

## The U.S. Press And The Middle East

By Mitchell Kaidy

The stark scenes which flickered across American television screens during the Israeli 1982 invasion of Lebanon caused Americans to gasp, Israel's image to plummet, and denunciations to break out in the American press.

Now, further damage to Israel's image has resulted from scenes of Israeli soldiers shooting and clubbing young Palestinian demonstrators.

Yet, despite all this, despite Israel's central role in Irangate, despite

Jonathan Pollard's spy activities, despite the Sabra and Shatila massacres, despite Israel's attempt to sink the USS *Liberty*, and despite Israel being responsible for most of the Middle East terrorist activities, Israel's image has shown great resiliency to rebound.

How the press is involved in bringing this about, as well as how to work toward a more evenhanded treatment of Middle East issues, will be addressed in this article from a professional journalist's viewpoint. One fact, however, is clear: No other na-

tion in the world can achieve such remarkable turnabouts in its image in so short a time.

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# About This Issue

We thank the many *Link* readers who responded to our request for news items from their local newspaper dealing with the Middle East. In October, when the request was made, the "Palestine Question" had been overshadowed by the Iran-Iraq war. Then came December, and from December until the time we went to press, we have been deluged by newspaper cuttings of various sizes and shapes from virtually every part of the country. Space dictated the number of items we could reproduce, so those selected should be seen as representative of many other fine submissions.

Our feature writer, Mitchell Kaidy, reports that many U.S. newspapers have tightened their local news sections while they have opened up their Letters to the Editor and Op Ed sections. As a result, says Kaidy, a one-time editor to whom letters were sent, letter writers play a more vital role than ever in providing the public with important information that otherwise would never see the light of print.

Many of our *Link* readers, we discovered, do write letters. Our hope is that this issue will give still others the incentive to put pen to paper.

Included in a list of stories which Kaidy claims the media has never adequately told is the presence in Israel and occupied Palestine of an active, well-developed peace movement. Our book review selection, *Unified in Hope: Arabs and Jews Talk about Peace*, looks at this important story. Written by Carol Birkland, Middle East Secretary in the Global Mission Division of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, it is reviewed on page 14 by Gail Pressberg, Executive Director of the Foundation for Middle East Peace in Washington, D.C.

John F. Mahoney,  
Executive Director

## How Israel Counters Its Negative Image

Israel has reacted on two fronts: it has banned reporters from covering the uprising in the refugee camps, and it has sent key Ministry officials to the United States for the express purpose of refuting the comparisons between Israel's practices in Gaza and the West Bank and South Africa's apartheid treatment of its native black population.

A similar strategy was at work in the wake of Israel's 1982 invasion. Then, as now, its public relations task seemed insurmountable, being nothing short of convincing Americans that what they saw on TV and read in their papers was both inaccurate and biased.

In 1982, Israel dispatched censors into the field of battle seeking to influence reporters and photographers on the spot. Americans and other correspondents were faced with signing a pledge of compliance or being expelled from the battle zone. When reporters did report what they saw, they were accused by the Israelis of bias. Reacting to such charges, Robert Fisk of the *London Times* countered:

"They [the Israelis] claimed that the Red Cross exaggerated the [casualty] figures, that foreign doctors were biased, that U.N. troops in Southern Lebanon had lied about restrictions on medical relief, that the Western press were victims of the 'very well-oiled P.L.O. propaganda machinery'."

When it became apparent in late 1982 that adverse publicity was recasting Israel's image from a courageous, embattled David to a brutal, mean-spirited Goliath, Israel's American partisans opened their own counter-offensive. Leading newspapers such as the *Philadelphia Daily News*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as nationally-known commentators such as NBC's John Chancellor, were continually criticized for being both anti-Semitic and malfasant.

To underscore the latter, Americans for a Safe Israel filed a petition with the Federal Communications Commission asking that NBC's broadcast license be revoked because its coverage of the Lebanese war had allegedly violated the FCC Fairness

Doctrine. A New York-based group, Americans for a Safe Israel and its professional media consultants surely had to know that the Fairness Doctrine does not extend to news coverage.

