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# The Gaza Strip: An Age-Old Problem

## Introduction

Israel

The violence that has shaken Israel in recent weeks brought with it a wave of critical press commentary on the government's administration of and the security methods it employs on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

For more than three weeks since the first demonstration in Gaza's Jabaliya refugee camp, television cameras and news publications have focused on the protests of this restive population against the Israeli authorities. Yet, this preoccupation with the current coverage left little room for attention to the historical tragedy that defined Gaza long before Israel won the territory in 1967.

Gaza has never been anything but occupied territory. Ruled first by the Ottoman Empire for several hundred years, then by Britain and Egypt before Israel, Gaza has been long referred to as the "forgotten" or "unwanted" territory. Largely ignored by Britain during the Mandate, the Strip later festered in crowded misery throughout Egypt's 19-year rule.

With no Arab government willing to negotiate the area's future or care for its refugees, the Gaza problem has lain solely in the hands of its Israeli inheritors. While Israel has done more than any previous occupier to improve the quality of life in the area, all the world's hospitals, vocational schools, automobiles and telephone lines cannot calm Gazan political frustrations. For that, the solution remains unchanged: only Arab recognition and willingness to negotiate with Israel can solve the continuing tragedy of Gaza.

## Historical Overview

Here follows a brief historical background highlighting Gaza's role and condition in recent Middle East history. Comparison of Egypt's and Israel's administration of the area should prove helpful in responding to claims that responsibility for the current unrest lies solely at Israel's doorstep.

### The War of Independence

On May 15, 1948, Arab armies invaded Israel in an effort to crush the newborn Jewish state. By the war's end in early 1949, Israel had gained control of more territory than had been originally allotted to it in 1947 under the UN partition plan. The plan, which proposed the division of Palestine into two states -- one Jewish, one Arab -- was adamantly opposed by Arab leaders who chose war instead and lost. As a consequence of this rejection, the UN's proposed Arab state never came into existence. Instead, part of the area designated by the UN plan as Arab Palestine was seized by Transjordan which took the territory west of the Jordan River and the Old City of Jerusalem, and by Egypt, which occupied the Gaza Strip.

In early 1948, Gaza's population totalled 60,000. But months later, Arab calls to Palestinians within Israel to flee the newly established state resulted in a massive migration of refugees into the area, boosting the narrow Strip's population to an estimated 200,000. With no economic infrastructure or administrative authority concerned about refugee absorption, Egyptian rule over Gaza is

January, 1988

0.4% in 1983. Similarly, government-built health facilities and medical technology transferred from Israel into the area, resulted in a significant decline in the infant mortality rate, dropping from 87 per 1,000 in 1968 to 41 per 1,000 in 1983. Productivity too has skyrocketed since 1967; today, agriculture and small trade have replaced smuggling and terror as the main forms of employment in Gaza.

These gains notwithstanding, Dayan's system began to show cracks in May 1972 when Israel opened its borders to all residents of the territories entering the country between the hours of 5:00 and 1:00 A.M. With the new regulations in place, the army cancelled its policy of checking all work and travel permits at the borders.

No longer dependent on Labor Ministry permits to pass the military road-blocks, increasing numbers of Palestinians began working as independent day laborers. The fact that day laborers were paid in cash and could evade income tax and health insurance deductions proved enticing to the refugees, many of whom, for nationalistic reasons, had already rejected the benefits offered them by Israel. Suddenly, a pool of illegal, unprotected workers emerged as easy prey for exploitation by greedy employers.

This stated, recent comparisons between the exploitation of illegal Palestinian workers and the South African government's policy of discrimination against black laborers are belied by the facts. Unlike South Africa, where blacks have little redress in the work place, the illegal Gazan or West Bank day laborer may apply to Israel's National Insurance Institute if injured on the job. Although many Palestinians refuse this compensation, those who have filed claims have been reimbursed in full. Additionally, the illegal workers who pay no income tax and make no contribution to the National Insurance Fund are still entitled by law to receive all cost-of-living increases as well as other benefits gained in collective agreements. Should an employer fail to increase the illegal worker's wages, that worker has the right to request the Labor Ministry or the Histadrut (Israel's trade union) to intervene, and, if necessary, take the employer to court.

Israel's efforts to improve the quality of economic and personal life in Gaza has met with considerable praise in some quarters of the world and with resounding condemnation in others -- the latter being particularly true within the Arab world itself. For example, among the most controversial of steps taken to improve life in Gaza was Israel's decision to offer new housing as an alternative to the densely packed camps which have served as home to two-thirds of the refugees since 1949.

During the 1970s, Israel, in cooperation with eight international organizations, purchased state land to build low-cost homes for the camps' inhabitants. However, like other rehabilitation programs initiated by Israel, the rehousing project has been denounced by Arab and PLO leaders who claim that the refugees should remain in the camps until an independent Palestinian state is established. At first, Arab government opposition and PLO intimidation prevented the program's implementation. But today, the real needs of the refugees have begun to outweigh external opposition to the program and thousands of Palestinians have left the camps for modern facilities built by Israel. Sadly, despite its obvious

### Gaza Under Israeli Rule

When Gaza passed into Israeli hands in June 1967, unemployment was as high as 48% among men in the refugee camps and 40% in nearby villages and cities. During the initial phase of its administration, Israel, which, like Egypt, governed the area in accordance with military law, sought to improve living conditions in Gaza and, at the same time, to neutralize the terrorist network in operation there.

Toward this end, the evening curfew that had become a permanent fixture under Egyptian occupation was lifted almost immediately. For the first time in nearly 20 years, the Allenby Bridge was opened and Gazans were free to receive visitors from neighboring Arab states. Also, in sharp contrast to Egyptian policies, Israel encouraged Gazans to conduct trade outside the Strip. In addition to affording a commercial link essential for economic growth, the open-bridge policy significantly eased the sense of isolation that had plagued Gaza's residents for so long.

The open-bridge policy was only one method employed by Israel to improve Gaza's economy. Realizing that it was to its advantage that life in the Strip be normalized, Israel rapidly created new jobs for the refugees. Whereas under Egypt, all administrative posts were filled by the occupying authorities, within two months of the Six-Day War Israel decreased the number of officers involved in Gaza's administration, leaving the management of most local affairs and thousands of jobs to the residents. Three months later, the first residents of the area were offered work in Israel. In contrast to the obstacles posed by Cairo to prevent Palestinians from entering Egypt during its rule over the area, Gazans need apply only with Israel's Labor Ministry to travel and receive work permits inside Israel.

Critics argue that this step was taken to relieve Israel's need for a large pool of unskilled labor. In actuality, the move was part of a broad-based plan conceived by then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan to curtail terror against Israel. Based on the belief that all but a few radical Palestinians would choose making money to planting bombs, Dayan's policy was aimed at raising the standard of living and restoring the personal dignity of the residents of the territories.

Under Dayan's plan, workers from the administered areas received the same wages as Israelis and qualified for all social benefits, except those solely applicable to members and former members of Israel's armed services. Furthermore, it was decided that all collective wage agreements and cost-of-living increments would automatically apply to workers from the administered areas. Strict guidelines were established to protect Palestinians from exploitation, requiring Israeli employers to contribute to a national fund providing severance pay; accident insurance; holiday and sick leave; health services inside Israel and medical insurance and facilities within the administered areas. As a final guarantee against on-the-job discrimination, all salaries and benefits were to be dispersed through a special fund managed by the Labor Ministry.

As Dayan had hoped, his plan resulted in unprecedented economic growth to all concerned and the quality of life was vastly improved on both sides of the Green Line. Due to Israel's efforts, unemployment dropped from 48% in 1967 to



remembered bitterly by the Palestinians as a period of extreme neglect. Indeed, in 1949, it was UNRWA, not Egypt, that built the camps and established the expansive aid program for the refugees which remains in existence today.

Like most Arab leaders, Egypt's Nasser refused to resettle the refugees who fell under his control. Claiming instead that Palestinian absorption into Egypt would detract from the struggle for their homeland, he left the territory undeveloped. Its residents, moreover, were kept in squalid, exceptionally crowded conditions, restless and ready to serve as pawns in the Arabs' continued war against Israel.

### Gaza Under Egyptian Rule

Throughout Egypt's 19-year trusteeship of the Strip, Gaza was governed according to military law. During that period, the area served primarily as a free port for smuggling contraband into Egypt, and as a base for training young Palestinian terrorists. From 1952 onward, the Strip became the main staging ground for terror attacks on nearby Israeli settlements. Although begun as unorganized raids, by 1955, the Egyptian High Command established a 700-man unit in Gaza to stage attacks against Israel.

Indeed, throughout Egypt's administration of the area, terror was among the leading sources of income for the residents. Egyptian intelligence paid handsomely for each armed foray into Israel, and for every murder or act of plunder. This mode of employment continued with the PLO's formation in Egypt in 1964. As the PLO's principal financial and military backer, Egypt had a vested interest in the organization's success. It was toward that end that Gazan refugees under Egypt's control were forcibly conscripted to form the core of the PLO's early recruits.

In addition to smuggling and terror, citrus production and employment through UNRWA were among the few alternatives to joblessness in Egyptian-controlled Gaza. Egypt not only did little to relieve the endemic poverty of the Strip, it placed tight political and economic restrictions on the refugees and severely hindered their chances for personal or commercial growth.

Unlike the Palestinians of the West Bank who were granted citizenship by their Jordanian occupiers, Egyptian citizenship was denied to the Gazan refugees. And only limited numbers of Palestinians were allowed to enter Egypt each year. But for these few life was no easier: Gazans permitted to work in Egypt were banned from government jobs and denied all union benefits afforded to native and other foreign workers.

Perhaps most debilitating to the area's economic and psychological welfare was the impact of a permanent night time curfew and travel restrictions imposed throughout Egypt's 19-year rule. Although several thousand refugees were permitted to study abroad and work in under-populated countries in the Mideast and North Africa, the majority remained isolated from the outside world. Due to concerns that a large influx of Palestinians would threaten internal stability, most Arab governments followed Egypt's lead by limiting the number of refugees allowed through their borders each year.

benefits to the refugees, the rehousing project is still criticized by Arab and PLO leaders. They argue that only by staying in the camps can the Palestinians keep world attention focused on their cause.

#### Conclusion

As Gaza's most recent administrator, Israel has done more to improve life for its residents than any of its predecessors. What is missing for Gazans' now as in the past, is hope for an independent political future.

Israel has repeatedly stated its willingness to enter talks and negotiate the future of the territories. But, in the 20 years since the Six-Day War, no Arab state has responded in kind. Egypt, moreover, virtually abandoned Gaza during Camp David and has no interest in regaining control of the area. Jordan's attention has largely been focused on the West Bank and it has expressed little interest in helping the Strip's troubled population by negotiating Gaza's fate.

Thus the current impasse. As long as Arab leaders and the PLO refuse to accept her existence, Israel will have no partner with which to talk peace and chances for Palestinian political representation will remain tragically dim.

International Union of  
**Bricklayers & Allied Craftsmen**  
815 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 • Phone 202/783-3789



Joel Freedman  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

*Contd  
Amil*

DATE:

*1-26-88*

TO:

*May Green*

☒ Attached is the information you wanted.

☐ Attached is information of interest.



JACK

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MEMO TO: LABOR COMMITTEE  
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY WATCH

FROM: JACK JOYCE

SUBJECT: AID TO CENTRAL AMERICA

DATE: 00 JANUARY 1988

Instead of greater freedom, Nicaraguan democratic trade unionists have experienced greater repression since the signing of the Central American Peace Accord on August 7. Members of the ICFTU-affiliated Nicaraguan Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), which supports the Accord, have tried to expand their union activities in several areas in accordance with the Accord's democratization provisions. Here's what happened:

-- On August 8, one day after the signing of the Accord, sixteen campesino leaders of CUS were arrested in the communities of Cusmaji, La Concepcion, San Juan de Sagüasca and El Limón. They remain in jail despite the amnesty provisions of the Accord. These union members are being held in the La Chacara prison.

-- On September 2, three CUS members from the town of Parcelas El Porvenir were abducted by soldiers from their homes at 10:00 pm and led away in handcuffs for induction in the army.

-- On November 1, Julio Cesar Bustamante Bianco, of the Union of Office and Related Workers of El Viejo, a CUS affiliate, was taken from his home at 10:00 pm by three men in army uniforms and one civilian, beaten with rifle butts and wounded in the face with a bayonet, in front of horrified neighbors.

-- On November 19, at midnight, a CUS machinist union member named Miguel Angel Sala Lara was shot four times in his right arm by Wilfredo Dominguez, the Director of Operations of INETER. Sala Lara is a member of the SIMARESISA trade union, and works in the El Progreso automotive machine shop. His arm will be permanently crippled.

-- On December 16, Guillermo Estrada, the leader of the CUS-affiliated Sindicato de Servicios Varios of Chinandega (clerks and related employees), was arrested at 5:00 pm. Estrada is also the General Secretary of the Social Democratic Party of \*Chinandega.

-- As of December 28, the CUS still has not received permission to resume publication of its journal, Solidaridad.

Nonetheless, we in the AFL-CIO want to see the Peace Accord as the route to democracy in Central America.

But, as we move closer to the 3 February Congressional vote on military aid to the Contras, we are going to face increasing pressure to state our position on this issue.

One factor building the pressure is that some of our labor colleagues have already declared themselves in favor of cutting off aid to the Contras regardless of whether the Sandinistas continue to suppress free unions, introduce democratic reforms generally or continue with their large scale Soviet supported arms buildup.

In lobbying people on the Hill, they claim to be implementing a change in AFL-CIO policy adopted at the last convention because of rank and file pressure.

I don't think they are reflecting AFL-CIO policy and I know they don't reflect the rank and file members of this organization.

The Administration and our perhaps overzealous colleagues have managed to make the question of aid to the Contras the "red or dead" issue of U.S. Central American policy.

That may be exactly what both sides intended to do, but why accept their sterile frame of reference. While it is reasonably clear that the Sandinistas will not move toward democratic reform without military pressure, it is equally clear that military pressure will not work without parallel diplomatic and political efforts. We can not, therefore, be comfortable with any aid to the Contras that would interfere with the Arias Plan. But neither can we be comfortable with any solution that leaves Nicaragua, which suffered under a right wing dictatorship for so long, as a left wing totalitarian state allied with the soviet bloc.

In any event, the question of whether or not to provide aid to the Contras is not really central to the core problems of the area: devastating poverty and a lack of democratic traditions and institutions.

Over the last several days, I've had a chance to talk to some of the Labor sponsors of the Peace and Democracy Watch and out of those conversations have emerged some elements which, when taken together, do respond directly to the Central American situation and particularly to the needs of our brothers and sisters of CUS in Nicaragua and UNOC in El Salvador:

1. Combine all of the current and proposed military and economic aid for the Arias Plan countries, including the \$270 million proposed by the Administration for the Contras, and dedicate the entire amount to support the objectives of the Arias Plan. The symbolic impact of that \$700 plus million level of commitment to the Arias Plan by the United States would be enormous.

2. Provide that if the Arias plan failed, those funds would be used in support to those countries that were complying with the plan and, if the Sandinistas did not comply, to the democratic resistance in Nicaragua. In our view, El Salvador will not be in compliance until its judiciary system is reformed. We would therefore argue that El Salvador would not be eligible for aid at this time.
3. Provide further that relatively small increments of the total appropriation would be provided on a monthly basis to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance until the Sandinistas took steps that irreversibly committed them to the democratic process. In this phase the aid to the resistance would not be earmarked for either humanitarian or military purposes, but would be at a "subsistence" level; i.e., just enough to prevent the Contras from having to disband prematurely.
4. Establish a bi-partisan commission of public officials who would serve on the commission by virtue of their offices; e.g., Senate Majority and Minority Leaders, Speaker of the House, House Minority Leader, the Secretaries of State and Defense. In addition, the Senate and House Majority Leaders could each appoint one current or former public official to the Commission. The Commission would determine (or, if that is constitutionally inappropriate, advise the President on) whether the Arias Plan was viably functioning and whether and to what extent aid should be provided to the democratic resistance in Nicaragua.
5. All non-military aid would be administered in accordance with the Central American Development Organization (CADO) called for in the International Security and Development Act of 1985. CADO is an AFL-CIO initiative that calls for aid to be administered by labor, management and government representatives from the U.S. and from the Central American Countries.

The nature of the CADO's governing body, multinational with heavy private sector involvement from both the U.S. and recipient countries, would minimize the potential for corruption, politicization, and impractical misdirection which has plagued some Central American development programs.

Because the lack of democratic structures and traditions is, with the exception of Costa Rica, as pervasive as the economic problem, and almost as intense in terms of impact on the daily lives of the people, CADO should, therefore, be shaped to also serve as a specialized political forum. In this role, the function of CADO would be to serve as a structured body, similar to the ILO, where a regional political consensus can be developed on economic questions and where antidemocratic situations, developments or trends can be discussed and brought to broader public attention. Such a body could also serve as a parallel adjunct to the Central American Parliament proposed by the Arias Plan and as a catalytic agent if the historic notion of a United States of Central America again becomes a viable political concept.

As noted above, CADO would include representatives of democratic trade unions, businesses, and farm organizations, as well as government representatives. CADO would therefore institutionalize the participation of working people and businessmen in national economic decision making in the region.

Furthermore, to quote from the 1985 Act passed by Congress, the aid afforded by CADO would be contingent upon, "...acceptance of and continued progress toward the protection of personal and economic liberties, freedom of expression, respect for human rights, and an independent system of equal justice."

Thus, the building of democratic institutions would be appropriately treated, not as an adjunct to democracy, but rather, as the key to political democracy, social reform and economic development.

