has haunted me for 20 years.

The story of the battle itself has long since passed from mere history to a legendary realm shared perhaps only by the Allied victory at Monte Cassino. The difference between the two is that what it took the Allies weeks to achieve in Italy --the defeat of a vanguard of German gunners raining death down from their hilltop redoubt--the Golani Brigade managed to accomplish in 24 hours at Mount Hermon against a Syrian fortification bristling with

bazookas and machine guns. It isn't that the Golanis were supermen --unlike the all-volunteer paratroopers, they were mainly conscripts-- but rather that 24 hours were all they were given to complete the mission. A ceasefire in place, frantically pressed by the Arabs and backed to the hilt by the United Nations Security Council, was barreling down on Israel like a loose cannon. Its implementation could not, at any cost, find Syria in possession of Mount Hermon.

Nobody who has been to the Hermon could question the decision to recapture it or wonder about the 40% casualty rate sustained in the yard-by-yard, centimeter-by-bloody centimeter nightmare which "shattered" for at least one young Israeli lieutenant "the myth of the cowardly Arab running away from battle." The Hermon commands an unsurpassed panorama of the terrain below and on a clear day you can see the rooftops of Damascus 30 miles away. Strategically, it controls virtually the whole of the Golan Heights. It is one reason there has been no war with Syria for 20 years, the air skirmishes during Operation Peace for Galilee notwithstanding. By any measure one cares to apply, it remains the "eyes of the nation."

Before he proceeds any further in his apparent rush to put out those eyes, or at best throw a veil over them, it would seem that Yitzhak Rabin and his government owe that Golani rifleman and the fallen for whom he bore witness the answer to at least one question. If the "eyes of the nation" count in 1993 as no more than a bartering chip for the dubious signature of one of the world's most ruthless dictators and human rights violators, why were they worth the river of Jewish blood expended to recapture them in 1973 from that self-same dictator? Were the Army, the politicians, the government lying then? Are they lying now? Put another way, what has objectively changed to make those "eyes" one scintilla less critical to Israel's security in 1993, than they were in 1973?

Finally, a most unobjective question, Mr. Prime Minister. What, beyond the evidence of ancient bones, can be said to define hallowed ground in Israel? If it is the blood of its children, then what constitutes more hallowed ground than the Hermon and the Golan Heights over which it stands sentry?◇

William Mehlman is a freelance journalist.

Editor's Note: The following message appeared as an advertisement, in Hebrew, in the Israeli newspapers Ma'ariv and Ha'aretz, in April:

HOW MUCH IS AN AMERICAN GUARANTEE REALLY WORTH TO ISRAEL?

Despite everyone's hope for peace, the reality today is that Israel is in grave danger.

Iran is working feverishly to attain nuclear capabilities, pledging to use its weapons in an Islamic "jihad" against Israel. And the West refuses to block the flow of weapons-related technology to Teheran.

Iraq is rebuilding its army, and it still has plenty of missile launchers that it can and will not hesitate to use against Israel. And when Israel tried to fly reconnaissance missions to determine where those missiles were, there was an international outcry.

Just a few miles from Israel's border, Syria is stockpiling the most advanced missiles in the Middle East, and its scientists are working day and night to develop chemical and biological weapons to use against the Jewish State. Syria's military buildup reveals more about its intentions than does the current "peace" charade.

And right in Israel's own back yard, Palestinian Arabs are employing every weapon at their disposal --rocks, firebombs, knives, machine guns-- to terrorize Israeli citizens.

Some people think that the only solution to these problems is for Israel to seek America's protection. Surrender vital territory, they say, and seek "guarantees" that the U.S. will intervene in time if the Arabs attack again.

But can Israel rely on speedy U.S. action in the event of such a crisis? Military mobilization is always time-consuming. Even when America's interests were directly at stake in the Persian Gulf, it took six months to mobilize U.S. troops, plus a 48-hour Congressional debate. It's not hard to imagine what Arab armies could do to Israel while congressmen were debating whether or not to authorize U.S. intervention.