At the *Washington Post*, an unprecedented concession was granted to pro-Israel supporters to monitor the newspaper's foreign newsmaking process. And by implied threats and intimidation, pro-Israel defenders sought the reassignment of the *Washington Post's* Jerusalem correspondent, William Claiborne, a former professional colleague of this writer. Other journalists were accused of bias and inaccurate reporting, including Joseph C. Harsch of *The Christian Science Monitor*.

Curiously, throughout all this, the U.S. media never seriously questioned Israel's pervasive censorship of news and graphics. Although the U.S. press had been charged with knuckling under to the P.L.O. propaganda apparatus, neither the Palestinians nor the Lebanese ever attempted to impose censorship. Yet, to this day, the professional literature nimbly avoids mentioning Israel's 1982 censorship as well as its current shutdown and arrest of the Palestinian press in the West Bank and Gaza.

Critics of Israel sometimes explain this pro-Israel favoritism by charging

that "the Jews own the media," hence nothing can be done about it. But the U.S. media, by and large, are not owned by hardline Jews. The reality is more complex and problematic.

Most reporters, whatever their ethnic or political background, and notwithstanding their personal views, find themselves ultimately taking Israel's side. They learn early on that the Jewish community is a powerful and politicized presence. The Jews they meet at work and socially tend, like themselves, to be professionals. And their exposure to the media's stereotyping and misinformation about the Arabs merely reinforces their pro-Israel sentiments. Uncritically, they come to adopt the "correct line" in their conversations with colleagues and superiors.

The "correct line" prescribes its own peculiar vocabulary: "Semitic," once denoting Middle East languages, is used almost exclusively in its negative form as anti-Jewish bigotry. "Terrorist" becomes virtually a prefix for anything Palestinian. The "peace process" is something the U.S. and Israel advance and the Arabs reject, even though, as Noam Chomsky has observed, Israel has never advanced any serious peace proposals.

While violent acts beset both Palestinians and Israelis, it is propaganda and disinformation conveyed by the mass media that ultimately interpret the reasonableness and justification for them.

Frequently, the Arabs' image is buffeted by events such as hostage-taking and aircraft hijacks, which sometimes involve Americans. Often these are acts performed by men driven to desperation by inhuman denial of their most fundamental rights and conditions.

In a revealing study of Israel's campaign to dominate and exploit the media, Thomas L. Friedman, the *New York Times* Jerusalem correspondent, wrote in last summer's *Sunday Times*: "Israel goes to extraordinary lengths to protect its image." Those lengths, wrote Friedman, involved the activation not only of Israel's American zealots but also of Israeli embassy officials and Israeli leaders who invest time and energy cultivating or sup-

pressing information intended for the print and broadcast media.

And Israeli censors are still at it. Writing in his January 24, 1988 *New York Times* column, Anthony Lewis labeled the current censorship "commonplace," and he offered as one example the case of the censors striking out a comment by Irving Shapiro, former chairman of the Du Pont Company, that called the deportation of Palestinians "abhorrent."

Correspondent Daoud Kuttab reported in the January 23, 1988 issue of *Middle East International* that the Israeli Army had distributed to its officers copies of a blank order that permitted them to declare an area closed when a journalist appeared and then to declare it open the moment the journalist left. Kuttab calls the current censorship of the Palestinian newspapers "the worst ever."

The censors operate mostly out of Tel Aviv, where dispatches and graphics are usually filed via satellite. The question arises, then, how did the graphic coverage which we have seen and read over the past weeks from the West Bank and Gaza slip by the normal censors?

Theories abound but, so far, no proof. American and other reporters have been known to smuggle stories and photographs aboard airplanes or to have others take them out. Reporters have also been known to bribe censors, or to overload them with news and graphics so they can't keep order. The most novel theory holds that Israeli censors are politically prejudiced against the Shamir Administration and want to embarrass it.