The approach outlined above is consistent with the action of the last AFL-CIO convention to support the Arias Plan and to support CUS in its call for a withdrawal of U.S. aid to the Contras as well as Soviet aid to the Sandinistas. Aid to the Contras would continue only to the extent that the Sandinistas did not implement the Arias Plan: it would be phased down to subsistence levels as long as negotiations were in progress, and it would terminate completely when Democratic reforms were in place and Soviet military aid ended.

I will call you in the early part of next week to get your reaction to a proposal shaped along the lines indicated above, as well as your thoughts on the overall situation.

\*SEND

*New York Times - February 4, 1988*

## **FROM WHERE YOU'RE SITTING, IT'S PRETTY EASY TO TELL ISRAEL TO TURN THE OTHER CHEEK**

Of course there is a Palestinian problem. But it is not a problem of Israel's making. Had the Arab states not decided to invade the new born state of Israel in 1948, there would be no "Palestinian refugees" today.

Had they not tried to destroy Israel in 1967, Egypt would still have to digest the problem of Gaza, and King Hussein would still have to deal with the rock tossers, knifers and bomb throwers of Judea and Samaria. And Hussein would deal with them quickly and efficiently with no risk of criticism.

And had the Arab world not used the U.N. to prevent Israel from building new homes to replace the refugee camps... as Israel had done for one million Jewish refugees from Arab persecution, the Palestinians would not have those hovels from which to artificially draw world sympathy for their cause.

Those who would have Israel stand passive when Palestinians throw stones, stab soldiers, and fire bomb civilian cars are calling for Israel's destruction. "Do not use live ammunition," they say. So Israel stops using live am-

munition. Then they tell Israel to stop using rubber bullets. And Israel stops using rubber bullets. Finally, they reach the bottom line and deny Israel the means of defending itself. Self defense, even including the use of a pre-emptive strike, is fully justified in every religious and legal system in the world.

Israeli leaders daily seek to develop strategies to avoid violence. They have repeated over and over again their desire to meet Arab leaders and their readiness to negotiate without pre-conditions so long as their Arab counterparts are prepared to recognize the State of Israel and renounce the use of terror. The Arab response has been a consistent loyalty to the Khar-toum declaration "no negotiation, no recognition, no peace with Israel."

If, from the safety of your living room, you think you can criticize Israel based on the highly selective footage you see on TV, think again.

Better yet, visit Israel this year and witness the truth with your own eyes.

RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA / AMIT WOMEN /  
EMUNAH WOMEN / NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL /  
POALE AGUDATH ISRAEL / RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA /  
UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

Suite 600, 25 West 26th St., New York, N.Y. 10010



# Israel's Riots: *Journalist's View - 10-4, 1982* A U.S. Parallel

By ANDREW STEIN  
President Of The City Council

On a hot August night back in 1965 the black ghetto of Watts in Los Angeles suddenly and unexpectedly exploded in violence. Young blacks rampaged in the streets to vent their rage against those they called their oppressors — i.e. white storeowners, white landlords and white cops. Their weapons were rocks and Molotov cocktails.

California's liberal governor, Edmund ("Pat") Brown, mobilized 60 percent of the state's national guard troops and sent them into Watts to help restore order. The Governor didn't advise his soldiers to restrict themselves to non-lethal weapons and they didn't. When the smoke had cleared after two nights of rioting 34 blacks had been shot dead.

A few months later, Ronald Reagan began his campaign for governor and criticized the incumbent, Pat Brown, for being soft on the rioters. And when the racial disturbances spread to other American cities two years later Governor Reagan referred to the rioters as "mad dogs" and called for a tough, law and order approach.

What happened in Watts more or less repeated itself in more than 60 American cities through 1968. At least 150 blacks were shot to death in the streets by the police or national guard troops and thousands more were injured.

Almost everyone analyzing the riots, or "urban insurrections" as they came to be called, agreed they were an outgrowth of the desperate economic and social conditions in our urban black ghettos. Yet it never occurred to anyone to ask the United Nations to condemn the United States' handling of the disorders. No friendly government moralized from afar about the national guard's use of "live" ammunition, or the harsh sentences meted out to the rioters.

Moralizing from afar, however, is just about all that Israel heard from its American ally when violent demonstrations erupted in the Gaza Strip last month.

The Israelis were using too many combat soldiers and not enough regular policemen, said the State Department bureaucrats sitting in Foggy Bottom, Washington. Furthermore, the soldiers should be responding to the rocks and molotov cocktails with rubber bullets and tear gas, not live ammunition. The Reagan administration decided to vote to condemn Israel at the United Nations for its intention to deport nine riot leaders — though some of those slated for deportation had previously been convicted of murder and terrorism.

Now this is the very same administration that stood mute five months earlier when the security forces of one of its other Middle East allies, Saudi Arabia, opened fire on unarmed demonstrators in Mecca. (Four hundred people, most of them Iranian Shiites, were massacred in that little "incident" in Islam's holiest site.)

Supporters of Israel have learned to expect nothing but hypocrisy and bad faith from the United Nations. But the Reagan administration's failure of nerve has helped make it easier for Israel bashing in the media to soar to a new level of irresponsibility.

The current round involves more than the usual double standard; what we are now witnessing is an attempt to change history rather than just report it.

It is not merely that the media have made a politically motivated news decision that the riots will be the lead story almost every day (to the exclusion of far more horrendous bloodletting in Afghanistan, Ethiopia or in the Iran-Iraq conflict. In addition, there is now an editorial theme underlying the daily reports from the riot scene.

The premise is this: Israel has no one to blame for the riots but itself. In their 20-year military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Israelis have "lost their soul," have become morally complacent about the long term consequences of the occupation. By contrast, the young, desperate Palestinians, knowing nothing but military occupation throughout their lifetimes and offered no other way out, are forced to throw Molotov cocktails.

Were this an accurate picture of the respective Israeli and Palestinian political postures — complacency on the one side and desperation on the other — it would indeed be a story worth telling. But it isn't remotely close to being accurate.

The fact is that Israelis have debated the consequences of the occupation and its possible alternatives on an almost daily basis — a debate that fills the country's newspapers and its parliamentary proceedings. The trouble is that there's no response from the other side.

The media has given us a month of pictures of shootings in squalid refugee camps, of deportations, of Palestinian mothers pleading for the release of their sons. But everything else that is relevant — such as the debate in Israel, such as the fact that throughout this entire period of rioting no Palestinian leader, no Arab leader, has even offered to negotiate directly with Israel over the future of the territories — has been deliberately left out.

Last week William Safire revealed in his column that one month before the outbreak of the Gaza riots, Secretary of State Schultz made an extraordinary offer to King Hussein of Jordan. The King was asked to come to Washington during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, to sit with the leaders of the United States, The Soviet Union, Egypt and Israel and to begin negotiations to resolve the Palestinian question. Hussein was told that Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, despite his reputed opposition to an international conference, had already agreed to participate. But Hussein said no.

Yet even after the Safire column appeared, this Arab refusal was never reported in the American media. All we got was more pictures of rock throwing Palestinians confronting Israeli soldiers.

If Hussein had reciprocated Shamir's yes, the media might have negotiations to report on now instead of riots. Even now, is it too much to ask that the media and the State Department take a little time out from moralizing about Israel's handling of the riots and express some outrage about Arab

## Preferential 'Nato-like' army treatment

# Pentagon hesitant on Israeli request

By WOLF BLITZER

Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
WASHINGTON. - The Defence Department has "serious problems" with Israel's request to obtain the same military treatment as America's Nato allies, authoritative U.S. officials say.

They said that approval of the request would create a precedent which other non-Nato members would also want to exploit. This could raise all sorts of political and financial problems for the U.S., they said.

By law, the Nato countries receive preferential treatment in winning U.S. defence contracts and in purchasing U.S. military equipment at reduced costs.

Defence Minister Rabin, Israeli officials said, will press Israel's case for "equal treatment" during his talks at the Pentagon this week. He is due to meet with Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and other senior officials.

They said that Rabin will urge the U.S. government to sell advanced military systems, including fighter aircraft, to Israel at the same price as to the Nato allies.

To encourage the Nato allies to standardize their weapons systems, the U.S. does not make them pay for the initial "non-recurring" research and development expenditures. Israel and other non-Nato countries, however, must make this outlay.

This means, for example, that Israel has to spend considerably more to purchase F-16s than Greece.

Israel also wants to have the same ability to win U.S. defence contracts as the Nato allies. Until now, Israel has been barred from bidding for certain contracts.

Israel, for instance, can overhaul F-4 Phantom jet fighters at its Bedek facilities. But under current policy Israel cannot overhaul F-15, F-16 or



Yitzhak Rabin (Brauner)

other advanced fighters.

Israel is not seeking admission into Nato or any formal defence alliance with the U.S. What Rabin and other Israeli officials want, however, is virtually the same treatment as the Nato allies get.

U.S. officials suggested recently that any such change would require Congress to enact legislation - a lengthy process.

According to informed sources, Israel would stand to gain in other ways from such an elevated status. As an example, they noted that Israel could become eligible to receive so-called "excess defence items" from the U.S. free of charge.

Because they are Nato members, Greece and Turkey occasionally receive certain military systems from the U.S. free of charge. Usually, they are older surplus systems. Israeli officials believe that some of this equipment could be very useful for Israel, such as trucks.

In addition, if Israel were granted this Nato status, it would also become eligible to lease military hardware from the U.S., rather than purchase it outright. "Leasing is critical to the future," a well-informed source said, citing Israel's budget constraints.

## Gur won't serve under Shamir

Post Political Reporter

A Labour Party forum of Prime Minister Peres, Defence Minister Rabin and Education Minister Navon is to decide whether to accept the resignation of Health Minister Mordechai Gur. The Jerusalem Post has learned.

Gur last week informed Peres that he did not intend to serve as a minister under Yitzhak Shamir, when the latter takes over as premier next month under the rotation agreement. Gur cited Shamir's involvement in the Shin Bet (General Security Service) affair as the reason for his stand.

## ISTANBUL

(Continued from page one)

is interested in a crisis over secondary things."

The U.S. State Department Saturday said "we condemn this cowardly attack and deeply deplore the terrible loss of life that resulted from it."

In a strongly-worded statement, Prime Minister Peres said the attack should convince all those countries which had hesitated in their support for Israeli and American anti-terror actions. "We will pray for those murdered," Peres said on Israel TV. "But we will do more than pray. We will not rest until we chop off the murderous arm that carried out the attack."

Peres denied that the attack had any connection to the latest burst of political activity in the region. "This has no political meaning, it was an attack carried out by wild animals," he said.

Deputy Premier Yitzhak Shamir said "every Jew's heart bleeds" because of the attack. He said it expressed the cynicism, bestiality and hatred "of anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli terrorism."

Linking the attack to the killings at the Karachi airport, Shamir said that Israel must demand that the rest of the world join in the struggle against terror.

MK Simha Dinitz, a leading Labour Party foreign policy spokesman, Saturday night criticized Sharon's remarks as cheap political demagoguery. "Sharon has stooped to an all-time low in charging that the prime minister's peace efforts encourage murderous acts by terrorists," Dinitz said, stressing that such statements ought to be rejected with disgust.

In other reactions, President Herzog said the attack was a new peak of anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli terror. It was a tragic proof of the lack of humanity among Israel's enemies, he added.

Mapam said it would request that the Knesset hold a special session to discuss the intensification of terrorism.

MK Geula Cohen (Tehiya) called upon Peres to cancel the planned summit with Egyptian President Mubarak.

In South Lebanon, a statement telephoned to an international news agency said that the Islamic Resistance group had carried out the "suicidal operation".

In Nicosia, another group calling itself the "Palestine Revenge Organization" claimed responsibility "in revenge for our martyrs" and threatened other strikes would follow.

Out of some 25,000 Jews in Turkey, close to 20,000 live in Istanbul.

## SUMMARY

(Continued from page one)

For Israel, no greater blow to the short of Egyptian peace treaty. An indefinite postponement would impose a view of the Israel can't trust Arabs" with Arabs is an ill be immeasurably Egyptian relations ber's massacre of 11 at Ras Burka, which sioned many Israelization of relations

For Peres person politically, the blow mense. The peace which they are ide thoroughly underm stock of professions such as Yitzhak S Likud, would rise c Given the Americ prior publicity and timetables, it would rassing and purposed go to Washington ar duded with Reagan o without the crownin of a summit with agreement on Taba a the Egyptian amba Aviv) under his belt.

Hence, while littl may emerge from triggering further m peace process (for talks between I Jordanian-Palestinia its cancellation would blow to the forces of

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## Likud can quick move

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Formally, the mee cial because Likud ch Doron is abroad. T MK present was D Minister Ronnie Mil usually speaks for Li zhak Shamir.



## INTERVIEWS

# Rabin seeks 'equal treat

## Israel deserves same status as Greece, Turkey, 'and I intend to argue the point'

ON THE EVE of his visit to Washington, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin told three *Jerusalem Post* correspondents about the talks he will be having with U.S. administration leaders about military aid requests for the next two years, strategic cooperation, and Israel's interest in researching an anti-missile project under the "Star Wars" programme. Rabin told Defence Correspondent Hirsh Goodman, Asher Wallfish (Knesset), and Roy Isacowitz (Political) that there will be absolutely no change in the national unity government's settlement programme for Judea and Samaria without mutual consent, when Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir takes over from Shimon Peres as prime minister next month.

THE DEFENCE minister said it had always been reasonable to assume that the national unity government would last until the rotation, and he himself would not be surprised if it endured until the Knesset elections in 1988.

Rabin, who is leaving for the U.S. on Sunday, believes that the Pollard affair and other assorted scandals that have rocked Israeli-American relations in recent months, are behind us.

Pollard, the American naval intelligence analyst charged with spying for Israel, he said, is due to be sentenced on October 3, "probably and hopefully closing the book on the affair." The other incidents - Napco, the cluster bombs, the arms merchants, "have all fizzled out and are no longer a public issue."

With regard to Avraham Baram (the reserve brigadier-general arrested in Bermuda and extradited to the U.S. several months ago), he said caustically, "The chances of Israel having allowed him to sell Israeli weapons to Iranians are about as good as my chances of selling the Empire State Building."

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"At present, we are proceeding with the development and production of the fighter in accordance with the decision of the Israeli cabinet. Opposition to the Lavi remains centred, as it has always been, in the Pentagon, where the feeling is that the Lavi is not the best use of American funds for Israel's defence. We disagree, but we have to take the Pentagon's position into account."

"We see the Lavi as an economic-technological-military project essential to Israel's overall military infrastructure at all levels and not just as a weapons system, and that difference of perception is at the heart of the issue."

"The Pentagon demanded, and we agreed, that we look at alterna-

tives. We agreed on the understanding that an alternative concerns all levels of the Lavi programme - economic, industrial, scientific - and not just another plane. Furthermore, those looking into an alternative are going to have to take into account what shutting down the Lavi programme will cost in penalties on cancelled contracts, as well as ensure that their answer is operationally consistent with what the air force requires, and will be supplied on time."

"Since the Pentagon accepted our wider view of what constitutes an alternative as their terms of reference in seeking one, we were happy to cooperate in finding one. They asked for four months. We agreed, so let's wait and see what happens."

"Meanwhile, the Pentagon has unfrozen the five contracts they were holding up, and work on the Lavi continues. I do not see the Lavi being an issue on this trip," he concluded.

AT THE HEART of the defence minister's agenda will be, not surprisingly, future American defence aid to Israel. He intends to wrap up final details on the 1987 package and start negotiations on the 1988 package with administration officials and key congressional forums.

"President Reagan has to place his 1988 aid requests before Congress by February, so we have to start explaining our case now," he pointed out. "I don't see any major problems with the administration. The president has already requested the [agreed-on] \$3 billion in military and economic aid. I do, however, see problems in Congress, albeit slight ones, and we are going to have to pay particular attention to the cumulative impact of the Gramm-Rudman amendment, which has already cost us \$78.4 million this year, and see what this will mean in 1987."

"Another priority on my agenda

will be to achieve an 'equal treatment' status for Israel that will place us on the same footing as Greece and Turkey vis-a-vis the U.S. This does not mean the 'Natoization' of Israel, but rather granting Israel a special status - like that enjoyed by New Zealand and Australia - without a formal defence pact like the one that binds the Nato countries."

"If we had 'equal treatment' status now," he explained, "the 75 F-16 fighters currently being supplied to the Israel Air Force would have cost us \$2m. less each, or a total saving of \$150m., since 'equal treatment' countries are not required to pay the non-recurring research and development costs on weapons purchased from the U.S."

"We think that the levels of strategic cooperation that have been reached between Israel and the U.S., in terms of both training and intelligence sharing, should give us at least the same status as Greece, and I intend to argue the point."

THE INTERVIEW then shifted to other aspects of U.S.-Israeli relations.

*What is the raison d'être for this country's increasing strategic cooperation with the U.S.? Why is Israel so willing to get involved in scientific research in connection with America's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), popularly known as the Star Wars programme?*

Israel's decision on strategic cooperation with the U.S. in its present form, was taken three years ago [under the Likud-led government of the day]. The main purpose of that cooperation is to build an infrastructure between the armies of the two countries, covering the functioning of headquarter staffs and operational exercises.

If one day the political echelons should decide that the two countries have a common interest in carrying out some joint military operation in a sphere vital to Israel's security, it will be possible to translate that political decision into practical action. The technical apparatus would be ready and waiting. The two armies would have got to know each other beforehand.

Today, of course, no political decision exists about joint military operations, nor is there even any decision about the sort of circumstances in which such joint military operations would be conducted. But pre-

parations are being made...

It must be emphasized absolutely no connection between strategic and research for SDI. The programme, main character, Israel we partner in certain research which have implications for its own...

We are extremely example, in the prospecting an anti-missile medium range, kilometres.