In times like these, it is prudent to consider the wise words of the late Senator Henry M. Jackson:

"One hears a great deal these days, from people whose vision is shorter even than their memories, about the wisdom of international guarantees as a means of assuring Israeli security. I can't imagine a more misdirected policy than to ask Israel, which has been the model of the self-reliant ally, to transform itself into an American dependency... Much of the history of international guarantees is the history of countries who have lost their territory, their freedom and even their sons and daughters. . . . It is a history that the Israelis, for their reasons, and we, for ours, ought to do everything possible to avoid."

(from the *Congressional Record*, December 18, 1973)

Partial List of Signatories:

Jack Kemp, former Secretary of Housing
Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)
Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-NY)
Tom Neumann, executive director JINSA
Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, USAF (Ret.)
Vice Admiral Bernard M. Kauderer, USN (Ret.)
Frank J. Gaffney, Jr., Center for Security Policy
Arnold Forster, Esq., Shea and Gould
Richard Hellman, Esq., president CIPAC
Midge Decter, author

Prof. William Van Cleave
Michael Ledeen, American Enterprise Institute
Brig. Gen. Roland I. Pritikin, ARNG (Ret.)
Elliot Abrams, former Assistant Sec'y of State
G. Gordon Liddy, radio broadcaster
Reuben and Rose Mattus, AFSI board
Manfred Lehmann, Religious Zionists of Amer.
Dr. Irving Moskowitz, AFSI board
Sven Kraemer, former Director of Arms
Control, National Security Council

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APOLOGISTS FOR HAMAS TERROR

Thomas J. Berger

Many in the media criticize Israel's temporary deportation of Hamas insurgents because it does not deal with the so-called "root cause" of the problem, that is, Israel's occupation of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and the absence of a "Palestinian state." It is 'common knowledge' in the news media that Israel is to blame for any atrocities perpetrated by Arab terrorists against Jewish or Arab civilians because the Israelis are the occupiers. But this condemnation springs from 'uncommon ignorance' about the history and geopolitics of the region.

First, the argument is morally despicable because it implicitly justifies any violence, however heinous or murderous, on the part of Hamas or PLO terrorists. So, whenever this attitude is extended by media reporting, more violence is encouraged by the sympathetic misperceptions that are generated, and reporters and pundits alike must share the blame for making (bad) news rather than objectively reporting or analyzing it.

Furthermore, as experience has shown, every terrorist has a cause but not every cause has terrorists. True terrorist violence (and Hamas activities such as knifing, shooting, and mutilating civilians are textbook examples), should *always* be condemned by decent people regardless of the cause.

In the case of Arab terrorism against Israel, however, the cause itself is without merit. If the real obstacle to Middle East peace is Israel's 25 year-old occupation of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and the non-existence of "Palestine," then why were Arab dictatorships repeatedly trying to destroy Israel during the 17 years *before* the territories were occupied? Why was the PLO formed *before* Israel won Gaza from Egypt and Judea and Samaria from Jordan in a defensive war?

The fact is that Arab nations could easily have created a Palestinian state any time during the 17 years when they controlled those territories. "Palestine" was not on the Arab agenda until Israel controlled this strategically vital land. Now the issue is supposedly the major "road-block to peace." The PLO charter still calls for the destruction of the entire state of Israel, and categorically rejects any form of territorial compromise. This real "road-block to peace" is ignored by the media and Arab governments alike.

The strategic importance of the territories is the real reason for the Arab nations' new-found dedication to creating a Palestinian state. As for the PLO, in 1974 it adopted a "phased plan" for the conquest of Israel, a plan freely discussed in the Arab media but ignored by Western journalists. Salah Khalaf, chief aide to the PLO's Yasser Arafat, described the phased concept to destroy Israel,

saying: "At first a small state [in Judea, Samaria and Gaza] and with Allah's will it will be made larger and expand...the liberation of Palestine step by step." The PLO charter explicitly defines "Palestine" as *all* of Israel and more. A further statement buttressing the phased plan was made by Rafik Hathe, two weeks after Arafat made his supposed peace statement in Geneva, in 1988. Hathe, a member of the central council of Arafat's own Fatah movement, explained the Geneva 'gesture': "The phased plan lay at the root of our present political approach." So while PLO diplomacy may skirt the issue of territorial compromise and the continued existence of Israel, in realpolitik terms the PLO's position remains rooted in the bedrock of terrorism. The role of any territory gained by diplomacy would merely be a staging area for further attempts to conquer the rest of Israel.