During Israel's 1982 invasion, the American media often identified censors' reports as such. This time, however, even though Israeli censorship reaches out to encircle occupied Palestine as well as Israel, the media have all but ceased informing Americans whenever, and to what extent, objective news about that part of the world is influenced by Israeli propaganda and disinformation.

And in the United States we can expect a more vigorous replay of the 1982 damage control strategy. As evidence of this, Israel has again been forced to counterattack the American media with tactics that are reminiscent of its performance in Lebanon. The *Washington Post* has noted that the murder of young Palestinians "has led to the most intense international criticism (of Israel) since its invasion of Lebanon." Prime Minister Shamir's press aide has accused the media of "blatant bias." Israeli leaders are "openly upset" at what the world is viewing, according to John Kifner of the *New York Times*. Echoing Thomas L. Friedman's theme, Kifner observed that "Israelis are extraordinarily conscious of how foreigners perceive them."

Newspaper editorial and cartoons have modified their focus from stereotyped Palestinian depictions to a more sympathetic and understanding view of 20 years of occupation. Should the violence continue in its present David/Goliath form, irreparable damage might be inflicted on Israel's image.

## The U.S. Response

In preparation for this article, *The Link* asked some of its 50,000-plus readers to submit samples of their local press coverage of the Middle East, with special focus on Letters to the Editor,

Op Ed pieces, editorials and political cartoons. The response was voluminous and confirmed the consensus, shared by many of Israel's staunchest supporters, that the cur-



rent "unrest," as it was often described, has perceptibly hurt Israel's image abroad. Clearly, not since Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon has the Palestinian cause received such public attention.

Reviewing the multitude of news clippings that came into *The Link*, it became clear that the American press and the American public are prepared to challenge both Israeli practices and even, at times, Israel's version of history.

In Pittsburgh, a delegation of eight local residents met, in late December, with the editors of the *Post-Gazette* to urge them to give more attention to what life is like for Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank and to make greater use of local spokespeople. The next day the *Post-Gazette* carried a story of a local pro-Palestinian demonstration, which the editor in a lead editorial called "a unique enough event to warrant a picture." Subsequently, the *Post-Gazette* carried several Letters to the Editor in support of Palestinian rights, including one from Rebecca Nudelmann, whom the paper headlined as "an eyewitness to Israeli racism."

A sampling of such letters from across the country, including Rebecca Nudelmann's, is offered on the following pages. In this connection, it should be pointed out that many individuals—and organizations that should know better—still operate on the theory that, among the printed media, news releases afford the best chance for publication. The fact is that thousands of unheralded letter and article writers can testify briskly: "Not necessarily." Many newspapers across the land have tightened their local news sections and opened up their Letters and Op Ed sections.

Polls have confirmed that Letters to the Editor are among the most widely read parts of the daily newspaper—a significant finding. It means that, on average, a published letter from a subscriber or the subscriber's neighbor has the best chance of reaching people eager to discover what the media play down or omit, especially about Israel. Except for some lavish, front-page news story or an expensive ad, those short, crisp missives pack

more power to inform and persuade than almost any other means of accessing the print media. And how about the 22-cent cost?

Letters and Op Ed articles not only reach a large audience but, by and large, a reflective and committed one. Those who have had their submissions published can confirm their effectiveness and staying power. Months after a letter or article has appeared, an acquaintance or friend will mention it, usually positively.

These comments, of course, are not intended to ring down the curtain on news releases but to put them in perspective. New releases are still the method of choice to announce factual information, newsworthy events, and to communicate with the broadcast media. But they should not be misused as opinion vehicles.

To some, writing a letter is as easy and wholesome as bathing. To others, even those with advanced degrees, writing is a painful act of public dialectics. Those who have succeeded at it can testify to its headiness: it conveys a powerful sense of connection, of participation in the community and world dialogue. Those who have had one or more submissions declined tend to grumble about bias, and some feel so deflated they never try again.