An important example in any such know-how, and also The Europeans are that part of the related to short- and anti-missile missile ground-to-ground Europe at the present at a somewhat low they threaten Israel.

The SS-21 ground site in operation to 390km. The older range of 120km.

But what if the missile with its should arrive in the...

The minimal hope to attain from SDI would be at conversant with the required to cope with missiles. It's not just



Life after rotation

## Fears of more settlements

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# Equal treatment' in U.S.

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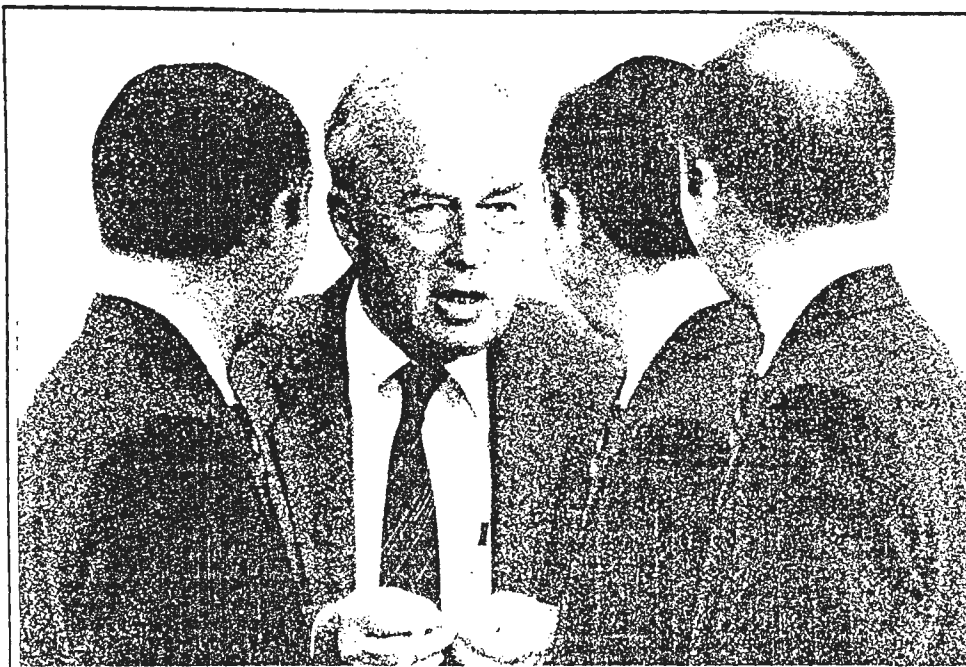
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South Africa has become a central  
issue in the U.S., and Israel is per-  
ceived, whether rightly or wrongly, as  
a prime supporter of apartheid. How  
will you answer that criticism?

Israelis policy is to maintain  
relations with every country in the  
world. Even when the Soviet Union  
was persecuting Jews, Israel did not  
break off relations. Even when there  
was, and still is, apartheid in the  
Soviet Union, it was not Israel but  
Moscow that broke off relations.

Secondly, Israel takes an un-  
equivocal stand against racism, and  
apartheid is one of the worst mani-  
festations of racism.

Thirdly, Israel acts in accordance  
with the 1977 UN resolution on the  
matter of arms to South Africa.  
More than that I don't want to say.

Who will be responsible for settle-  
ment after the rotation and do you  
anticipate a change in policy?

UNTIL TODAY, it has been decided to  
establish six new settlements - four  
of which have already been estab-  
lished. And every new settlement,  
including those which have already  
been decided on, needs the decision  
of the government or the inner  
cabinet, or agreement between the  
two main political blocs.

That is the situation today, and  
that will be the situation after rota-  
tion. The responsibility won't  
change. And it's not a question of  
personality. No one can take the  
authority from me, because the de-  
fence minister is responsible for the  
territories, just as no one can take  
their responsibilities away from the  
agriculture and housing ministers.  
The decisions on new settlements  
will be taken by the government, not  
by minister X or Y.

The Labour Party is used to gov-  
ernment and it is also used to being  
in opposition. But it is not used to being  
number two in the government. How  
will it cope?

We signed an agreement two  
years ago, and we knew there would  
be rotation. It is not something unex-  
pected. I, for instance, thought it  
probable that we would get to rota-  
tion.

Now it has arrived, it is clear that  
it is easier to implement the Labour  
Party platform with Peres as prime  
minister. But anyone who thought  
we could do things in a Shamir  
government that are not agreed to by  
both parties, and are not on the basis  
of the coalition agreement, was  
wrong.

You said that in 1984 you antici-  
pated that the rotation would take  
place. Now, in 1986, do you antici-  
pate that the government will last and  
that there will be elections, as plan-  
ned, in 1988?

Formally, yes.

And informally?

I would not be surprised if that's  
the way it is.

parations are being made, just in  
case...

It must be emphasized that there is  
absolutely no connection whatsoever  
between strategic cooperation and  
research for SDI. Israel and the  
U.S. could carry out strategic coop-  
eration with or without Israeli re-  
search into SDI. The SDI is a U.S.  
programme, mainly defensive in  
character. Israel would like to be a  
partner in certain fields of SDI re-  
search which have important im-  
plications for its own security.

We are extremely interested, for  
example, in the prospect of develop-  
ing an anti-missile missile of short to  
medium range, 300 to 600  
kilometres.

An important consideration for  
Israel in any such research is the  
know-how, and above all the cost.  
The Europeans are also interested in  
that part of the SDI programme  
related to short- and medium-range  
anti-missile missiles. Soviet-made  
ground-to-ground missiles threaten  
Europe at the present time, although  
at a somewhat longer range than  
they threaten Israel.

The SS-21 ground-to-ground mis-  
sile in operation today has a range of  
390km. The older Scud missile has a  
range of 120km.

But what if the Soviet-made SS-23  
missile with its range of 590km.  
should arrive in the Middle East?

The minimal objective we would  
hope to attain from our role in the  
SDI would be at least to become  
conversant with the technologies re-  
quired to cope with anti-missile mis-  
siles. It's not just a matter of re-

search to promote American in-  
terests, but also to contribute to our  
own security.

During the Yom Kippur War all  
Syria had was the Frog ground-to-  
ground missile, with a 70km. range.  
After the Yom Kippur War, it got  
Scud missiles. After the Peace for  
Galilee operation, Syria got the SS-  
21. We now know that they are  
demanding the SS-23 from the  
Soviet Union. But we have no in-  
formation that Moscow has actually  
approved the shipments.

We have to look five to 10 years  
ahead, whatever the case. After all,  
we're not talking about tomorrow  
morning; we're talking about re-  
search. I would not like to do any-  
thing to exclude from Israel's poten-  
tial the possibility of developing an  
answer to a 600km.-range ground-  
to-ground missile which poses a  
threat to our territory.

What does the U.S. want Israel to  
say and do in order to draw Jordan  
closer to the peace process?

When U.S. Vice-President George  
Bush came to Jerusalem following  
the rift between King Hussein of  
Jordan and Yasser Arafat, we told  
him that Israel is ready without any  
pre-conditions to negotiate with a  
joint delegation of Jordanian and  
Palestinian representatives.

We are willing to conduct such  
negotiations under the aegis of some  
international forum or international  
accompaniment, as long as the exter-  
nal aegis does not dictate the [nature  
and outcome of the] negotiations.

The actual talks between us and

the joint Jordan-Palestine delega-  
tion would have to be both direct and  
bilateral. We would also negotiate  
with any other states which have  
diplomatic relations with Israel.

In the meantime, we see that Jordan  
is seeking to reinforce the moder-  
erate Palestine Arabs in the areas, as  
well as the pro-Jordanian elements.  
We, too, want to strengthen the  
anti-PLO forces. We seek to weaken  
those elements which back the PLO.

We have to emphasize that terror  
is the main hindrance to peace, apart  
from the actual damage it does to  
Israel and to the Palestine Arabs  
alike. In order to comprehend that,  
just consider the fate of those Pales-  
tine Arabs who dare to speak their  
minds.

We have to exert the maximum  
effort to ensure that Arabs in the  
territories can say what they feel,  
without being intimidated by fear of  
the bomb or the bullet.

Does anybody in Israel, Egypt or  
the U.S. still believe in autonomy for  
the Palestine Arabs in the territories?

At Camp David, Israel and  
Egypt signed a commitment pledg-  
ing themselves to work for auton-  
omy. The U.S. formally witnessed  
that commitment. Israel is still com-  
mitted to autonomy. It is still ready  
to work for autonomy, for peace; or  
for autonomy as a stage on the road  
to peace, if you will.

I do not know whether or not we  
have partners with whom we can  
negotiate autonomy. I do know that  
we are obligated to look for such  
partners.

prime minister to a close, by going  
out in a blaze of glory. Although I'm

"ASSUMING the cabinet approves  
any initiative in the weeks prior to

vest government funds to set up an 'd'etat' toppling the monarchv. I



ALEXANDRIA (Reuter). - A U.S. Navy plane criss-crossed Egyptian waters north of Alexandria Saturday, searching for the Dakar, the Israeli submarine which sank 18 years ago, airport sources said here.

Washington officials said last month that the U.S. had offered to help find the Dakar, a British-made World War II vintage ship mysteriously lost in 1968 with a crew of 19, while on its way to Israel from England.

Egypt agreed last year to permit the search.

## Rabin: scandals are things of the past

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(Continued on page 4)

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Anguished relatives of victims of the Istanbul synagogue massacre.

(AFP)

## Cabinet row over Istanbul massacre

Jerusalem Post Staff and agencies

The Istanbul synagogue massacre provoked a showdown between Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, threatening to throw the coalition government into a crisis. Peres abruptly suspended further meetings of his government Sunday until Sharon retracts an accusation that Peres's peace policies invited the slayings.

The cabinet had been set to consider Israel's response to the attack on the Neveh Shalom synagogue in Istanbul on Saturday in which 22 worshippers were killed.

Sharon reacted to the synagogue attack by releasing a statement lambasting Peres's conciliatory moves towards the Arabs.

"The terrible pogrom against Jews is the only response of the Palestinians and their supporters to the supplications of peace and Israeli concessions," Sharon said, adding that concessions were seen as "Israeli weakness and invited the aggression of Palestinian terrorism."

Sharon described Peres's policies as "an unceasing chase after doubtful and baseless peace plans" which he said lowered alertness and "leaves Jews in Israel and elsewhere more open to Palestinian terror."

Peres told the cabinet that Sharon's remarks put the blame for the attack in Turkey on the Israeli government.

"It's impossible for a cabinet member to level such accusations in public and remain in the government," Peres said in a statement later released by his office. He said he could not allow the cabinet or a 10-member committee on foreign affairs and defence to meet until Sharon retracts his comments.

When Sharon asked to reply, Peres said "put it in writing," and ended the meeting. Sharon scribbled a note to Peres saying he meant to accuse no one of being "an accessory to murder." But Peres rejected the note and told Yitzhak Shamir, the leader of Sharon's party, that he insisted on a full public retraction.

Shamir, who is due to become prime minister on October 14, distanced himself from Sharon but called on Peres to show restraint.

"It is unreasonable that the day after such a criminal and hurtful attack against the Jewish people, Israel will react with a government crisis, with a split," he said on Isi Radio.

Shamir said he disagreed with Sharon's remarks, but said "no

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## RABIN ON TIES WITH U.S.

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"Meanwhile, the Pentagon has unfrozen the five contracts they were holding up, and work on the Lavi continues. I do not see the Lavi being an issue on this trip," he concluded.

AT THE HEART of the defence minister's agenda will be, not surprisingly, future American defence aid to Israel. He intends to wrap up final details on the 1987 package and start negotiations on the 1988 package with administration officials and key congressional forums.

"President Reagan has to place his 1988 aid requests before Congress by February, so we have to start explaining our case now," he pointed out. "I don't see any major problems with the administration. The president has already requested the [agreed-on] \$3 billion in military and economic aid. I do, however, see problems in Congress, albeit slight ones, and we are going to have to pay particular attention to the cumulative impact of the Gramm-Rudman amendment, which has already cost us \$78.4 million this year, and see what this will mean in 1987."

"Another priority on my agenda will be to achieve an 'equal treatment' status for Israel that will place us on the same footing as Greece and Turkey vis-a-vis the U.S. This does not mean the 'Natoization' of Israel, but rather granting Israel a special status – like that enjoyed by New Zealand and Australia – without a formal defence pact like the one that binds the Nato countries."

"If we had 'equal treatment' status now," he explained, "the 75 F-16 fighters currently being supplied to the Israel Air Force would have cost us \$2m. less each, or a total saving of \$150m., since 'equal treatment' countries are not required to pay the non-recurring research and development costs on weapons purchased from the U.S."

"We think that the levels of strategic cooperation that have been reached between Israel and the U.S., in terms of both training and intelligence sharing, should give us at least the same status as Greece, and I intend to argue the point."

THE INTERVIEW then shifted to other aspects of U.S.-Israeli relations.

*What is the raison d'être for this country's increasing strategic cooperation with the U.S.? Why is Israel so willing to get involved in scientific research in connection with America's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), popularly known as the Star Wars programme?*

Israel's decision on strategic cooperation with the U.S. in its present form, was taken three years ago [under the Likud-led government of the day]. The main purpose of that cooperation is to build an infrastructure between the armies of the two countries, covering the functioning of headquarter staffs and operational exercises.

If one day the political echelons should decide that the two countries have a common interest in carrying out some joint military operation in a sphere vital to Israel's security, it will be possible to translate that political decision into practical ac-

tion. The technical apparatus would be ready and waiting. The two armies would have got to know each other beforehand.

Today, of course, no political decision exists about joint military operations, nor is there even any decision about the sort of circumstances in which such joint military operations would be conducted. But preparations are being made, just in case...

It must be emphasized that there is absolutely no connection whatsoever between strategic cooperation and research for SDI. Israel and the U.S. could carry out strategic cooperation with or without Israeli research into SDI. The SDI is a U.S. programme, mainly defensive in character. Israel would like to be a partner in certain fields of SDI research which have important implications for its own security.

We are extremely interested, for example, in the prospect of developing an anti-missile missile of short to medium range, 300 to 600 kilometres.

The minimal objective we would hope to attain from our role in the SDI would be at least to become conversant with the technologies required to cope with anti-missile missiles. It's not just a matter of research to promote American interests, but also to contribute to our own security.

*What does the U.S. want Israel to say and do in order to draw Jordan closer to the peace process?*

When U.S. Vice-President George Bush came to Jerusalem following the rift between King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat, we told him that Israel is ready without any pre-conditions to negotiate with a joint delegation of Jordanian and Palestinian representatives.

We are willing to conduct such negotiations under the aegis of some international forum or international accompaniment, as long as the external aegis does not dictate the [nature and outcome of the] negotiations.

The actual talks between us and the joint Jordan-Palestine delegation would have to be both direct and bilateral. We would also negotiate with any other states which have diplomatic relations with Israel.

In the meantime, we see that Jordan is seeking to reinforce the moderate Palestine Arabs in the areas, as well as the pro-Jordanian elements. We, too, want to strengthen the anti-PLO forces. We seek to weaken those elements which back the PLO.

We have to emphasize that terror is the main hindrance to peace, apart from the actual damage it does to Israel and to the Palestine Arabs alike. In order to comprehend that, just consider the fate of those Palestine Arabs who dare to speak their minds.

We have to exert the maximum effort to ensure that Arabs in the territories can say what they feel, without being intimidated by fear of the bomb or the bullet.

*Does anybody in Israel, Egypt or the U.S. still believe in autonomy for the Palestine Arabs in the territories?*

At Camp David, Israel and Egypt signed a commitment pledging themselves to work for autonomy. The U.S. formally witnessed that commitment. Israel is still committed to autonomy. It is still ready to work for autonomy, for peace; or for autonomy as a stage on the road to peace, if you will.

I do not know whether or not we have partners with whom we can negotiate autonomy. I do know that we are obligated to look for such partners.

## World Jewry birth dip alarms Israel

**JERUSALEM (JTA)** — A Hebrew University scholar's report to Israel's cabinet on the declining birthrate among Jews in Israel and the diaspora is being viewed gravely by the ministers.

Prof. Roberto Bacchi, head of the Hebrew University's statistics department, reported that over the past decade the number of Jewish births in Israel has averaged about 50,000 a year, compared to an average 60,000 a year for non-Jew-

ish births.

While the disparity was more or less offset by Jewish immigration and a higher non-Jewish mortality rate, Bacchi said, the demographic gap between Jews and non-Jews in Israel and the administered territories was widening.

Minister for Economic Planning Gad Ya'acobi noted that these figures meant that by the year 2000 the non-Jewish population in Israel and the territories would com-

prise 43 percent of the total population.

Bacchi cited the high number of unmarried Israeli men and women in their 20s and 30s, the ages of greatest fertility. He proposed that the government introduce regulations that would make it easier for young women to work and raise families.

He said the demographic prospects were even bleaker for diaspora Jews, where the average birthrate is 1.5 percent compared to 2.8 percent among Israeli Jews. The lowest birthrate of all in the diaspora is among Soviet Jews, he said.

Bacchi predicted that low birthrates and intermarriage will reduce the diaspora Jewish population from 9.5 million today to 8 million by the turn of the century and to 6 million 40 years from now unless the trends are reversed.

He also reported that aliya statistics show a steady decline. Between 1969 and 1973, 3.3 per thousand diaspora Jews immigrated to Israel, compared to 2.1 per thousand between 1979 and 1983.

In reaction to Bacchi's report, Prime Minister Shimon Peres urged every Jewish family to have at least four children.

Other responses were more predictable and followed party lines: Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, the minister of the interior who is leader of the ultra-Orthodox Shas party, denounced missionary activities and meetings between Jewish and Arab youths; Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg of the National Religious Party spoke out against abortion, and Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein of the Shinui faction said it was more urgent than ever to negotiate a settlement with the Palestinians that would enable Jews to maintain a democratic, cohesive Jewish state.