Hamas, on the other hand, makes no bones about its rejection of compromise and calls openly for Israel's destruction. It is difficult to imagine what leftwing advocates of appeasement and media pundits are thinking when they argue that Israel should agree to a Palestinian state in order to make peace with "the increasingly radicalized Arabs." Difficult--but not impossible. It is the same mindset that believed Hitler would be satisfied with the Sudetenland.

Ultimately, the entire concept of Palestinian nationalism is a fraud. There has never existed on the face of this planet any Arab nation known as Palestine. *Palestina* was simply the name that Rome gave to that area of its empire after conquering the Jewish State that had endured there for 1,500 years. Palestine subsequently became part of various other empires, most recently the Turkish and then the British. No other independent nation ever existed there until the Jewish State was recreated in 1948. What journalists call the "West Bank" was the very heart of the ancient Jewish State. The so-called 1967 border, which delineates it, never existed in history and was never intended to be a border. It is simply the armistice line where the Jordanian Legion was stopped by Israeli defenders during the 1948 War of Independence.

But journalists who see Israeli "occupation" as the heart of the conflict are inevitably tempted to search for "root causes" to justify Hamas butchery--instead of analyzing why the men responsible for such atrocities have been temporarily deported. Instead of fawning interviews and repeated scenes of Hamas terrorists praying in the snow, news reports should inform about the mutilated bodies of Jewish and Arab victims of Hamas. ♦

Dr. Thomas J. Berger is chairman of the Montana chapter of Americans For a Safe Israel.

MIDDLE EAST UPDATE



...Amnesty International has accused the government of **Egypt** of authorizing torture, summary executions and other human rights abuses. "Confessions extracted under torture are accepted as evidence, lawyers aren't informed when cases go to prosecutors, and police sometimes harass lawyers when they're visiting clients," according to Amnesty...

...The recent arrest of Moslem fundamentalist Mohammed Salameh in connection with the World Trade Center bombing was the result of an Israeli-American conspiracy to defame the Arab world, according to Salama Ahmed Salama, managing editor of the Egyptian government newspaper *Al Ahram*. "In the same way that the killer of Robert Kennedy, following the 1967 Arab defeat, had to be the Palestinian Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, this time it was necessary that the perpetrator of the New York bombing

be an American of Palestinian origin who was once in possession of an Egyptian passport," Salama alleged. "What a skillful international plan." Another interesting conspiracy theory was recently offered to an interviewer from *The New Republic* by a several unidentified Palestinian Arabs. They "told me that the entire point of the allied no-flight zone over southern **Iraq** is an Israeli plot to take control of the region, because the Talmud was written in Babylon and the Jews are planning to reconquer the soil from which it sprung"...

...China and **Syria** are working together to develop dangerous new missile systems, according to *Foreign Report*, an authoritative newsletter published by the *London Economist*. Syria is financing Chinese missile projects, and in exchange Chinese experts are working in Syrian factories that manufacture missile-guidance systems. The systems, which are being produced in the cities of Aleppo and Hama, are "sophisticated," a recent Israeli Army analysis concluded. Furthermore, Syria and **Pakistan** are jointly financing a Chinese missile

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ON SECOND THOUGHT...

...Israeli leftwing journalist Joel Greenberg frequently smears the Israeli settlement movement (and was even once the target of a criminal complaint after boasting that he had broken into a settler's home and looked through her personal belongings). Thus one would have expected him to endorse *Zealots for Zion*, the new anti-settlements book authored by Israel-basher Robert I. Friedman. But Friedman goes too far, Greenberg now concedes (in the *Jerusalem Report*, May 20). Friedman, while posing as a journalist, is in fact "unabashedly opinionated," Greenberg notes, and the anti-settlements crusade may be harmed by Friedman's "political bent, which shows through his writing and emerges clearly at the conclusion of his book, where he counsels Israel to 'end its occupation,' so that Zionism will not be 'debased by the zealots'"...