Like other forms of discourse, letter-writing to newspapers is an art that is defined by certain rules. Having written hundreds of articles and letters, as well as having edited the letters section of a daily newspaper, I would summarize the rules as follows:

1. Read newspapers and other periodicals critically both for information and to get a sense of what the newspapers and other correspondents write.
2. Be timely and topical; comment on a matter that's in the news.
3. Document your conclusions whenever possible.
4. Make only a few points.
5. Write lucidly and concisely, using short sentences and simple words.
6. Avoid accusatory, personal and inflammatory words.

7. Type and double-space your submission.

If you don't get a call or postcard in about a week asking confirmation of your submission, call and ask for the Letters to the Editor section. Have a reasonable conversation with the editor. If substantial objections are raised against your letter, indicate your willingness to revise and return it. If the editor isn't interested in this, express your cooperation in achieving future publications.

If your subject requires a more extensive format, you should call the editorial page before essaying a longer piece. If there is receptivity to the project, ask the approximate word count.

There is nothing furtive or unprincipled about collaborating with another person and using that person's name as signatory. Congressional staffs do it all the time. Newspapers know about it. The key is to get informed consent from the putative author. Be clear that before your letter or article is published, the newspaper will have called or written the putative writer to confirm authorship.

To this writer, the self-generated articles and letters represent an enormous and unappreciated contribution that should be recognized and rewarded. There is no reason why pro-peace organizations should not nominally reward these writers with financial aid. These inexhaustible truthseekers provide ideas and information that have kept many aspects of the Middle East tragedy before the American public. Without them, it is clear, there would be no contest.

*The Link* is pleased to reprint some of the letters that have appeared in newspapers across the country. They are grouped under the three general headings of Israeli Violence, Palestinian Rights, and United States Aid.

A sampling of political cartoons is offered on pages 8-9. Finally, a critique of pro-Arab public relations efforts in the United States, along with some recommendations for improvement, begins on page 12.

# Letters to the Editor

## Israeli Violence

Two recent stories in *The Oregonian* deserve more attention. The first (Nov. 9) is the shocking revelation that Shin Bet—the Israeli FBI—has routinely and systematically used torture to extract so-called confessions from Palestinian prisoners for the past 17 years.

Even more shocking and deplorable, however, was the response of the Israeli government: 1. None of those guilty of torturing prisoners will be punished. 2. None of those convicted on the basis of a confession extracted by torture will have their sentences reviewed. 3. The torture is necessary and will be allowed to continue.

The second story (Nov. 19) involves Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian-American born and raised in East Jerusalem. He is being forcibly deported from the land of his birth. His crime: Advocating non-violent resistance to the continued military occupation by Israel of the West Bank and Gaza.

We are sending Israel \$3 billion each year in outright grants, despite our own financial woes. Is this the kind of country the U.S. taxpayer should support so handsomely?

It is time for the United States to wake up and it is time for politicians such as Sen. Bob Packwood and Rep. Les AuCoin to be more concerned with justice and human rights and less concerned with where their next campaign contribution is coming from.

**Clyde A. Farris, Southeast Portland,**  
*The Oregonian,*  
December 9, 1987

One week ago the Summit was the big event and, as part of the coverage by the media, the issue of "human rights" received a great deal of attention. There were many articles and pictures of a large demonstration in Washington on Sunday, Dec. 6, and of a smaller one in Moscow.

Both protests, very properly, called attention to the Soviet policy of refusing emigration permits to thousands of Russians who wish to leave the country. High-level officials of the U.S. government supported the demonstration in Washington and condemned Soviet behavior in the Moscow demonstration.

I have always believed that the term "human rights" refers to certain basic rights—freedoms of speech, press, assembly, mobility, choice, etc.—that all human beings should be able to enjoy. Fur-

thermore, the denial of such rights to *any* group or individual *anywhere* is despicable and deserves media and official attention. Unfortunately, this view of "human rights" does not seem acceptable to some people.