*Article Jewish Jewish*

Why are these rabbis Conservative?

# Traditionalists score new Conservative siddur

By LARRY YUDELSON

*Siddur Sim Shalom*, the new Conservative prayer book, "should not be used for the purpose of fulfilling one's prayer obligations," the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism's halachic panel has ruled.

The panel's responsum, written by Rabbi Alan Yuter of Spring Valley, was part of a collection of responsa published at the UTCJ's third annual conference in East Meadow recently.

At the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly convention in the Catskills last week, Rabbi Alex Shapiro, outgoing president of the RA, praised the publication of the *siddur* as "one of the major accomplishments of the Rabbinical Assembly."

Representing the right wing of Conservative Judaism, the three-year-old UTCJ formed its halachic panel, known as the Panel of Halachic Inquiry, to provide halachic guidance for its members. The panel consists of seven rabbis affiliated with the organization.

Unlike the Rabbinical Assembly's Committee on Law and Standards, the Conservative movement's official halachic body, the UTCJ panel provides one definitive ruling, not majority and minority opinions. Also unlike the RA's law committee, which reflects the diverse viewpoints on halachic change held within the Conservative movement, the panel shares the UTCJ's traditional approach.

Leaders of the Rabbinical Assembly, including its newly-elected president, Rabbi Kassel Abelson, worry that the Union's panel "ultimately will undermine the authority of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards for those Jews who turn to it." But members of the UTCJ defend the panel, which includes the top scholars of the movement's right wing, on the basis of Conservative Judaism's commitment to pluralism.

ment to pluralism.

## Call To Halt UTCJ Responsa

A resolution passed at the Rabbinical Assembly convention called for the panel to stop issuing responsa. Nevertheless UTCJ Executive Director Rabbi Ronald Price was pleased by the 123 to 80 vote.

"The administration (of the Rabbinical Assembly) had told us 90 percent of the rabbis were opposed to the panel," he said. "We came out with a very clear statement that there is a significant minority satisfied with the existence of the panel." He indicated his group would continue to publish responsa despite the resolution.

Price said he was also very encouraged by Rabbi Ismar Schorsch, chancellor-elect of the Conservative movement's Jewish Theological Seminary, who called on the seminary faculty to publish practical responsa as well as scholarly research. "It indicates he has no problem with the fact the panel has put out responsa," Price said.

Schorsch, speaking at the Rabbinical Assembly convention, lamented the Conservative laity's lack of commitment to halacha, which he described as the "distinctive idiom in which the Jewish dialogue between Divine revelation and human experience is constantly articulated."

The absence of observance, he said, "is certainly the product of broad social forces."

"But our own silence merely abets the indifference," he added.

One factor, said Schorsch, was the Committee on Law and Standards' failure to generate a body of halachic literature. "There was nothing to teach," he said.

In the near future, however, the law committee will begin publishing its proceedings.

Schorsch's comments echoed those of UTCJ members, who

stressed the educational value of publishing the panel's responsa.

## New Prayer Book Scored

In his responsum, Yuter claims that *Siddur Sim Shalom* "alters the text in ways that defy Halacha and subtly undermine traditional Jewish belief."

Among his objections are the elimination of references to the sacrificial ritual, the acceptance of equal synagogue roles for women and alternative, non-traditional versions for some services. *Siddur Sim Shalom*, he said, "does not see prayer as a means to fulfill ritual halachic obligations."

Nor, in the sense Yuter means, do many Conservative rabbis.

Many of the changes Yuter scores in *Siddur Sim Shalom* first appeared in previous Conservative prayer books, most notably the Silverman *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book* of 1946. Yuter's critique echoes Orthodox attacks on that prayer book made when it was published.

Some members of the UTCJ wonder whether they can now object in good faith to the prayer book they've been using all these years, as their criticisms of the new one imply they should. Rather than grandstanding over a project with the full backing of the Conservative movement, they argue, the UTCJ should push for the practical—such as adding a commentary in the ample margins of the new book.

Proponents of the *siddur* questioned how the movement could issue a prayer book which did not provide for a woman to put on *tefillin* or read the Torah—something the movement itself allows.

But in an interview, Yuter attacked the "orthodoxy of egalitarianism," which does not allow a traditional alternative.

"We tried to produce a volume that would be accepted by the largest group in the movement," responded Rabbi Jules Harlow, editor of the new prayer book. "The Conservative movement does not dictate what prayer book you have to use." At the Rabbinical Assembly convention, a resolution supported by the UTCJ asking that the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards review *Siddur Sim Shalom*, and that it not be billed as the, but rather a, Conservative prayer book, was soundly defeated.

## Oppose Earlier Innovations

In addition to rejecting the Rabbinical Assembly's new prayer book, UTCJ leaders have come out against the law committee's 1950 majority report permitting driving to synagogue on the Sabbath.

"That's when we should have begun the Union," said Rabbi David Novak of Far Rockaway, the Union's founding president.

But if they reject this and so many other substantial Conservative innovations in halacha, what differentiates the UTCJ from the Orthodox?

Novak, secretary of the Panel of Halachic Inquiry, says that the Orthodox community "shoots from the hip" on halachic issues.

He contrasted a recent UTCJ responsum allowing women to form their own prayer groups to the condemnation of such groups by five Yeshiva University halachic authorities.



Rabbi David Novak: "Their responsum was a disgrace. More interesting sources were left out than were quoted."

"Their responsum was a disgrace," Novak told the 100 people at the UTCJ conference. "More interesting sources were left out than were quoted."

The UTCJ responsum on that issue, written by Rabbi Wayne Allen of California and approved by Rabbi David Weiss Halivni of the JTS Talmud faculty, in fact covers no new, distinctively Conservative ground. It bases itself on the same 20th century Orthodox authorities as do Orthodox rabbis who have allowed women's prayer groups, albeit without a formal responsum.

Said Novak: "We're liberal halachists within the community of observant Jews."

Given this, and their opposition to the sort of halachic change associated with the Conservative movement in recent years, the question persists, why aren't these people Orthodox?

That's not a question UTCJ members like being asked. For some, it's institutional loyalty and a resolve to try once more "before abandoning the movement and leaving it to the liberals," UTCJ President Horace Bier told the UTCJ conference. "We decided we have given too much of our lives to abandon it."

Yuter described the RA as "a trade union of people who share different ideologies of practice and faith with a common biography—JTS."

Within the RA, he noted, is "a whole range of opinion, from centrist Reform to centrist Orthodox," which is his position.

UTCJ halachic authority Halivni and others cited the original model of JTS as a place of scientific study of traditional texts combined with full observance.

Halivni, one of the five senior members of the JTS Talmud faculty who boycotted the vote on the ordination of women in 1983, summarized his situation at the time succinctly: "The people I daven with, I cannot talk to, and the people I talk to, I cannot daven with."

Although he sees himself as fitting in the tradition of studying Torah for its own sake, much of the Orthodox community rejects his historical approach as misguided, dangerous, or heretical. Nonetheless, an article



Rabbi Ronald Price: "There is a growing portion of the Orthodox community that accepts the Conservative notions...of halacha."

from his recent book on the historical development of the Talmud was recently published in *Tradition*, the journal of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America.

Howard Morrison, a rabbinical student at JTS, said that he had spoken with fellow students at Yeshiva University, and the line separating their theoretical understanding of halacha was thin. But he said he was committed to his approach, which though permitted at YU, is not encouraged.

Price said a shift among the Orthodox blurred the lines between the two movements.

## Orthodox Moving Toward UTCJ

"There is a growing portion of the Orthodox community," he said, "that accepts the classical Conservative notions of the historical development of halacha. Modern Orthodoxy has come closer to classical Conservative, rather than the reverse."

"I don't think we (the UTCJ) are different from Solomon Schechter," he said.

A UTCJ spokesman said it had no intention of leaving the Conservative movement—"unless we're read out by the left."

Recently, a Commission on Ideology was formed by the RA, which includes members of the UTCJ. In a report on "The Struggle for Self-Definition in Conservative Judaism," Rabbi Robert Gordis, chairman of the commission, traced the history of the Conservative movement, which, he said, has traditionally avoided self-definition.

One reason for this, he said, was the objections from senior members of JTS faculty. It is those quarters in the movement with which the UTCJ most closely identifies.

Gordis said the Silverman *siddur* was part of the self-definition of the Conservative movement. Recently he said, "the cutting edge has been the status of women. The ordination of women represents a major step towards self-definition."

The commission is planning to report formally to the RA next year. The question is, will it come up with an ideology broad enough to cover women rabbis, the Conservative prayer book and the virulent opposition of the UTCJ? □

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One group in the Conservative movement, however, would like to see that threat become a reality—the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism.

#### Union Pushes For More Standards

Founded in 1983 in reaction to the ordination of women, the Union has grown into an organization with two staff people, a toll-free kashrut hotline and its own Panel of Halachic Inquiry, which critics charge threatens the authority of the Committee on Law and Standards.

UTCJ members introduced a resolution at the conference calling for all minimum standards of the law committee to be binding standards—implying that violators of halacha, as determined by the committee, would be expelled from the assembly.

For parliamentary reasons, the resolution never made it to the floor. But there is little doubt it would have fared far worse than two other UTCJ resolutions that were handily defeated. The first proposed to deprive *Siddur Sim Shalom*, a new prayer book commissioned by the Conservative movement, of recognition as an official Conservative prayer book. The second resolution requested a forum for the UTCJ at the next convention.

Although the UTCJ claims over a quarter of the RA as members, only about a tenth of the 500 participants at the convention attended an open discussion on the group. And whether due to apathy or, as the UTCJ leadership charges, fear of reprisals, only a handful of rabbis wore the black UTCJ pins on their lapels.

#### Young Rabbis Support Standards

One striking aspect of the group's supporters at the conference was clear, however: they were, on average, about 20 years younger than those who attended the meeting against coercion held by the Conservative movement's left.

Although the majority of the RA sides against the Union on the role of women in halacha, it seems to be predominantly the older generation—those most influenced by Conservative thinker Mordecai Kaplan, some suggest—that distrust

sanctions and standards. The younger rabbis appear more willing to accept them.

Nevertheless, Rabbi Kassel Abelson of Minneapolis, the newly-elected RA president, doesn't see an increase of formal standards looming ahead.

"I see guidelines," he said. "There will be an increase in guidelines."

Abelson, who previously served as vice president of the RA, explained that "the standards that do exist are related to defining the status of Jews and do not go into ritual areas."

#### Lamm Position Lauded

In his farewell address as president, outgoing RA leader Rabbi Alexander Shapiro lauded a "very moving and significant paper" by Yeshiva University President Rabbi Norman Lamm on the issue of personal status and Jewish identity—an object of increasingly worried attention from many who fear for the basic unity of Jews as a people in the future as each denomination develops differing standards. The Orthodox Lamm's paper, said Shapiro, "opens the door for a joint *beth din*," or rabbinic court, to deal with matters of personal status and Jewish identity.

The paper was delivered at the Center for Learning and Leadership conference on Jewish unity in March.

A resolution passed at the convention reiterated a standing invitation to all rabbis, from all denominations, to join the RA in setting up courts to deal with matters of personal status.

The resolution, introduced by the Israel section of the RA, appeared to reach out towards Orthodox acceptance of Conservative conversions through the vehicle of a joint *beth din*. The resolution reiterates the Conservative position that all conversions should be in accordance with halacha. The issue is a particularly sensitive point for Conservative rabbis in Israel, where Jewish status confers automatic citizenship rights and the only conversions recognized by the state are Orthodox ones when performed within the country.

In the Knesset, recent bills in-

troduced by Israel's Orthodox political parties would also disallow non-Orthodox conversions performed outside Israel for purposes of citizenship under the Law of Return. The proposals all would specify that only conversions performed "according to halacha" would be recognized, which Israel's rabbinic interprets to mean only conversions performed by Orthodox rabbis. But these proposals have failed.

At the convention, however, amendments from the floor eliminated provisions that would seem necessary for Orthodox acceptance of the proposed joint *beth din*. The version passed deleted a statement in the original proposal that "all effective decisions of these *batei din* would be made on the basis of unanimity"—a principal the Orthodox have insisted on in all joint ventures, such as the Synagogue Council of America.

Another Orthodox requirement, that all participants in a *beth din* be committed to halacha, was also deleted from the resolution, in order to include Reform rabbis.

Shapiro said that the "unity process" began when he invited Rabbi Louis Bernstein, president of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America, to address the RA, and Bernstein surprised him by accepting.

Shapiro said there is now an open and honest relationship between the presidents of the Orthodox, Reform and Conservative rabbinic organizations.

Shapiro announced an agreement with the Reform Central Conference of American Rabbis on convoking a major conference between them, of

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both people in the field and academics from the (Reform) Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary.

On the agenda of the talks between the movements, said Shapiro, is not only the question of patrilineal descent and a joint *beth din*, but "creations of new options for study and explorations of spirituality."

"Those who say we can do anything we please because the Orthodox don't care," Shapiro said, "aren't allowing the divine spirit to be active in our time."

Referring to his arrest with other rabbis in front of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, where they protested the fate of Soviet Jewry, Shapiro said that "at that moment there was one Jewish community."

He called on the Conservative rabbinic to fight not only for Soviet Jews "but battles that remain to create a more just American society."

"I do not believe we are adequately witnessing God's word through

social actions," he said, citing "issues of war and peace, hunger and starvation" that need to be addressed. Turning to more prosaic, but no less urgent issues, Shapiro noted, "I am not only president of a professional association, but am also head of a trade union."

Among the steps the RA has recently taken for its members, he said, was a salary survey to help with synagogue negotiations.

Shapiro also noted a new RA program in heart disease prevention he had initiated—a result, he said, of his own heart attack. The rabbi recommended this as "one of the first programs we ought to put at the service of our Reform and Orthodox brothers and sisters."

The RA, he said, has scheduled a conference on rabbinic stress.

"All of our research tells us the loneliness of the rabbinic drives men from the rabbinic to be stockbrokers," Shapiro said. "Our only hope is reaching out to one another." □

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VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH  
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Some of you may know that Barbara and I were in Israel in late July and August, and I want to tell you a little about the trip. It was a most moving trip -- a trip that yielded vivid images and memories. I think of the shock of surprise you always get at the freedom and openness of Jerusalem, the sense of pluralism, with the churches and mosques and synagogues leaning against each other on the hill... And the bustle and movement of the boisterous streets. I think of the children running along beside us and laughing, with no darkness and no sadness in their faces. But there were the other faces, the faces of the children in the photographs at Yad Vashem -- faces that had seen what no one, especially a child, should ever see.

We went to an absorption center, and at Ben Gurion's simple home in the Negev I met with Israeli teenagers -- and I was struck again by the tremendous contrast between the agony of yesterday and the spirit and optimism of today. And I thought: that's where the story is, that's where the history of Israel is, it's in the faces of the children.

There were some faces at the absorption center that looked out of place -- the dark faces of the Ethiopian Jews whom we worked so hard to get out of Africa and into Israel. These children wore the dress of Africa, they are the products of its culture, and they are having some real trouble fitting in. But

- more -

there they were, running and laughing, and you just had to know these latest members of the family of Israel will do just fine.

When I addressed the Knesset I quoted from the words Chaim Weizmann used when he opened the first session of the first Knesset. They are words that could have been used in America in 1776. Weizmann said, "In this hour, a message of hope and good cheer is issued from this place, to all oppressed people and to all who are struggling for freedom and equality."

Those are words about a beginning. But now the United States and Israel are united in a long alliance dedicated to ensuring not a beginning but a continuation; not the creation of a state but its survival. We do this together, and with ease; for we are friends, and much unites us.

Israel is stronger than she has ever been, and I believe her stability is best seen not in her military or economic strength, gratifying though they are, but in the smooth and peaceful transfer of power from one party to another, from Peres to Shamir. The tranquility of the passing of the reigns of power reminds us that the state of Israel and its government are strong no matter what the passing internal political moods. And it reminds us, here in America, that though it is not unusual for us to feel an emotional bond with an Israeli head of state -- Golda Meir, of course, is one example and Ben Gurion I think was another -- the final bond, and an unbreakable one, is the formal and institutional relationship of government to government, state to state.

There is much that holds us together, of course, and not just old history and shared values. You know as I do that the moral element, Israel's moral right to exist, is the transcendent fact on which we agree. And there is the shared commitment to democracy and democratic principles -- and the sheer bottom line strategic considerations: we need Israel, we Americans, and Israel needs us. This mutual dependence is good, not bad.

Some might ask: need an American political figure in 1986 make these points? Need I repeat what has been said so many times? I have been thinking about this and I've concluded that the answer is yes. As long as Israel is surrounded by those who could do her in, her friends have a moral responsibility to declare to the world unambiguously and unequivocally: Israel is our friend and ally.

It would be nice if we were only imagining the magnitude of the forces arrayed against Israel, but alas we are not. Even an Israel stronger than ever before is a vulnerable Israel. When I was Ambassador to the United Nations, I saw again and again how

Israel had been made scapegoat to the world. Do the women of the world have equal rights? No, says a UN committee, and the reason is the Zionists! Are there racial tensions in Africa? Yes indeed, and they're traceable to Zionism! Some of the charges made against Israel in the UN reflected the special hypocrisy for which some of its members have an unfortunate flair. And so I saw racists brand Israel as racist and bullies call her a bully. It all had this lovely "Alice Through The Looking Glass" edge to it. Too bad it wasn't fantasy.

You would think that being the target of such obvious hostility, Israel would have been ejected from the UN by now. But of course she hasn't, and the reason reminds us of how important it is for friends to make their friendship -- and their intentions -- clear. Israel is still in the UN because America has made it clear -- this Administration has made it repeatedly, abundantly, undoubtedly clear -- that if Israel is thrown out of the UN, America leaves too. If they're out, we're out -- if they get the boot, our boots are made for walkin.' Israel's enemies know this, and believe me we mean what we say. And they're right, we do.