...Yitzhak Rabin's electoral victory last year was not the result of a shift to the left by Israeli voters, admits leftwing Knesset Member Avraham Poraz (of the Meretz Party) in the May/June issue of *Tikkun*. "Rabin presented himself as a hard-liner," Poraz concedes. "This hard line is one of the reasons that the Labor Party got more votes and this is the reason that we are now in the government, because we had a majority of one, and if it had been somebody else at the head of the Labor Party,

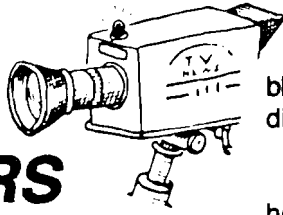
a dove, we'd all be in the opposition together, because it would have been a very different government"...

...Ze'ev Chafets, editor of the *Jerusalem Report*, at first felt sympathy for Shulamit Aloni, who was compelled to switch from Minister of Education to Minister of Communications after she made a series of anti-religious and anti-nationalist remarks. Aloni's critics staged an "ugly effort" to depose Aloni and, even if she is "theatrical" at times, "we are on the same side of the *kulturkampf*," Chafets says.

But Chafets was given pause by the memory of an incident in 1977, shortly after he was appointed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin to head the Government Press Office. It seems that Chafets was privately approached by an Israeli journalist who questioned him about his intentions in office. Chafets made a vague remark about "paying close attention to press coverage of Israel." It turned out that the journalist was also a top political aide to a Knesset Member from the opposition, and within days the MK had claimed in the Knesset that Chafets "was attempting to use the Shin Bet [Israeli security services] to monitor journalists." The MK accused Chafets of using his new position to promote "anti-democratic measures." Describing the incident in the June 3 edition of the *Jerusalem Report*, Chafets

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BEHIND THE NEWSMAKERS



...Who murdered Robert F. Kennedy? You'd never know that the killer was a Palestinian Arab terrorist, if you read American press accounts of the 25th anniversary of the assassination, in June. Typical stories about Kennedy's legacy were those of the *New York Times*, which mentioned that Sirhan B. Sirhan was the murderer but did not explain his motive, and the Associated Press, which did not mention Sirhan at all...

...When an Israeli woman named Sara Sharon was found hacked to death in a Holon factory yard in January, the local press speculated that the murder was connected to criminal elements. Then Mussa Juma'a, an Arab terrorist, confessed that he murdered Sharon as "revenge" for Israel's deportation of the 415 Hamas terror leaders. The murder of Ms. Sharon has yet to be reported by the American media...

...**David Brinn**, night editor for the *Jerusalem Post*, was one of twelve Israeli journalists who were recently invited to interview PLO leader Yasser Arafat in Vienna. Brinn said he was troubled by the question of whether or not to shake Arafat's hand, since "he has a lot of Israeli and Jewish blood on his hands." Brinn decided to go ahead with the interview anyway, because he wanted to discover "if the leopard had changed its spots." The handshake dilemma never arose (because Arafat sat down to begin the interview before any shaking of hands), but the PLO chief made it clear that he has not changed his spots--he refused to distance himself from terrorism, evaded questions about Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, and spoke only in vague generalities about "the need for peace." Nevertheless, apparently charmed by Arafat's calm demeanor, Brinn concluded



Yasser Arafat: not bloodthirsty?

that "perhaps Arafat isn't the bloodthirsty terrorist we've made him out to be." The thousands of Israelis whose

blood has been shed at Arafat's command would no doubt disagree with Brinn's assessment...

"Killings of Palestinian Children Climb" blared the headline in the May 18 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, over a *Los Angeles Times* story based on information from the leftwing Israeli group B'Tselem. Correspondent **Michael Parks** described B'Tselem as "a leading human rights group," without any reference to the fact that B'Tselem's board is dominated by Knesset Members from the leftwing Meretz and Mapam parties; the fact that B'Tselem reports only on alleged mistreatment of Arabs while never reporting on Arab abuse of Jews; and the fact that B'Tselem has received funds from the Arab-financed Carter Center for Human Rights in Atlanta...