For instance, during the past week Israeli military forces shot and killed a 57-year-old woman and five youths, ages 11 to 19, and wounded scores of others in demonstrations in the West Bank and Gaza. These unarmed people were protesting the illegal occupation of lands on which Palestinians have lived for centuries. How did the media and U.S. government treat this shocking news?

The Athens Messenger on Sunday, Dec. 13, did not even record this blatant violation of "human rights"; on the same day in the *New York Times*, there was a brief article and picture on page 14. On TV that same Sunday, the CBS program, *Sunday Morning*, made no reference to the demonstrations; the David Brinkley show dismissed the series of Israeli shootings with an insensitive one-sentence reference to "... Palestinians attacking Israeli troops." As to U.S. government reaction, to date I have seen no official recognition, let alone condemnation, of the Israeli military action.

Are the Israeli killings and other violations of the "human rights" of two million Palestinians less important than Soviet violations of the rights of Russian citizens? Apparently, on this issue, the media and the U.S. government have determined that some violations of "human rights" are abominable and that certain other violations are entitled to very little, if any, attention. In any event, a double standard was clearly in evidence during the past few days.

It seems to me that, if a sincere commitment to "human rights" is to have meaning in the United States, we must express outrage, officially and in the media, at *all* violations of these rights wherever they occur—in the United States, the Soviet Union, South Africa, Israel or any other country.

**Harry B. Crewson,**  
*The Athens (Ohio) News,*  
December 17, 1987

There are themes that have a way of touching us to the core and turning us into restless beings. One such theme was the focus of *Yellow Wind* by one of Israel's celebrated young authors, David Grossman, who for seven weeks toured the West Bank on the occasion of last June

20th's anniversary of the Six-Day War and the subsequent occupation (or liberation?) of the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories.

The on-site interviews conducted with both Palestinians and Israelis confirmed the conviction of the author that the present state of affairs, born of a lengthy rule of one people over another, contains disastrous consequences for all concerned. An ironic and tragic outcome of a justifiably celebrated—no less than miraculous—military victory for the sake of survival itself has been the threat to Israel's soul. No matter how benevolent an occupation might be, it remains an occupation with its troubling ethical dimension, bound to corrupt the conqueror along with the conquered, twisting one's self-identity and falsifying a value system. The case at hand is also a demographic time-bomb, challenging Israel as both a Jewish and democratic state, and perhaps even as an existing entity. It is high time to recognize that a Palestinian national identity has been forged under Israel's rule.

Israel's ethical and political response to the fateful dilemma will test its moral fiber and practical astuteness. Though no particular formula is offered by Grossman for the solution of a complex situation, it is clear that all are presently victims.

I personally opt for a solution that would link the territories with the Kingdom of Jordan that is 60 percent Palestinian. Another Palestinian state sandwiched between Jordan and Israel is bound to be truncated and a source of continuous unrest for the region. Certainly, a "territory for peace" approach, courageously undertaken by Prime Minister Begin in acquiring the historic peace treaty with Egypt, should protect Israel's rights and create a new climate of opportunity for all concerned.

*Yellow Wind's* heart-rending and piercing account has the power of a classic. It represents gratifying testimony that there does exist the kind of humaneness necessary for positive change to occur. If in its wake and in light of recent unsettling events, a measure of human suffering and anguish will be uplifted, its contribution will be immensely critical. Can we also hope that those on both sides who have retreated into a rigid, hostile posture will be willing to reconsider?

**Rabbi Israel Zoberman,**  
**Congregation Beth Chaverim,**  
**Virginia Beach,**  
*The Virginian-Pilot*  
*and the Ledger-Star,*  
Norfolk, Virginia,  
January 10, 1988

On Oct. 30 an Israeli investigatory commission revealed that for 16 years Israeli security agents have routinely used torture to extract confessions from Palestinian prisoners. This was hardly news.

In June 1977, the Sunday Times of London published a two-page report on Israeli torture that documented the use of electric shock, canvas hoods over the head, burning, beating on the soles of the feet and even more unspeakable methods. One crippled survivor told the Times, "The mind cannot imagine such pain."