But as all of you know -- and I wonder if we've gotten this across to the world well enough -- being a friend to Israel does not mean being an enemy to the moderate Arab states. I will be frank in telling you that sometimes over the past quarter century or so, America's passion to defend Israel has sometimes seemed to manifest itself in a kind of coldness or rejection of all things Arab. And they sensed this -- and it has not been helpful, and it has not been kind.

We are no enemy to the moderate Arab states. We are a friend to Egypt, where President Mubarak and his people, with great courage and sense, have made it clear they mean to preserve the peace with Israel. King Hussein of Jordan continues his tough and lonely search for a way to start negotiations -- and this is helpful, and deserving of our praise. And the courage Shimon Peres showed when he met with King Hassan of Morocco -- another cause for hope.

So you have to know what you're up against -- but it's not unrealistic to feel some hope. We have to keep clear, clean eyes as we look out at the world; we have to see things as they are. I have two observations that apply, in a way, to this: One is that sometimes it's brave just to put on your glasses when you get up in the morning. The other is that sometimes the bravest kind of bravery is to keep an open heart. We have to be both shrewd and tough and full of the kind of optimism that draws good fortune.

We have to be tough in the continued war on terrorism. I told the Knesset my attitude here is like Lincoln's when he said, "The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am. None would do more to preserve it. But it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly." When it comes to terrorism, you can forget the 'may'.

We all know what terrorism is. It's a kind of distilled evil that reveals itself in its methods. It uses the sickest kind of cruelty, the kind that would blow a woman and an infant out of an airborne jet -- the kind of cruelty in which a man would put a bomb in the travelling bag of the young woman who is carrying his child, and then stand up in a London courtroom and say, with a kind of brazen malice, 'She loves me and we'll be together again soon!'. It's the kind of cruelty that revels in a Nava Shalom and in the bombings at the wall.

This viciousness and bloodlust -- this is not the way of honorable men waging reluctant battle for an honorable cause. This is the way of jackals who have neither conscience nor courage. It would be nice to think they're only crazy, but the truth is they're calculating. They're part of a larger effort, a grander design. I agree with Scoop Jackson, who said a very true thing -- he said a lot of very true things -- but he said, shortly before he died, "I believe that international terrorism is a modern form of warfare against the liberal democracies. I believe the ultimate goal of these terrorists is to destroy the very fabric of democracy. And I believe that it is both wrong and foolhardy for any democratic state to consider international terrorism to be 'somebody else's problem'".

I chaired the President's Task Force on Terrorism, and we looked at the threat from every angle and came up with a series of very specific recommendations. For instance, we told the President we need stepped up intelligence. When I was Director of the CIA I learned as never before the importance of unsurpassed intelligence gathering and analysis. America's intelligence system is the best ever -- in the past year alone we were able to stop 90 planned attacks against US citizens before they happened. But we can do better.

I want to mention something that made me think of the C.J.F.W.F. the other night. I have been reading Tom Sowell's "Ethnic America", and I got to the part about the Jewish immigrants of eastern Europe at the turn of the century. As Sowell points out, most of them came to the lower east side of Manhattan, and it was terribly crowded. These immigrants were the poorest to come to America, and they worked with their hands as manual laborers and in the sweatshops, or they did piecework at home. They slept five to a room and they got tuberculosis and

they had an infant mortality rate of more than 50 percent and families were constantly being evicted for not paying the rent... The Jews of eastern Europe had nothing going for them but who they were. Naturally they did quite well. And once they had a little money, you know what they did. It has to do with tzedaka

Tzedaka, the Jewish tradition of giving -- as you know, because you're the people who have continued it in our time. The Jewish philanthropic tradition was best expressed, I think, in this statement of principle from an early philanthropy. It said, "In dispensing money and matzohs to the poor, all are recognized as the children of one Father, and no lines are drawn between natives of different countries." Isn't that fine? Liberalism in its best sense. And look at its breadth. Look at what tzedaka has done throughout the country. You've helped build universities and hospitals, theatres and community centers and parks -- and not only for the Jewish community. You did it for everyone. And in doing so you helped start the American tradition of voluntary giving. You probably know that in Washington the Office of tzedaka is now called the Office of Private Sector Initiatives. And when the President and I talk about voluntarism, we are talking about the kinds of things you do everyday. And I'm not sure this has ever been properly acknowledged. If it hasn't, please accept the humble Mazeltov from your Vice President.

Now I know it's getting near my time here but there's still a little outstanding, a few things I want to mention. One has to do with an area that's been a source of anxiety to you and to some others lately. It is the question of the separation of church and state in America. I don't know if what I have to say qualifies as a statement of principle, but I do want to share my thinking with you.

I'll be direct. I believe in the separation of church and state and I would fiercely oppose the obvious or subtle establishment of any state religion. I would oppose any merging of church and state -- I embrace, respect and support the wall that separates them, and I would neither tear it down nor allow it to erode. I think the most significant thing about the First Amendment, which contains the establishment clause, is that it is, after all, the first Amendment. That should tell us something about its importance to the founders.

I believe that religion is a powerful current in our national life -- and always has been, and always will be -- and always should be. "One Nation Under God" belongs in the Pledge of Allegiance. "In God We Trust" belongs on our currency. We are a nation whose destiny cannot be separated from faith.

But we've got to remember tolerance. We've got to remember not to judge each other or to speak disparagingly of each other's belief. In a pluralistic democracy you've got to remember to give each other a little spiritual breathing room. Religion isn't a problem in America -- but intolerance sometimes is. And this is something we all have to watch out for.

But the separation of church and state does not, and cannot, be allowed to imply a hostility of the state toward religion. The wall between them is like the fence in Robert Frost's "Good fences make good neighbors". The church and the state are neighbors.

I think maybe we should all of us, in this big and great country, try to be more aware of what unites us, of the love that unites us. I will quickly mention just one more issue that unites all of us -- all of us, Christians and Jews, Americans and Israelis, and members of the democracies. It is the pursuit and protection of human rights around the world.

I want you to know that the US has been bringing up the problem of Soviet Jewry with the Soviets in Vienna. I'm sure you know the President pressed the Soviets on this cause in Geneva and they discussed it also at Rejkavik. And we will continue to press. The human rights issue is now a permanent part of the US-Soviet agenda. They don't like that a lot, but that's the way it's going to be until they do what's right.

I think often of Natan Shcharansky, whom I saw once again in Israel. I first met Avital, Mrs. Shcharansky, about seven years ago. We have seen each other and met several times since, and now I'm getting to know Natan. I like his style. I don't know if you've heard the story but recently Margaret Thatcher was in Jerusalem on a state visit, and Shcharansky walked up to her husband and said, "Mr. Thatcher, you and I have something important in common." And Dennis Thatcher was taken aback and asked what. And Shcharansky said, "If it weren't for our wives, neither of us would be in Israel!". Shcharansky doesn't stand much on ceremony.

The other day he met with a group of people who are agitating for freedom for the persecuted in the Soviet Union. The group was composed of Christians and Jews and leftists and rightists, and Shcharansky opened the meeting saying, "I haven't been in a group like this since I got out of jail!" I thought that made a nice point about how we're all responsible for each other.

Shcharansky won't forget, can't forget, the people he left behind. Already we've gotten his mother out and his brother and his family, so the progress continues, but it's not enough in itself.

When I left Israel I had lunch at one of the absorption centers with Mark and Natasha Drachinsky. They're recent Soviet emigres. On the wall of their room is a picture of Mark's closest friend, Yuli Edelshtein, who is now in a Soviet prison hospital. His crime? For some reason he wants to leave the Soviet Union and come to Israel. Yuli Edelstein is behind bars but Mark Drachinsky thinks he's going to get him out. So does Shcharansky. And so do I.

We're going to succeed because we're going to keep fighting together, and with optimism -- an optimism that is appropriate to the challenge. History shows us that progress is to be expected, and that even the victory of peace is possible. Each day the world turns and night dies in daylight; each day begins new and empty of history, and it's up to us to fill it up with acts of righteousness. We can change history. This is the thing that keeps me in politics: we can change history.

Natan Shcharansky spent nine years in the hell of the gulag, nine years in the darkness and alone in the biggest prison in the history of man, and it was not possible that he would ever know freedom again. But the world turned -- we changed history -- and Natan Shcharansky lives in Jerusalem now and a week ago he welcomed into the world a new life, his first child, a little Israeli girl named Rachel.

She has no sadness in her eyes, and this reminds us that the history of Israel is in the faces of its children. That's where you see its history, always being reborn. And that's why we fight on, because in the truest sense, where there is life there is hope.

####



COUNTRY: 5080 Israel

*Israel  
Cum*

		VALUE IN DOLLARS	PER-CENT OF TOTAL
TRADE INFORMATION FOR JANUARY thru JUNE 1986			
EXPORTS -----	RANK=023	896,307,913	0.8290
IMPORTS	RANK=026	1,226,022,038	0.6384
TURNOVER -----	RANK=024	2,122,329,951	0.7071
BALANCE	RANK=147	329,714,125-	0.3929
TRADE INFORMATION FOR JANUARY thru JUNE 1985			
EXPORTS -----	RANK=024	982,066,616	0.8890
IMPORTS	RANK=028	1,065,941,099	0.5931
TURNOVER -----	RANK=026	2,048,007,715	0.7057
BALANCE	RANK=127	83,874,483-	0.1211
TRADE INFORMATION FOR 1985			
EXPORTS -----	RANK=025	1,867,907,619	0.8764
IMPORTS	RANK=027	2,200,788,662	0.6086
TURNOVER -----	RANK=025	4,068,696,281	0.7079
BALANCE	RANK=134	332,881,043-	0.2242
TRADE INFORMATION FOR 1984			
EXPORTS -----	RANK=025	1,976,719,215	0.9072
IMPORTS	RANK=031	1,809,222,279	0.5303
TURNOVER -----	RANK=030	3,785,941,494	0.6772
BALANCE	RANK=020	167,496,936	0.1359-
TRADE INFORMATION FOR 1983			
EXPORTS -----	RANK=027	1,768,183,281	0.8817
IMPORTS	RANK=034	1,299,620,583	0.4816
TURNOVER -----	RANK=030	3,067,803,864	0.6521
BALANCE	RANK=013	468,562,698	0.6757-
TRADE INFORMATION FOR 1982			
EXPORTS -----	RANK=030	1,628,205,144	0.7670
IMPORTS	RANK=035	1,208,487,239	0.4741
TURNOVER -----	RANK=034	2,836,692,383	0.6072
BALANCE	RANK=017	419,717,905	0.9850-

*Israel's  
secretion defense*

LAVI Talking Points

*Draft in progress*

1. Dov Zakheim, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, recently issued a report on the Lavi. The findings of this report are being used by critics of the Lavi project in their attempts to stop production of the Lavi. The report contains certain critical assessments of the Lavi program that have been given wide publicity by Department of Defense sources.

2. The Zakheim report also retracts certain previous Department of Defense arguments against the Lavi:

The Zakheim report concedes that earlier Department of Defense estimates of Lavi development costs were seriously in error. The Department of Defense now estimates the program development cost at \$2.6 billion, compared to earlier Department of Defense projections of \$4.5 billion and Department of Air Force estimates of more than \$9 billion.

The Zakheim report concedes that the Israel has the technical capability to develop the Lavi, which earlier Department of Defense officials had indicated was too much a challenge for Israel.

The Zakheim report agrees that Israel has a legitimate requirement for an aircraft like the Lavi to replace its nearly 300 A-4 and Kfir aircraft.

3. The Zakheim report claims that Israel is seriously underestimating the production cost of the Lavi. According to Israel, each Lavi will cost about \$15 million to build, but the reports contends that the real cost will be \$22 million.

4. Israel has vehemently rejected the Zakheim estimates. According to the Israeli Ministry of Defense:

The report overstated the cost of the Pratt and Whitney 1120 engines by \$1.5 million per aircraft. The Department of Defense estimated the cost of each engine at \$4.5 million apiece, but Israel has a signed contract with Pratt and Whitney to buy the engines for about \$3.0 million each. The Israeli claims are supported by a variety of other sources. In 1984, Boeing estimated that an F-4 could be equipped with two 1120 engines for less than \$6 million. Moreover, in 1985 the U.S. Air Force paid only about \$3.7 million for each F-16 engine, and in 1984 Department of Defense officials claimed that the 1120 engine should cost no more than 90% of the cost of an F-16 engine.

The report overstated the cost of labor in Israel by nearly \$20 per hour, adding more than \$2 million to the cost of each aircraft. The Department of Defense estimated Israeli labor costs at \$44 per hour, but the real figure is no more than about \$26 per hour.

The report overstated the cost of the raw materials needed to build the fuselage by about \$2 million. Israeli estimates, made independently by Israel Aircraft Industries and the Israeli Ministry of Defense, put the cost of the raw materials at about \$700,000 to \$800,000 per aircraft, compared with the estimate in the Zakheim report of \$3 million. The Israeli estimates are based on market price costs for the raw materials. The Department of Defense miscalculation may have resulted from the mistaken assumption that 22% of the fuselage would be made out of composite materials, rather than the correct figure of 4%.

These three items are believed to account for most of the discrepancy between the Israeli and the American cost estimates.

5. Possible alternatives to the Lavi may be even more expensive than the Lavi. Contrary to assertions made by some U.S. officials, it would cost Israel more to buy a standard F-16 than to buy a Lavi even if the inflated Department of Defense estimates turn out to be correct.

The U.S. government spends about \$19 million to buy an F-16C, but this price does not include the \$1.2-1.9 million needed to buy an electronic warfare system for each plane (a cost included in the Lavi price), nor the \$750,000 per plane that Israel has to pay for research and development, nor the \$570,000 per plane that Israel has to pay for Department of Defense administrative costs (3% of the contract price), nor the \$285,000 per plane that Israel has to pay for contract auditing costs, nor any of the other Department of Defense cost add-ons. These items alone raise the cost of the each plane by 15% to \$22 million, or the same as the U.S. estimate for the Lavi.

Because of additional expenses of this type, Israel spent over \$40 million per aircraft to buy its last batch of 75 F-16s.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT  
27 January 1986 (22)  
Pg. 12

*Defense Secretary Weinberger faces an all-out war with Congress over attempts by some lawmakers to overhaul the command structure of the Pentagon and combine the Army's Delta Force and*



Defense Secretary Weinberger

*antiterrorist teams of other services into a single unit. The betting by Capitol Hill veterans: Put your money on Weinberger.*

#### BILLIG...from Pg. 7

him." She said she believed Billig had just left a meeting with then-Executive Officer Leon Hodges when he met her in the reception office of the hospital.

Hodges testified last week that he found out during a meeting with Billig in October 1983 that the heart surgeon's competence had been criticized by a New Jersey hospital in 1980 and that the doctor had been asked to leave. Hodges said, in light of that revelation, he ordered Billig not to perform any heart operations and that he asked for an investigation into his credentials. Billig was cleared after that one-month investigation.

Getz indicated yesterday she was surprised by the request from Billig, who she described as a "most honorable person ... a very good

WASHINGTON POST 22 January 1986 Pg. 14

## Israel to Return \$51 Million U.S. Aid

*Cutback Is Necessary Under Budget-Balancing Law*

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Israel has agreed in principle that \$51 million of its \$1.2 billion in U.S. economic aid for fiscal 1986 should be returned to help meet Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget cuts, and the two governments are discussing how to do it, Israeli officials said yesterday.

Dan Halperin, economic affairs minister of the Israeli Embassy here, said Israel believes that it has no legal obligation to return the money.

But, he said, Prime Minister Shimon Peres' government "has been made aware of the problems that Gramm-Rudman-Hollings pose for the U.S. administration and has agreed in principle to help by volunteering the money."

Halperin said details of "how, when and over what time frame" the payments will be made are being negotiated. He said the most likely method involves Israeli transfer of \$51 million, probably in increments over an undetermined period, rather than a deduction from further economic aid Congress might authorize for Israel.

The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation, which aims at reducing the federal deficit, will force the State Department to cut aid to recipient countries by 4.3 percent. Unlike every other country, Israel

received its \$1.2 billion in fiscal 1986 economic aid at the beginning of the fiscal year under a practice that enables it to benefit from the interest.

That left the Reagan administration \$51 million short of meeting the requirements of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, passed after the money was disbursed. To make up the difference, the administration must get that amount back from Israel or squeeze it out of aid funds for other countries.

Halperin said U.S. officials explained that failure to get the money back from Israel would require cutting fiscal 1986 aid to other countries by an average of 6.5 percent. As a result, Halperin said, Peres and Israeli Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai agreed that "Israel should be responsive to the U.S. request to help resolve the problem."

Other Israeli officials said no agreement has been made about how Gramm-Rudman-Hollings will apply to Israeli aid for fiscal 1987.

The two governments have reached a tentative 1987 agreement to raise military aid from \$1.8 billion to \$1.9 billion and keep economic aid at \$1.2 billion. But U.S. sources have said they expect Israel's fiscal 1987 aid to be frozen at this year's levels or be cut slightly.

administrator" and someone who "never lied" to her.

"I said 'What?'" Getz said when Billig first told her to get rid of the records that detailed operations from beginning to end. "He repeated that we shouldn't keep any more records and that we should get rid of the ones we had ... I said I thought it wasn't a good move ... that I thought it was something that would come to haunt us."

Getz said Billig told her months later, in February or March 1984,

that she could resume maintaining records of operating room notes, and she did.