...Zionist activist Morton A. Klein has "cowed" the *Philadelphia Inquirer* into publishing a torrent of his pro-Israel "propaganda," leftwing activist **Edward Herman** charged in a recent letter to the *Philadelphia City Paper*. Herman noted that "Klein had four Op-Ed columns and seven letters published" in the *Inquirer* during the past two years. But what Herman neglected to tell *City Paper* readers was that three of those four Op-Eds had nothing to do with Israel (and even the fourth referred to Israel only indirectly), while four of the seven letters likewise were on subjects other than Israel...

..."A Palestinian was fatally shot and four others were wounded by Israeli soldiers whose jeep was stoned yesterday," began an Associated Press dispatch on May 17. "At least 17 Arabs were injured in other rock-throwing clashes with troops." The AP forgot to mention that the deceased was one of those hurling rocks --and firebombs, as well-- at that Israeli jeep. Arab attacks on Israeli troops were turned into "clashes," in which, presumably, both sides shared the blame. In the world according to the Associated Press, Arabs are never the aggressors...

...Four armed, fugitive Arab terrorists rammed through an Israeli Army checkpoint in the Gaza Strip on May 4, and soldiers opened fire, killing all four. National Public Radio described the terrorists as "four Palestinians," and refused to mention that they were armed or what sort of crimes they had committed, conceding only that "an Israeli Army spokesman said the four were wanted for guerilla activities." Does the torture and murder of unarmed civilians qualify as a "guerilla activity"?...

SPOTLIGHT ON THE EXTREMISTS

...This year's Passover Haggadah supplement, published by *Tikkun* magazine, urges Jews to interrupt the traditional Passover service to recite: "Our cup of joy cannot be full as long as millions of Palestinians live in refugee camps or under Israeli military rule"...

...Israel-bashing journalist **Alexander Cockburn** has no trouble with the anti-Israel writings of his colleague **Robert I. Friedman**. But Friedman's ego is too much even for Cockburn. Writing in the May 31 issue of *The Nation*, Cockburn declared: "I have a serious problem with the way [Friedman] avoids giving credit to anyone but himself." Last July, Cockburn points out, a one-time junior research assistant at AIPAC, **Gregory Slobodkin**, alleged, in the anti-Israel journal *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, that AIPAC was trying to "stifle" critics of Israel. In an August 4 article in the *Village Voice*, Friedman made the same charge, but failed to acknowledge that Slobodkin had already written about the affair. Then, writing in the May 11, 1993 issue of the *Voice*, Friedman "was still boasting that AIPAC's 'spy operation was disclosed last summer in the *Voice*,' which it wasn't," Cockburn notes...

...Veteran leftwing extremist **Tom Smerling** continues to be treated by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency as if he is a respected Jewish leader. A recent JTA dispatch (under the byline of **Larry Yudelson**), reporting on statements made by King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, offered the comments of just one individual: "Tom Smerling, director Project Nishma, a Jewish organization that conducts programs on security and peace and is supportive of the current peace process." The JTA neglected to mention that before being hired by Nishma, Smerling was a leader of the pro-PLO New Jewish Agenda. Nishma itself, far from being a non-partisan group concerned about "security and peace," is in fact dominated by the far left: at least 61 of its 100 board members are either affiliated with Americans for Peace Now or have in the past signed leftwing newspaper ads attacking Israel. As for Smerling and the Saudis, no surprises: he was impressed by Fahd's latest rhetoric just as he was enamored of other Arab leaders during his New Jewish Agenda days...

...The Association for Civil Rights in Israel became involved in the Hamas deportation controversy solely because it wanted to "ensure that the Palestinians

targeted for deportations received judicial review," according to one **Barbara Dobkin**, writing in the May 28 *New York Jewish Week* in defense of the New Israel Fund, which provides most of the ACRI's budget. The truth, however, is that the ACRI was not merely interested in a "review" of the case but actively sought to prevent the deportations. ACRI leader **Joshua Schoffman** raced to the home of one of the Supreme Court justices, in the middle of the night and in the pouring rain, to hold up the expulsion of the terrorists. Schoffman then argued in court against expelling them...