Beginning the second week of testimony in the court-martial, the prosecution also introduced the first witness to question the competence of Billig in connection with the five patient deaths. Cmdr. Bruce Lloyd, chief of cardiology at Bethesda, said yesterday Billig's actions during the operation of retired Naval Petty Officer Joe B. Estep, 66, of Temple Hills could be linked to the man's death five days later.

WASHINGTON TIMES 22 January 1986 Pg. 4

## Reagan seeks arms for Jordan

President Reagan yesterday said he would work with Congress on a package of more than \$1 billion in arms sales for Jordan, saying that it is "important that we stand by King Hussein, who is playing an important part in the peace process," according to White House

spokesman Larry Speakes.

The president, at the same time, reaffirmed his "rock-solid" commitment to maintaining Israel's military strength, Mr. Speakes said.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas said he does not know how Congress will react to the arms sale request.



# Aide Says Billig Ordered Notes Destroyed

*Navy Officer Newman Found Guilty of Lying About His Role in Recruiting Surgeon*

By Chris Spolar  
and Sue Anne Presley  
Washington Post Staff Writers

A secretary at Bethesda Naval Hospital testified yesterday that Cmdr. Donal M. Billig told her sometime in the fall of 1983 to destroy his file of operating room notes and not to keep such records in the future, an order she disagreed with and said "would come to haunt us."

Sondra Getz, Billig's personal secretary in the cardiothoracic unit at Bethesda, said she tore up the records that day and put them in office trash cans. "I don't think we should do it," Getz said she told Billig, who is charged with involuntary manslaughter in the deaths of five patients at the hospital. "But I'll do what you tell me to."

Getz's testimony, heard during the court-martial of Billig at the Washington Navy Yard, came the same day that a Navy officer who helped recruit the doctor was found guilty by another court-martial panel of lying to investigators.

Cmdr. Reginald E. Newman, who recruited Billig in 1982, was convicted of two counts of making false official statements, one count of dereliction of duty and two counts of perjury. The decision followed 2½ days of deliberations by the court-martial panel, convened at Bolling Air Force Base, and two weeks of testimony.

Newman, 53, faces sentencing today by the same panel that found him guilty. The maximum sentence the 35-year Navy veteran could receive is 21½ years in prison, dismissal from the service and forfeiture of pay and allowances.

Newman's trial ended as Bethesda personnel who worked with Billig in 1983 and 1984 testified about how investigations into the heart surgeon's surgical competence were handled during those years. In addition to the involuntary manslaughter charges in five deaths in 1983 and 1984, Billig, 54, has been charged with dereliction of duty in connection with a dozen other operations he did without supervision in 1983.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 27 Jan 1986 (22) Pg.69

## MEDICINE ON TRIAL

### Under attack: Military care

■ The court-martial of Cmdr. Donal Billig, a surgeon implicated in the deaths of five coronary patients, is fixing attention on the quality of care in the military's huge health-service system.

His case is just one of several that are drawing criticism from both patients and Congress. Among other complaints:

- Egregious misdiagnoses are made. One recent tragedy involved a Marine lieutenant colonel with four Purple Hearts who died after his strep infection was mistaken for ordinary flu.

- Overcrowding, long waits and juggling of patients are common. "There is no continuity in the medical treatment and there is no continuity in the patient-physician relationship," says Janet O'Brien of the National Association of Military Families.

Billig, who has severely impaired vision in one eye, has denied botching the operations—most of which he did while head of the heart unit at the Navy's flagship hospital in Bethesda, Md.

Last July, after the revelations about Billig surfaced, congressional hearings highlighted a parade of horror stories about military medicine. The hearings spurred the House to pass legislation that would give active-duty military personnel the right to sue for medical and dental malpractice. The bill is pending in committee in the Senate.

Defense Department officials contend that the legislation is unnecessary and reject the view that military health care is inferior. While acknowledging that a few "sad, tragic" cases have oc-

curred, Dr. William Mayer, head of health affairs for the Pentagon, says that some mistakes will happen "no matter how excellent" care is in a system as massive as the military's. The program covers not only active-duty personnel and their families but also military retirees and their dependents.

### Huge health network

With a \$10-billion medical budget, the Pentagon oversees what may well be the world's largest health-care system. Staffed with some 13,000 physicians, military facilities handle 1 million inpatients and 56 million outpatients a year. Many of the 168 service-run hospitals

are highly rated, and none has failed accreditation. The quality of care, claims Mayer, "is equal to, if not better than, care over all in the civilian sector."

However, when it comes to wartime readiness—preparing for and handling those wounded in combat—Mayer acknowledges problems. Reports from Congress and the Pentagon show that the medical readiness of the armed services is low. Current estimates are that only 3 out of 10 infantrymen wounded in battle would receive immediate medical attention because of staff and equipment shortages. "The military health-care system," Mayer says bluntly, "is not ready for war."

Pentagon officials are trying now to shift some civilian health treatment to private providers so that the military facilities can focus on wartime readiness. Delivering babies and treating children are two prime candidates for transfer, though both will remain covered by military health insurance.

Despite this and other reforms—including tougher licensing of military doctors—surveys show most patients who use military facilities would prefer to be treated in civilian settings. "It's not the negative publicity that's caused a crisis," contends one critic. Senator Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.). "The deficiencies are real, as service members and their families will tell you."

Getz, who still works at Bethesda, said she was told to destroy reports, maintained in Billig's office, on a day that Billig appeared to be upset.

He looked "completely out of character," she said. "Upset . . . it looked like the fight was out of

BILLIG . . . Pg. 8

by David Whitman



## THE HOSPITAL THAT LOVES CHILDREN

In spite of the preparedness for the ever-present political difficulties in the Middle East, Shaare Zedek has always dedicated itself to peace and caring for the needy of the city — especially its children.

In 1950, a crippling polio epidemic broke out in Israel and Shaare Zedek mobilized its resources and opened the only Isolation Unit in Jerusalem, thereby saving many lives and averting a catastrophe. In 1961, the hospital rebuilt and re-equipped its Pediatric Department. In 1975, another milestone was achieved with the opening of a Pediatric Kidney Dialysis Unit. A year later, a Pediatric Surgery Unit was opened and in 1977, a Children's Day Hospital including a Mothers Milk Bank went into operation. In 1978, a Neonatology Intensive Care Unit and Pediatrics Cardiology Department were added to the hospital's medical services.

Shaare Zedek's devotion to the children of the city is boundless. The planners succeeded in providing the children with a happy, cheerful, colorful, non-institutional look. As a result, today Shaare Zedek's Pediatrics Division is not only a showplace, but more importantly, the most modern and fully equipped hospital in the Middle East. Children receive the best of medical attention in an informal and pleasant surrounding.

So many exciting developments are placing Shaare Zedek in the forefront of the Israeli medical scene and, indeed, making its name well known throughout the world. The new Shaare Zedek Medical Center is vital, progressive, and ever-growing, not only as it heals the sick but as it is involved with research, medical education and social work.

You can be part of this excitement and this growth and, at the same time, help one of Israel's outstanding medical institutions meet its daily needs. Please contact the American Committee for Shaare Zedek for further information.

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# THE SHAARE ZEDEK MEDICAL CENTER



# SHAARE ZEDEK- OVER A CENTURY OF SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF JERUSALEM

TO HEAL THE BODY,  
GIVE NEW LIFE TO THE SOUL

The story behind the tapestries is more than the opportunity to remember the creation of Shaare Zedek in the glowing works of art. When they were commissioned two years ago, it was to bring color to the very texture of life into the existence of Shaare Zedek's patients, to give them the sense that they too were again at the beginning of all things.

The Judaic tradition of healing embraces the dual concept of cure of the body and cure for the soul. To enliven the spirit of those racked with pain is an abiding concern of the Shaare Zedek Medical Center, and extends from the tapestries to the most advanced and sophisticated system for the relief of war induced shock and trauma.



## PEOPLE ARE OUR PURPOSE

The Shaare Zedek Medical Center has especially devoted itself to the study and diagnosis of diseases and conditions found among the peoples of the Mediterranean. The hospital's work with the Ashkenazim and Yemenites has led to a major pioneering research effort in its causes of blood disease.

The increasing members of elderly concentrated within the city limits have encouraged the Medical Center to adopt special programs for their care, and therapy, as well to stimulate new and innovative research into senility, arteriosclerosis and other age-related problems. Additionally, the hospital has undertaken an important study of the effects on the elderly of nursing home confinement.

The specific problems of children, the elderly and Israel's ethnic populations are only a small part of the hospital's purview and purpose... a purpose that has won Shaare Zedek the accolade, "The Hospital with a Heart."

## HEALTH CARE ENTERS THE AGE OF TECHNOLOGY: THE SHAARE ZEDEK MEDICAL CENTER AND ITS FACILITIES

With the opening of the Shaare Zedek Medical Center in 1979, Jerusalem has entered into a new era of health care for all of its residents — Jews, Moslems and Christians. The Shaare Zedek Medical Center provides a broad range of diagnostic and therapeutic services, backed up by the most modern equipment and systems. In addition, education and research are integral parts of the total program of the Medical Center.

The Medical Center consists of ten buildings, totaling 1,300,000 square feet of floor space on a 14 acre site. The main hospital building, planned for more than 500 hospital beds, is the dominant structure and contains dozens of medical departments and specialized units in its ten stories.

Modern architectural and planning techniques allow the fullest utilization of every department and unit, easy access for patients, and the possibility of future expansion.

The Underground Emergency Hospital, designed for peace but prepared for war, contains a Surgical Operating Center, Institute of Cardiology and Imaging Center and the Casualty and Admissions Department with direct underground access for ambulances. A separate self-contained Emergency Shelter, built according to the rigid specifications of the Israel Ministry of Defense and protected against nuclear, chemical and conventional attack, is equipped with 250 bunk beds, additional operating theatres, X-ray rooms and a blood bank.

In front of the Medical Center are three subterranean parking levels with space for 500 cars. There is an entrance on each level to the three underground floors of the main hospital building, as well as access to the Main Entrance Plaza on the ground floor.

The Shaare Zedek Medical Center includes a three-wing Outpatient Clinic Department where over 1,000 patients can be treated daily. The clinics serve as a bridge between the hospital and the community, and, in an innovative step for Israeli medicine, enable patients to be treated by the same doctors both inside and outside the hospital. Other innovations, such as an Adult Day Hospital and Children's Day Hospital, are also functioning in the Medical Center.

Clinical and basic scientific research is carried out in a number of specialized laboratories. A fully equipped modern research center enables staff members to pursue their scientific interest and make scholarly contributions to medicine.

Teaching facilities are available for the instruction of medical students and an eight-story Nursing Education Center provides housing and training for 180 student nurses.

The Shaare Zedek Medical Center has brought computer technology to the service of the sick. Patient records — including diagnostic and personal data, pharmacological and other inventories, and administrative functions are all fully automated. In addition, work procedures utilize the latest technological innovations to ensure the observance of Jewish tradition and religious obligations while providing the very best medical care.

As a University affiliated teaching hospital, Shaare Zedek Medical Center is planned to meet the challenges of the future — the provisions of more effective medical service to the entire community, utilizing the most modern and sophisticated equipment and procedures of the electron and computer age.

## SHAARE ZEDEK: TRAINING AS IT HEALS

An average of over 500 employees of Shaare Zedek have been participating in monthly courses and seminars as part of a comprehensive in-service training program at its Medical Center.

The Shaare Zedek Training Center was created in 1978 for the purpose of coordinating all the educational activities of the Medical Center. The educational program at Shaare Zedek has the three-fold aim of promoting the increased efficiency of the employees and aiding them in the absorption of the special atmosphere of Shaare Zedek; instructing employees in the optional uses of manpower in the use of sophisticated new equipment; and encouraging positive motivation to give workers a feeling of identification with the aims and purposes of Shaare Zedek and to reacquire them with the various opportunities for further advancement in their fields.

The overall aim is to ensure that Shaare Zedek staff members, whatever their particular work, are equipped with the proper skills to do their jobs capably and to give them the satisfaction that comes from doing a job well.



## CONTINUING GROWTH AND ENLIGHTENMENT THROUGH RESEARCH

Seventeen departments within the new Medical Center are engaged in seventy-five research projects. Some are specifically related to problems found predominately within Jerusalem and its outskirts. For example, a project to determine the causes of thalassemia, a blood disease commonly found in Israel and the Mediterranean Sea and characterized by anemia, or an investigation of the development of diabetes in Israelis of Ashkenazic and Yemenite origin.

Shaare Zedek's researchers are engaged in pioneering work in cystic fibrosis, a relatively common and often fatal hereditary disease affecting children. The hospital has recently begun to investigate ways of detecting carriers of cystic fibrosis who may transmit the disease to their offspring. The study entails the development of a cell culture model from a sampling of blood which may aid in the development of a method for the easy identification of cystic fibrosis carriers.

Growing interest in the field of geriatrics, the medical specialty concerned with problems of aging and the aged, coupled with a considerable increase in the number of elderly in Israel, has given impetus to a new project undertaken by the hospital's Department of Geriatrics. The purpose of the research is to find new pharmacological means of helping elderly people who suffer from a variety of psychological problems connected to physical complaints. Solutions to such geriatric problems as senility, depression and several others are being investigated with the aim of finding new drugs which may help to alleviate these disturbing symptoms.

The Department of Psychiatry is the first in the country to institute a program of comprehensive assistance to rape victims. The project has been initiated to help both the victims and the police. It includes follow-up of the rape victims in an effort to prevent the beginnings of psychopathology.

Parkinson's disease, early detection of stomach cancer, cataract extraction and the genetics of hypertension are among additional research problems under investigation at the Medical Center.

The threat and the aftermath of war have made their impact here. Much research is underway related to wound healing, burn problems, new bone tissue generation and mass casualty studies.





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# AS ANCIENT AS THE LAND, AS MODERN AS ITS PEOPLE

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Built opposite Mt. Herzl in Bayit VeGan, the new Shaare Zedek Medical Center in Jerusalem embodies the centuries-old traditions and religious practices of a people who have occupied the land since the dawn of time. From its desert space, Shaare Zedek has been a strong and powerful voice for change and development — even as the people it serves have fought their way into 20th century statehood and self-determination. With the same energy and ambition that have made the State of Israel the mainstay of the Middle East, Shaare Zedek is devoted to the people of modern Jerusalem and to bringing to them, in accordance with their needs, the most highly advanced methods of medical care, including computer science and technology.

## PRESENT AT THE CREATION

During the summer of 1979, the century old Shaare Zedek Hospital moved from its antiquated quarters to a new \$55 million complex overlooking Jerusalem.

Many times in its history the old building on the Jaffa Road had been called upon to aid Jerusalem and served as a focal point for many historic events occurring within the city. Most recently, during Israel's own War of Independence, Shaare Zedek's Department of Surgery was called upon to work around the clock — since the hospital had the only surgical department in operation within the city proper.

The construction of today's massive, by any standards, hospital complex represents to the many thousands of friends and patrons in the United States and Europe, as well as to the nearly 400,000 Jerusalemites the hospital will serve, the fulfillment of a dream.

Those who labored, who provided financial assistance, who dedicated their professional expertise and talents to the building of the dream — all had the unique privilege and experience to be "present at the creation."



That experience has been captured in a series of ten major new works by internationally renowned artist Mordecai Ardon, and donated to the Shaare Zedek Medical Center by two of the hospital's earliest and most generous contributors.

The ten tapestries, each measuring two by three meters, describe the creation of the world according to the Zohar. According to the Medrash, the Almighty chose to begin the creation of the world with the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet "Beth" — "Beraishit Barah . . ." The other letters all came to Him and tried to change His decision, each letter stating why it deserved the honor.

"First came the letter 'Tav.' It said: 'Lord of the Universe, you should want to create the world with me, since I end your motto: Emet (truth) . . . you are called Truth, it would be proper for the Almighty to start with the letter of truth and to begin the world with me.' The Almighty answered: 'You are correct, but you are not worthy of the creation of the world. You will appear on the list of commandments for righteous people, who will obey the Torah from 'Aleph to Tav' . . . And thus the Almighty explained to each letter why it wasn't chosen . . ."

At the ceremony of the removal of the tenth tapestry from its loom in Jerusalem, Mordecai Ardon (who was educated at the Bauhaus in Berlin and was the 1954 International UNESCO Prize winner and the 1964 Israel Prize winner) acknowledged, "My life's dream was to describe the creation of the world in an original way, according to the Zohar. The idea to prepare drawings for the tapestries that will hang in the new Medical Center drove me to see this dream come true." While Ardon prepared the designs, the weaving of the tapestries was supervised by Georges Goldstein, the noted Jerusalem weaving master.

The ten Ardon tapestries will arrive at the Shaare Zedek Medical Center for dedication at Passover 1981, after first being exhibited in the United States and Europe.





# *the International Peace Park Project*

THEY MADE IT POSSIBLE... President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, President Jimmy Carter of the United States and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel clasped hands and made history when they signed the Camp David Accord in 1978.

This unprecedented event which led to the Israel/Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979 is commemorated in the newly established International Peace Park Project which honors the achievements of these three great leaders who sought peace between Israel and the Arab world and will serve as a living tribute to all peace-making nations.

The world's first International Peace Park is located approximately 35 miles south of Rafiah on Israel's recently completed Peace Road, a land route along the Israel/Egypt border running from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The park is in the border

area of Ezuz Beerotayim. This "salient of green" in the southwestern Negev will provide the Peace Road traveler with an oasis of rest and comfort, as well as picnic, recreation and camping facilities. A "Garden of the Nations" will bloom with flora and fauna representing contributing countries.