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LETTERS

May 21, 1993

Letters to the Editor
Outpost
Dear editor:

May 5, 1993

Letters to the Editor
Outpost
Dear editor:

I need to correct an implication in [Herbert Zweibon's front-page] *Outpost* article of May 1993. I did object to the admission of Americans For Peace Now to the Presidents Conference because of its "narrow political agenda." You were correct in that. However, I never said anything about their "ruthless tactics" because I really don't know anything about such. I have a number of problems on a substantive level with Americans For Peace Now, but that is not the issue.

Shalom,

Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser
Executive Vice President
Central Conference of American Rabis
New York

Herbert Zweibon replies:

*My apologies for the misunderstanding.
Incidentally, readers interested in learning more
about Peace Now's ruthless tactics should read the
essay, "Disinformation in the Peace Now Campaign," by
Morton A. Klein, in the June issue of Midstream.*

Kudos to your "Behind the Newsmakers" columnist for exposing the biased reporting of *New York Times* correspondent Clyde Haberman.

In his March 17 dispatch, Haberman focused on Israeli reactions to the murder of two Jews near the town of Eli. These killings were the latest in a wave of Palestinian Arab attacks on Israelis. Instead of discussing Israelis' legitimate fears for their physical well-being, Haberman utilized highly pejorative terminology like "tempers boil," "frayed nerves," and "intertwining emotions of fear and hatred" to describe Israeli responses.

In addition, crucial information was omitted. Haberman indicated that Jewish settlers in Gaza and in the 'West Bank' community of Kamei Shomron announced that Palestinian Arabs would henceforth be banned from working at their hot houses and construction sites. But Haberman didn't mention either the stabbing death just a week earlier of an Israeli in Gaza by two Palestinian Arabs who came to work in his greenhouse, or the millions of dollars worth of damage caused by Arab workers at constructions sites--including blocking water pipes with cement and sabotaging electrical wiring. So much for the slogan of "All the News That's Fit to Print"!

Elaine Lubetsky
New York

One Minute to Midnight
Dr. Irving Moskowitz

ARABS SUPPRESS DISSIDENT HISTORIANS

"How can Arab history be written in a satisfactory manner?" asked Prof. Nicole Zayyada, an elderly Lebanese historian, in a recent article in the London-based Arab newspaper *Al Hayat*. The answer, according to Prof. Zayyada, is that it can't--because harsh censorship by Arab regimes prevents the truth from being written about the history of the Arabs.

Official "rewriting committees" are sponsored by the authorities in Baghdad, Damascus and Kuwait as well as by the Arab League, Zayyada notes. Their job is to make sure that the Arab world is not exposed to any accounts of Arab history that deviate from the official Islamic and Arab nationalist line. The committees are staffed by Moslem militants who can be counted on to

enforce Arab orthodoxy. The lone non-Moslem member of such a committee is a Christian Arab who was "a devout follower of the pan-Arab ideology" espoused by Saddam Hussein. Prof. Zayyada knows first-hand about the committees, because he was once a member of the Damascus branch. Zayyada is thus eminently qualified to testify about the "climate of fear among Arab historians."

Arab tyranny is a topic that does not arouse the interest of many in the Western media. You won't read about it in the *New York Times*, and you won't see it on ABC's *World News Tonight*.

But it's there, every day--in the suppression of dissident historians, in the outlawing of free speech, in the crushing of opposition political parties, in the persecution of non-Moslem minorities, in the enslavement of black Africans and, of course, in the ruthless, century-old war to eliminate the Jewish presence from the Middle East. ♦

Dr. Irving Moskowitz is a member of the board of governors of Americans For a Safe Israel.

LETTERS THEY REFUSED TO PRINT

March 9, 1993

Letters to the Editor
New York Times
To the Editor:

Clyde Haberman's March 4 dispatch from Jerusalem described the recent murder of Yehoshua Weisbrod, an Israeli accountant, as "unusual" and exceptionally "brutal." Weisbrod took a wrong turn into a Gaza refugee camp, was set upon by Arab rock-throwers who knocked him unconscious, and was then shot to death at close range.

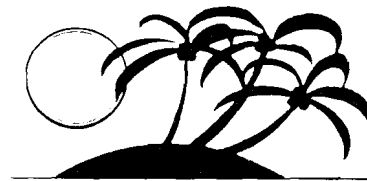
In fact, a nearly identical assault took place in September, 1990, when a young Israeli named Amnon Pomerantz likewise entered a Gaza Strip refugee camp by mistake. His car was attacked by stone-throwing Palestinian Arabs, and he was struck in the head by rocks until he lost consciousness. At that point, the Arab mob set Pomerantz's car afire and burned him alive.

There are those who believe that Arab terrorism

is the product of Israeli territorial policies. Yet the truth is that whether the government in Israel has been run by the rightwing Likud --as it was at the time of the Pomerantz murder-- or the leftwing Labor --as when Weisbrod was murdered, in March-- there are many Arabs for whom the target of an Israeli civilian, alone and unarmed, is an irresistible temptation.

Sincerely,

Herbert Zweibon
Chairman
Americans For a Safe Israel
New York



MIDDLE EAST UPDATE

(Continued from page 7)

project, with the intention of purchasing the finished product--M-9 missiles with a range of 600 kilometers, deliveries of which have already begun. The Syrians and Chinese are presently negotiating over a Syrian purchase of China's CSS-1 missile, which can carry chemical or nuclear warheads. Damascus recently concluded a \$2-billion deal with North Korea that includes the purchase of North Korea's Scud-B missiles, with a range of 300 kilometers, and Scud-C missiles, which have a range of 600 kilometers...

...**Egypt** "attaches great importance to the acquisition of surface missiles," and sold North Korea a quantity of Scud missiles during the 1980s in exchange for North Korean help in producing an upgraded Egyptian Scud called the Badr-2000, according to *Foreign Report*. At the same time, **Libya** is arranging to purchase China's M-9 and CSS-2 missiles (range: 3,200 kilometers), and **Iran** is benefitting from North Korean and Chinese technological assistance in its efforts to develop missiles that can carry nuclear or chemical warheads...

ON SECOND THOUGHT

(Continued from page 7)

strongly implied that Aloni --who now complains that she is being smeared-- was the MK who did the smearing against Chafets in 1977...

...Stephen Zunes, director of the far-left Institute for a New Middle East Policy, regularly denounces Israel for not making more concessions to the Arabs. But even Zunes has now acknowledged that much leftwing criticism of Israel is not legitimate dissent but simple Israel-bashing. Writing in the May-June issue of *The Nonviolent Activist*, Zunes admits that "many progressive activists, particularly on the far left, express solidarity with the plight of the Palestinians in a manner which is often insensitive to legitimate Israeli security concerns and goes beyond questioning Israeli government policies in the occupied territories to questioning Israel's right to exist...It is crucial that any criticism of Israeli policies be balanced by an explicit affirmation of Israel's right to exist, that Israel not be singled out as uniquely guilty of crimes against humanity, and that peace activists avoid establishing any kind of coalition with groups or individuals whose opposition to Israeli policies are not based on a consistent stance against all forms of injustice"...

BALDERDASH

"Israel created the Hamas organization in order to foil Palestinian nationalism. But Israel's grip on the leadership was slipping. So the Israelis selected a new group of leaders and, together with several hundred decoys, shipped them off to Lebanon, where they will become heroes of the struggle. Eventually, the Israelis will allow them to return, where they will form the new Hamas power structure. Then Israel will once again be fully in control."

--a "young, Western-educated Jordanian businessman," in an interview with *The New Republic*, May 24, 1993

"The knife-wielding Palestinians from the refugee camp in Gaza is not...a criminal...He has been humiliated at a hundred road blocks and check-points; someone in his family has been shot, beaten, or arrested."

--Prof. Stanley Cohen of Hebrew University, in the May/June 1993 issue of *Tikkun*

"[T]he United States has not been a 'terror target' by any stretch of the imagination...which is much more than can be said for the wholesale regime terror our government has long supported throughout the world...Were there international connections to the [World Trade Center] bombing?...We may never know. But this won't stop hundreds of terrorologists and legislators from fanning the flames of fear and xenophobia for months to come."

--leftwing journalist Gerry O'Sullivan in *The Humanist*, May/June 1993

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