Site planners and architects are currently developing blueprints for this unique International Peace Park which will expand its facilities and grow as funding for the project is subscribed. Founders and benefactors may sponsor major sections such as

- information and visitors' center
- picnic grounds
- meditation glens
- children's playgrounds

This form of active participation in the development of the Peace Park presents the rare opportunity to

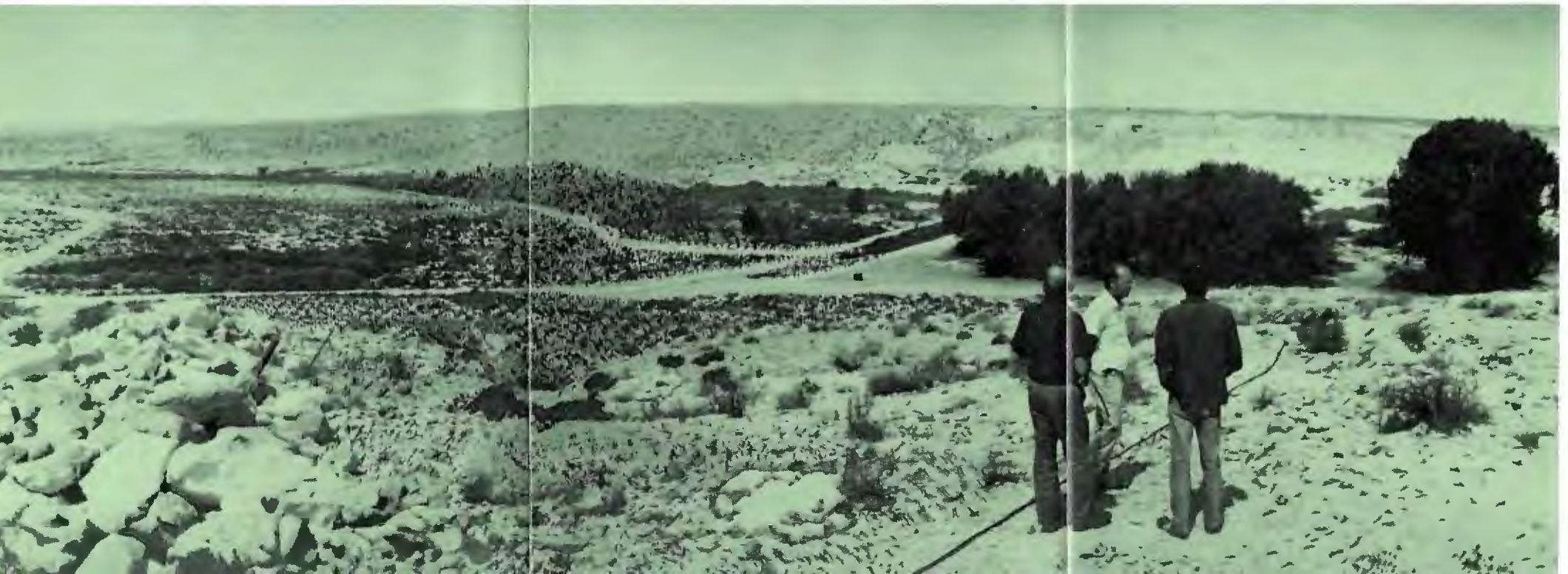
link your name with a truly historic undertaking.

## *The World is Invited*

As the arid stretches of the Negev are turned into a park of green in this vital border area, the International Peace Park will demonstrate that "Peace is like a flower... it's got to grow."\* By nurturing this place-of-peaceful-pursuits... by making barren land bloom... by offering a haven of rest and recreation... the International Peace Park opens its paths to all who seek to commemorate and continue the work of the three great men who made the concept of peace a reality.

\*From "The World Is Invited", lyrics by Lenny Hat Logo: Barbara Adler

SITE OF THE WORLD'S FIRST INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK IN THE ISRAEL EGYPT BORDER AREA OF EZUZ BEEROTAYIM





*"A Long Day's Journey  
into Peace..."*



**Jack  
Lemmon**

Honorary  
President  
International  
Peace Park

*"I am deeply honored to be associated with this exciting endeavor of turning a hitherto barren environment into a place of beauty where people of good will can literally take a journey into peace. It is my hope that you will join me in support of this vital project."*



Jack Lemmon, with Ambassador Ruth Farkas, President of the International Board, and Leon H. Charney, International Chairman of the International Peace Park Project.

## INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK



*David  
Warshaw  
Project  
Director*

The International Peace Park is a project of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Le Israel) which has planted over 180 million trees in Israel and is a world authority in afforestation programs, arid land reclamation and advanced agricultural technologies.



For further information regarding individual or corporate participation in this project, please contact:

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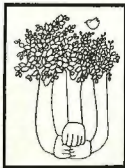
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## INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK



*They Made It  
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# PRESSING MATTERS

## The Wolfman of Jerusalem

BY GEOFFREY ARONSON

WAS THERE ONCE A TIME WHEN REPORTERS simply reported the news, efficiently and anonymously? In an age where Barbara Walters sullies herself with Iran muck, and Peter Jennings announces his "Person of the Week," the airwaves are crawling with media millionaires who themselves are news.

Israel and the Reagan administration have denied.

Who does Wolf Blitzer work for? The *New York Times*? The *Washington Post*? The *Manchester Union Leader*?

Blitzer is the Washington correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post*, Israel's only English-language paper. In a country where the national language is Hebrew, the *Jerusalem Post* is much less important than the Hebrew dailies. But when was the last time you saw *Ha'aretz's* Washington correspondent, or any foreign correspondent for that matter, on the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, *Nightline*, or the op-ed pages of the *New York Times*?

The Iran scandal—a Washington story with a strong Middle East angle—is tailor-made for Blitzer.

"I'm going to have a certain competitive advantage over my colleagues," he explains. "I've spent time developing the sources. Pollard, too, is a Washington-based story with a heavy Israeli component. So I'm going to get my fair share of the scoops. A lot of other reporters don't necessarily have the experience or contacts I must have."

"When you write for an Israeli paper in Washington," explains Blitzer, "you have to free-lance." To make ends meet, Blitzer recycles

more than a reporter. He is also a lens through which America's relationship with Israel and the Middle East is refracted—a piece of Israel for the American Jewish community and, when stories like Pollard and Irangate are breaking, for the American public as well.

Unlike most other foreign correspondents, Blitzer is an American. He grew up in Buffalo and attended the state university there. During his junior year he studied in Israel and after completing his graduate studies at Johns Hopkins' School for Advanced International Studies, he returned to Israel to work for the Reuters press agency, where he caught the attention of editors at the *Jerusalem Post*. Blitzer left the Middle East shortly before the October 1973 war to marry his hometown sweetheart and to seek his journalistic fortune in Washington.

"The *Post* was then looking for a temporary replacement for its Washington correspondent," he explains. Blitzer took the temporary assignment in 1974 and has been there ever since. "I still find the job exciting and interesting. It's a great job."

Like any reporter schooled in American journalistic ethics, Blitzer insists that he doesn't wear his personal opinions on his sleeve. "Some Israeli journalists skew their reporting according

law] came to see me. For over two hours he told me his sad story. I just listened to his side and he must have thought I was sympathetic, decent, or honorable. One week later he called me and told me to put in another request for an interview. I called the warden at the federal prison at Petersburg [Pennsylvania], J.J. Clark. I told him that I wanted to interview Pollard. So he told me to send a letter. Two days later I was told, 'We have approved your request. We'll give you two hours.'

"They gave me three hours. I had an impression going into the interview that Pollard was weird, a flake, nuts. That he was crazy. When I met him I realized that he was not a nut. Stupid and reckless, yes, for doing what he did, but articulate, and knowledgeable about military-technology issues in general—a very, very smart guy."

"The interview appeared in the [*Jerusalem Post*, November 21, 1986, exactly one year after Pollard had been arrested."

Blitzer is no crusader. He works and writes squarely within the parameters established by the powers that be in Jerusalem and Washington. His mandate is to cover "all the dirt, the inside fighting, the behind-the-scenes action which doesn't get on the UPI or AP wires. Israel is so politicized, all the papers want heavy political coverage."

There is plenty of dirt now, with the Pollard affair and the Iran-contra scandal still on Washington's agenda, and a State Department report on Israel's military ties with South Africa due out shortly. But the debate has remained in the nature of an argument between friends. Congress may be angry at Israel over Pollard, but the Jewish state's annual \$3 billion subsidy is not in trouble. Blitzer details the peccadilloes, but they are all placed in the context of a strong, enduring, and mutually profitable relationship.

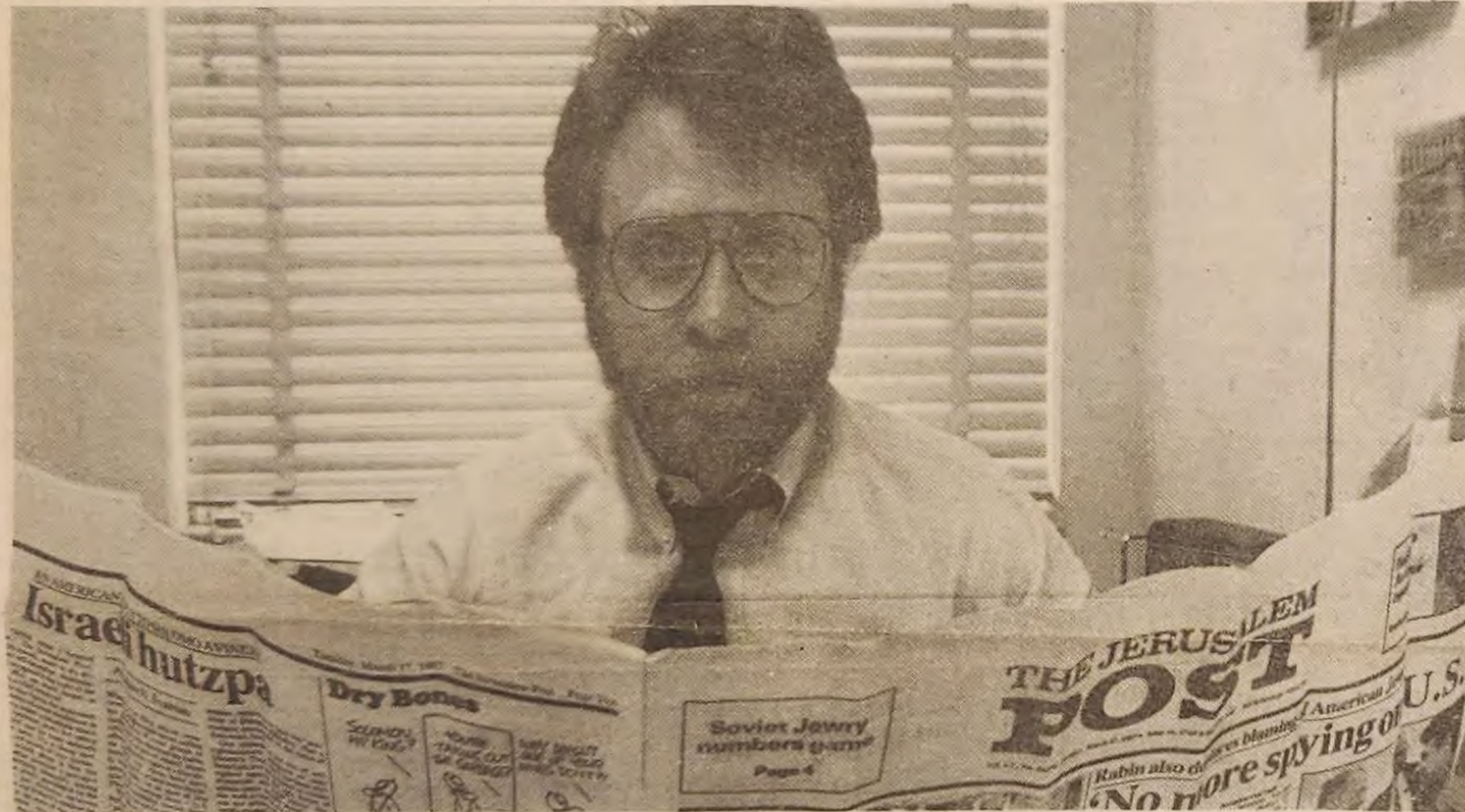
Official and press reaction to the Vanunu story is a case in point. Last fall the London *Sunday Times* ran a major spread on Israel's nuclear weapons capability at its Dimona nuclear reactor and reprocessing facility, based upon information supplied by Mordechai Vanunu, former technician at the site. Experts pronounced Vanunu's information credible and revised estimates of Israel's nuclear arsenal to 100-to-200 weapons.

In contrast to the great interest generated in Europe and the Middle East, the story was hardly reported in the U.S. Vanunu's subsequent abduction by Israeli intelligence agents, who spirited him back to Israel, received more press coverage in the U.S. than did the substance of the information Vanunu had revealed.

"I don't think anyone was surprised" by the *Times* story, explains Blitzer. "The revelations he brought with him, here they caused a big yawn. There have been articles for 20 years suggesting that Israel was up to something at Dimona. Nobody wanted to make a big deal."

Occasionally, Blitzer steps over the bounds permitted by Israeli military censors, who approve every article that appears in Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. "There have been some stories [which have been censored]. For example, if I report that the head of military intelligence is in Washington. But I've been surprised at how few there have been. I can count them on one hand. Maybe two."

"Israelis have a pretty good attitude toward bad news. If something bad is going on they want to know about it," Blitzer says. "I have a responsibility to inform them of what's going on with immediate interest to Israel. I try to represent what the situation is as honestly as I can. I don't try to cover up. If they want news that never criticizes the government they can read *Pravda* or the Baath party paper in Damascus." CP



Wolf Blitzer

Wolf Blitzer's salary isn't a million dollars. It doesn't even approach the annual interest on a million dollars, but in recent months the stories that Blitzer has broken have made him something of a media celeb.

Blitzer is the only journalist to have interviewed Jonathan Pollard, the Navy intelligence specialist who has been sentenced to life in prison for spying on the U.S. for Israel. By Blitzer's own reckoning he has scored six or seven "scoops" on the Iran-contra scandal. He proudly points to his pathbreaking story on the involvement of Amiram Nir in the Iran-contra scandal. Nir, an advisor to then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres, is said by Colonel Oliver North to have originated the idea of diverting profits from Iranian arms sales to the contras. Most recently the 39-year-old Buffalo native was the first to report Senator Dave Durenberger's (R-Minn.) allegation that it was Washington that "changed the rules of the game" by running spies in Israel before Pollard was recruited by Jerusalem—a charge both

his articles to a number of dailies and weeklies, not only in Israel, where he writes under the names Ze'ev ("wolf" in Hebrew) Blitzer and Ze'ev Barak ("blitz" in Hebrew), but also to Jewish weeklies in the U.S. and England. Blitzer's recent article on Pollard in the *Washington Post's* Outlook section refuted the notion that the Pollard operation was being run by "rogues" inside the Israeli intelligence community.

Few Israelis read the *Jerusalem Post*, but members of Congress and U.S. diplomats are familiar with the paper and its weekly international edition.

"When I call the State Department, or a senator or congressman, they have read my stuff," he says. "If I were to call and say, 'I'm Ze'ev Barak from *Yediot Ahranot*,' a more important paper than the [*Jerusalem Post*], but not very well known here, if I were to call a senator he would say, 'Who are you?' But they have all been to Israel and they have all read the *Jerusalem Post*."

Blitzer's ubiquitous byline has made him

to their political biases," he says. "I try to report the truth in the news and to do it straight. I don't try to politicize. The best compliment from Israeli readers is when they say, 'Mr. Blitzer, I can't tell from your stories if you're Labor or Likud or what you are.' I think that a good reporter shouldn't have a political label so well-advertised."

"I'm not an Israeli. At *MacNeil/Lehrer*, *Nightline*, and *CNN* I think that they know who I am and they invite me because I have good expertise and credibility and I try to be honest and fair. I don't think that they see me as the spokesman of Israel. I always see [the invitations] as a compliment. It's a feather in your cap and a vote of confidence in your work."

Blitzer, like most journalists, likes to tell stories about his stories. The Pollard scoop is one of them.

"Pollard had 200 requests for interviews but he wasn't giving any. About one week before I saw him, Bernie Henderson [Pollard's father-in-

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# JIMMY'S WORLD, PART II

FICTION BY MICHAEL DOLAN

SLOUCHED BEHIND THE WHEEL OF his 450SL, Jimmy Wilcox filleted the Sunday *Post*, tossing the *Woodies* flyer, the *Luskin's* circular, *TV Week*, *Book World*, *Outlook*—everything but the *Magazine* and *Sports*. Setting the two sections in his lap, he glanced to his right to see that the sidewalk of 15th Street NW was visible in the passenger-side mirror.

The street was empty. Opening his Halliburton, Jimmy pulled out a publicity photo of a white man—one of the baby boom's advance guard and a candidate for a hair weave. Jimmy checked the street again. No one in sight.

"Riiiiiight," said Jimmy, using the photo to mark the beginning of Kornheiser's latest *Magazine* piece on the Washington Senators—this one was on starting catcher Shaky Faloon. Jimmy liked the fact that the Senators were wide open—even Glenn Brenner had gotten a tryout. Everything he knew about the revived Senators he had learned from Kornheiser's amazing inside stories. No other reporter in Washington seemed to be able to cover the Senators, but this morning's article on Shaky Faloon could not hold Jimmy's attention. He switched to the last page of *Sports*, diving into the final stats for spring training.

Jimmy found comfort in the numbers. It was a habit from Newfields Academy, where a decent sports section was a rare commodity. The only place you saw box scores was in third-form math class, where Mr. Sexton would dazzle his classes

with Bill Jamesian analysis of stats from the *Sporting News*.

Math class seemed a long time ago. But then, things had been pretty strange for the last seven years. Not until graduating with honors from Newfields, Class of '86, had Jimmy Wilcox begun to reflect on the chain of events that took him from Condon Terrace SE to the boot camp of the ruling class.

He tried to shake the memories, eyeing 15th Street in the mirror and returning to the stats, but he kept thinking of the Senators at spring training camp in Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The thought of North Carolina unhinged the floodgate of recollection...

...the roller coaster ride had started in September 1980, when the *Post* ran that Page One story about "Jimmy," the eight-year-old heroin addict who supposedly lived on Condon Terrace SE.

The reporter, Janet Cooke, had been nosing around the block just before Labor Day, asking a bunch of stupid questions and trying to get folks to let her in on the drug trade. Finally she went away and things got back to normal, but then came September 28, and the big newspaper story about this "Jimmy," whose mama's boyfriend supposedly was shooting the child up with smack.

That shook up the block. Up and down the Terrace, folks were buzzing about how the

"Jimmy" in the *Post* really was Jimmy Wilcox and how the police would be coming down on his mother, Juanita, and her man, Darnell. Juanita and Darnell were mystified. Neither had talked to that Janet Cooke. Hell, *nobody* on the block had talked to the woman—most folks thought she was a narc. So how had she figured it out?

That was the funny part—even though everybody on Condon Terrace knew Janet Cooke had made up her *Post* story, it was enough like Jimmy Wilcox's life—a junkie for a mother, her man skin-popping the kid for kicks—to make you want to flip the dial.

True, Jimmy Wilcox was three years older than the *Post's* "Jimmy," but when the *real* Jimmy read the article to Darnell and Juanita that morning he felt as if someone had been looking over his shoulder. Janet Cooke's "Jimmy" even liked math, although Jimmy Wilcox didn't expect to grow up and be a dealer like Darnell. Jimmy sat and stared at the newspaper while his mother and Darnell fought about what to do. Despite Juanita's pleading, Darnell left.

Jimmy watched numbly. He had only been using for about six months, but already he felt the need.

As they watched Darnell drive away in his snot-green Electra 225, Juanita put her arm around Jimmy's shoulder.

"Son, I believe this newspaper article is a message from God to straighten up and fly right.

I think I'm going to call your great-grandmother and see if we can visit her down on the farm."

Outside, Condon Terrace sweltered in an Indian summer funk. Jimmy returned to the newspaper; as Juanita was dialing the phone a key turned in the front door. Jimmy looked up, expecting to see Darnell. Instead, an enormous man with a shaved head filled the doorway like an avenging angel. The light streaming around him was so bright that his face was nearly invisible.

"Mrs. Wilcox?" the man asked as he reached into the breast pocket of his gray jacket.

"Wh-wh-what you want, mister?" asked Jimmy.

"I'm Mrs. Wilcox," said Juanita, straightening her jumpsuit.

"Mrs. Wilcox, I presume that you have seen today's newspaper," the man said. "There is an article..."

"I've seen it."

"My people are business associates of the man who just left this house. They are concerned about this article."

He moved toward Juanita, who backpedaled.

"Why don't you sit down with your son?" he asked.

Juanita sat beside Jimmy, who was shivering in fear and withdrawal.

"Mrs. Wilcox, my associates and I know about your situation. We know that you have a habit, and that your son has a habit. We would like to diminish the impact of this unfortunate news report about a child addict who uncannily resembles your son. If we do not deal with this situation, the authorities will—an eventuality that would disrupt our trade.

"So we have an offer for you, Mrs. Wilcox. In this envelope are a pair of Amtrak passes and \$500. We will put you and your son on the train this afternoon, and we will send you another envelope containing a certain amount of money when you establish residence as far from here as possible."

"What if we don't want to?" asked Juanita.

"All aboard, Mrs. Wilcox."

He grabbed Jimmy and Juanita and steered them out the door.

"My stuff!" sputtered Jimmy.

"Buy new stuff when you get on the train," said the man. "But don't get off the train for a good long while."

"Yo, Jimmy, Juanita! Where you going?" yelled Andrea from her window across the way.

"Oh, on a picnic," said Juanita. "Be back soon!"

...some picnic, thought Jimmy, jerked from his reverie by a flicker of movement in the mirror. He flipped open the *Post Magazine* and found the photograph of his quarry. The guy on the sidewalk seemed to have the same Mister Ray Poster Child corona as the man in the picture.

Jimmy pulled on his blue blazer as he got out of the Mercedes. Straightening his shoulders and feeling the strength in his limbs, Jimmy knew he was born to play baseball, and no one was going to stop him.

His man was nearly even with the taillights of the Mercedes. Walking around the blunt snout of the 450SL, Jimmy stepped to the center of the sidewalk and arched his eyebrows, letting the matte black Porsche Design shades drop from the top of his forehead onto the bridge of his nose. The trick he had taught to half the third-formers at Newfields had the desired effect. The balding man gawked and goggled, pulling his hands out of his pockets and blinking like someone coming up for air after a long dive.

Setting his face on serious, Jimmy extended his right hand.

"Tony Kornheiser?" he asked with soft menace. "We have to talk."

NEXT WEEK: On the fifth floor.



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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

*Israel*

July 7, 1987

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is an open letter that I sent today to the President of NBC following the July 1 broadcast of their documentary "Six Days Plus 20 Years: A Dream Is Dying."

The program was especially distortive and tendentious in its approach to the situation in Judea-Samaria upon the occasion of the Six Day War's 20th anniversary. Therefore, in our view, a special response was necessary.

You are free to use our letter as you deem appropriate.

I have also enclosed an article by George Will, who deals with the Six Day War in its proper perspective.

Sincerely yours,

Asher Maim  
Minister for Information



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

July 7, 1987

Mr. Robert Wright  
President  
NBC  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10112

Dear Mr. Wright:

Re: OPEN LETTER IN RESPONSE TO NBC'S DOCUMENTARY  
"SIX DAYS PLUS 20 YEARS: A DREAM IS DYING"

On July 1, NBC-TV broadcast a documentary tied to the 20th anniversary of the 1967 Six Day War, when Israel thwarted a concerted Arab attempt to annihilate it. NBC had an opportunity for public service journalism and public education, by presenting an objective, in-depth analysis of the background and consequences of the war.

Instead, the documentary was one of the most blatantly distorted and tendentious programs ever broadcast on the Middle East. Its very title -- "A Dream Is Dying" -- referring to the dream of peace -- exposes the bias of those who are ever ready to blame Israel for whatever is wrong in the region.

NBC did, to be sure, make a pretense of objectivity, with fleeting references to the Arab attempt to destroy Israel in 1967 and to some acts of Arab terrorism. Moreover, some Israelis were interviewed. However, the thrust of the program was to portray the Palestinian Arabs of Judea-Samaria (the "West Bank") as the aggrieved party, as ostensibly innocent victims of harsh conditions imposed upon them, and as those who resort to violence only in response to Israel's unwanted, and as depicted, brutal presence.

Not a word was uttered about the PLO's genocidal goal towards which its terrorist policy and acts are aimed. The Palestinian Arabs were depicted always as victims, never as victimizers. The vicious nature of terrorist assaults on Israeli civilians was noted barely in passing. No critical questions were ever asked of the Arabs, nor any critical evaluations ever made of their positions.

Nothing was said about the long history of Arab terrorism and violence that led up to the Six Day War, assaults that emanated from those territories before Israel ever arrived there. Nor was

there mention of the reason for the continuation of the conflict after all this time -- the Arab world's persistent refusal to accept Israel's legitimacy within secure borders.

The producers of this show never saw fit to note the simple, but overwhelming, fact that Arab rejectionism has been manifested endlessly and repeatedly, most recently in Yasser Arafat's break with Jordan's King Hussein over the issue of accepting UN Security Council Resolution 242, which implicitly guarantees Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries; and this rejection was further intensified at the latest PLO conference in Algiers just a few months ago. For NBC, this fact simply appears not to exist.

The PLO remains as ever dedicated to Israel's destruction and, therefore, is not interested in peace. Indeed, when the prospects of peace seem to improve, however marginally, PLO acts of terror increase. Some of the worst violence has been perpetrated by PLO thugs against Palestinian Arab leaders who sought dialogue with Israel -- Zafer al-Masri, against whom assassins were unleashed, and Rashad al-Shawa and Hana Seniora, whose property was bombed as a warning. The cruelty and cynicism of this belligerency are the essential background against which Israel's measures of self-protection and defense of order must be understood. But NBC ignored all that.

Israel's soldiers patrol the "West Bank," not out of choice, but because to this day no responsible Arab force for peace, aside from Egypt, has emerged to speak out and act. The soldiers are there to protect the lives and safety of Jews and Arabs alike, and they are inevitably forced to defend themselves when attacked by mobs throwing stones and molotov cocktails, shouting "Death to Israel!" -- the acts and slogans of the PLO and of the Arab rejectionists of peace. Occasionally, the soldiers may over-react, but NBC's approach was to attribute it to brutality rather than to the self-defensive fear and frustration which it actually is.

The producers of this program make a point of noting the existence of a "peace movement" in Israel, of Israelis that criticize their government's policies on the "West Bank." However, NBC apparently lacked the journalistic objectivity to note that no equivalent peace movement exists among the Palestinian Arabs. They do not openly criticize the PLO's belligerency and barbarous acts of murder; they have made no outspoken call for the Arab world to change its policy and make peace with Israel.

NBC made a point of the "innocent" Palestinian Arab demand for self-determination, without taking account of the fact, amply documented over the decades, that those who commit terror and engage in acts of violence against Israel, in the name of self-determination, in reality aim at the liquidation of Israel. These Arabs protest because they have lost the war. Had Israel lost the war, there would have been no "occupation" -- because no Jews would have been left alive.

It was unfortunate that NBC did not see fit to mention even a word about the extraordinary enhancement of life for the Palestinian Arabs in the 20 years of Israel's presence there, especially when contrasted with the degraded conditions of life during the 19 years of Jordanian occupation there:

- \* since Israel's arrival, six universities were established where none existed before, enjoying complete academic freedom under Arab academic administration;
- \* that five Arab daily papers are in operation and that freedom of speech is protected, as long as violence is not incited;
- \* that agriculture has vastly improved, increasing production from \$38 million in 1968 to \$372 million in 1981;
- \* improved health services and medical care, of the great increases in consumer goods, water and electricity and telephone and roads, of a major rise in income and the GNP.

NBC did not see fit to mention a single word about any of this.

Even more striking was that in considering the 20th anniversary, not even a whisper was made of Israel's systematic peace efforts since 1967, of such de facto arrangements as the Open Bridges policy which has allowed the flow of people and goods between the Arab inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and the neighboring Arab countries, or of such great milestones toward peace as the Camp David Accords and the Peace Treaty with Egypt, which address the needs of the Palestinian Arabs. Had the Palestinian Arabs joined the Camp David Accords, they would have been able to democratically elect representatives to discuss and resolve, with Israel and Jordan, the future status of Judea-Samaria. Instead, they arbitrarily rejected the accords and isolated Egypt.

Israel continues energetically to pursue the dream of peace, because the people of Israel desperately need and want peace. The debates within Israel are not about the dream of peace, but about the best ways of achieving a lasting peace. All Israelis agree that a true peace must guarantee Israel's security and the safety of its citizens. No Israeli wants a peace that would disintegrate or that would mask a continuing attempt by Arab rejectionists to regroup their forces for further assaults upon Israel.

If the dream of peace is dying, as NBC claims, it is not dying in Israel. For that matter, the dream is not dead or dying even among all Arabs. Anyone familiar with the facts knows that there are Palestinian Arabs who want peace, but are either too fearful or not yet ready to make the necessary bold moves. Moreover:

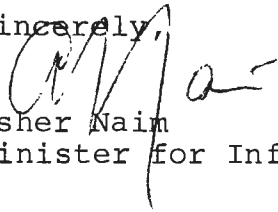
Egypt made peace -- so is the dream dying?

The King of Morocco met with Israel's Prime Minister -- so is the dream dying?

King Hussein is moving closer to the peace table -- so is the dream dying?

The NBC program was not only one-sided, but inflammatory, for it can only encourage Arab extremists to believe that they can mouth their empty rhetoric in front of sympathetic TV interviewers, while continuing to advocate and perpetrate murder behind the scenes. This program was a disservice to peace and to truthful journalism as well. NBC owes its viewers an authentic effort at balance, sobriety, and a respect for the truth.

Sincerely,

  
Asher Naim  
Minister for Information

cc. Mr. Tom Brokaw, NBC News

# A Just War Remembered



Forces loosed by the Six Day War still ricochet through history like shrapnel among rocks

**T**alk about reaching out and touching someone. The world would be markedly different—not better, but different—if Nasser had got a busy signal that June morning when he telephoned Jordan's King Hussein to invite him into a war.

It has been 20 years since those six days that shook the world. Because of what happened then, a united Jerusalem is capital of Israel, and Israel never again will be 12 miles wide at the waist. Because of the war the West Bank, which Jordan seized militarily and held for 19 years, is rightfully Israel's to dispose of as it deems prudent. And, because of the echoing thunderclap from Israel 20 Junes ago, the security of Israel and hence the spiritual well-being of world Jewry have been enhanced. The Holocaust ended in 1945, but the Holocaust as aspiration was not destroyed until June 1967, when Israel smashed encircling armies that had the inescapably genocidal mission of obliterating the national gathering of Jews.

In late May 1967 Nasser closed the Straits of Tiran, concentrated 100,000 troops and 1,000 tanks on Israel's southwestern border and announced his intention to destroy Israel. War hysteria seized the Arab world. Soon Israel was surrounded by 250,000 troops, 2,000 tanks, 700 fighter and bomber aircraft. On the morning of June 5, Israel's Air Force launched a pre-emptive strike. That morning Israel told Jordan that if it stayed out of the war, Israel would not cross the 1949 armistice line. Hussein hesitated but was turned toward war by Egyptian disinformation and Nasser's call. Nasser said Israel's Air Force had been destroyed. He may not have known that his own Air Force already was scrap metal. At 11 a.m. June 5 Hussein attacked Israel, joining a war already lost. Jordanian forces were swept from the unallocated portions of the Palestine Mandate of 1922, portions Jordan had seized militarily in 1948-49—the old city of Jerusalem and the West Bank.

In 1969 Secretary of State Rogers said any change in Israel's pre-1967 borders "should not reflect the weight of conquest" (a principle Texans would not want to see applied to the nation enunciating it). U.S. policy missed two crucial distinctions. One is between offensive and defensive conquest. The second is between territory acquired from a state that had held it lawfully and one that had held it unlawfully, as Jordan had held the West Bank, refusing to negotiate about its status.

If territorial change can never be legitimately effected by force, then all changes produced by force are morally on all fours, and no change by force, however injurious, can be rectified by force. A more reasonable doctrine is that a

nation acting in self-defense can acquire land from which aggression has been launched and can hold it until the aggressor makes peace. Furthermore, if the aggressor seized the land unlawfully, as Jordan had, the state acquiring it in an act of self-defense has a superior claim to the land.

A vast majority of the land Israel captured in 1967 was returned when Egypt reacquired the Sinai in exchange for a thin gruel of chilly "peace." But small parcels of territory (the Sudetenland, Danzig) can be large pretexts, and the West Bank has become the instrument for turning the aggressor into the aggrieved. For 19 years Jordan felt no inclination or Arab pressure to create a Palestinian state on the West Bank; now such a state is deemed a natural right. Arabs spent 19 years saying that any Israeli borders are inherently and infinitely illegitimate; now Arabs have spent 20 years saying that the post-1967 borders are even more illegitimate. Today only prudential, not legal, considerations should influence Israel's decision about disposing of any portion of the West Bank.

The United Nations' reputation for seriousness was one welcome casualty of the war. When Nasser said "scat!" the U.N. peacekeeping forces scattered. After the war the United Nations degenerated into a plaything of a Third World kleptocracy and announced its moral bankruptcy by declaring Zionism to be racism. Prior to June 5, 1967, Western sentimentalists who revered the United Nations also thought Israel was cute and sweet. Israel was, in Saul Bellow's delicious phrase, "a sort of moral resort area" for the West. It was Mozart among the orange groves, Athens reinvented. On June 5 Sparta stood up.

**Masters of science:** In the aftermath a wit said: imagine, a generation after the second world war the Japanese have become the great trading nation and Jews constitute the great warrior nation. "Modernity," writes the *New Republic*, "had taught the Jews the importance of power. And the lesson had been learned. Jews have mastered the gun. For some Jews there is a certain shame in this. For many non-Jews there is anger that a people who had traditionally been masters of science and learning and, most (infamously, finance should now debase their genius with the pursuit of power. The shame and anger are misplaced. Hitler taught and May 1967 re-taught that, in the absence of power, all these other Jewish values can be turned to dust." (All democracies should think of that when debating defense budgets.) Since 1967 Israel has lost the support of sentimentalists. So be it. As Golda Meir once said, Jews are used to collective eulogies, but Israel will not die so that the world will speak well of it.

Forces loosed or accelerated by the war still ricochet through history like shrapnel among rocks. The Six Day War led to the Yom Kippur war, after which the third Egyptian leader to attack Israel (Farouk, Nasser, Sadat) flew to Jerusalem. Israel knows that there can be no real peace without Jordan, whose king still has not recovered from his worst miscalculation, but there can be no major war without Egypt.

The Six Day War quickened the sense of pride and possibility among Soviet Jews, whose demands for rights, including the right to emigrate, are blades of bright green grass pushing through, and perhaps someday enlarging, cracks in the gray concrete of Soviet society. The Yom Kippur war led to the oil embargo and stagflation, hence to Carter, hence to Reagan. But none of it had to happen. We hear various historicisms, theories about how vast impersonal forces vitiate the significance of individuals and their willfulness or courage. It is, therefore, invigorating to revisit in memory the Six Day War, a clear case of enormous consequences assignable to the decisions of particular people—Nasser, Hussein and some young Israeli pilots and tankers who reminded the world of the good that can come from a just war.