In 1979 the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem reported "systematic torture" of Palestinian prisoners. Last August the Associated Press found that in occupied Gaza, prisoners as young as 12 were subjected to severe abuse. Under Israeli military regulations, Palestinians can be held incommunicado for 18 days unless they sign a confession, which most of them do.

After years of denials, Israel's admission regarding the use of torture is commendable. But the commission's conclusions are chilling. The report recommends that no charges be filed against security agents involved in torture, and that use of "physical pressure" should continue against suspected terrorists.

Torture has long since been abandoned by police in civilized countries because it is totally unreliable. How many of us could withstand prolonged and excruciating agony without confessing to something—anything? How many thousands of Palestinians are wasting away in Israeli prisons because they falsely confessed, or were falsely named by others, under torture?

Determining the truth is of little concern to torturers. Aside from sheer sadism, the only reason to reduce another human being to screaming helplessness is to use that victim as an example to others. Torture is an instrument of control through terror.

Israeli officials claim that abuse of prisoners is justified because national security is at stake. But Israel's security is threatened only because it continues to deprive 1.5 million Palestinians of their land and their freedom. In the long run, what will be worth protecting in an Israel whose officials violate all standards of civilized humanity.

**Rachelle Marshall, Stanford,**  
*San Jose Mercury,*  
November 13, 1987

Thank you for the valuable information you are providing with your Middle East correspondent Jonathan Broder. In a recent

article, he reported that the United States is suggesting Israeli police use rubber bullets instead of live ammunition in dispersing demonstrations of rock-throwing youths.

I asked a Chicago policeman how hard is a rubber bullet. He said that if he ever used one at somebody who threw a rock at him he would end up in the penitentiary. Are we using a double standard when it applies to Palestinian rock-throwers? It makes me angry that my tax dollars are paying for this brutality.

If the United States still stands for liberty and justice for all, how can we support this totally unjust oppression? Three generations of my family fought in the U.S. Navy and we felt proud of them for serving in the cause of freedom. But what we are doing in supporting Israel has developed into a situation that any decent, fair-minded human being should be ashamed to support.

**Marilyn C. Gestner,**  
*Chicago Tribune,*  
January 5, 1988

The recent killings of unarmed Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, which was unanimously condemned by the United Nations Security Council by a vote of 14 to 0 (with the U.S. abstaining), is typical of the "Iron Fist" policy by which Israel administers and controls these territories. This year alone, before the recent events of December, there were 17 political killings of Palestinians by Israeli soldiers and settlers; 13,000 olive and fruit trees belonging to Palestinian farms were uprooted by the Israeli military occupation authorities; schools, universities and unions were closed 48 times; six community leaders were expelled; the average Palestinian prison population in Israeli jails was 4,500 out of a total population of 1.5 million.

Since 1948, Palestinians have been denied a national homeland. The condemnation of Israeli violence by the international community is not enough. Genuine efforts to achieve a just and permanent peace in the area must be seriously pursued. The proposed United Nations international peace conference on the Middle East must be convened with the participation of the two superpowers and other parties involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the organization recognized by the Palestinian people as their legitimate representatives. We agree with liberal Jewish groups such

as Peace Now who believe that as part of the peace process, Israel must withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza.

**David Dwyer, Chair,**  
**Debbie Nolan, Vice Chair,**  
**Peace Education Center,**  
**East Lansing, Michigan,**  
*Lansing State Journal*

I have read Dr. Berk's letter blaming Palestinians for world terrorism. I would like to tell him about my family. We are from a small village near Nazareth. In the spring of 1948, the Zionists surrounded our village and began bombing it from the air. People fled to the orchards to hide. My nine-year-old brother, Ali, hid with another family. My father found all of their bodies under the olive trees. He carried my brother home and closed the door, expecting to return and bury him. The Zionists chased the people away with threats of massacre. They fled to Lebanon and waited to be able to go back. Many people who attempted to go home were shot dead at the border by the Israeli army.

In Lebanon, my family lived in the Ein Helwi camp, first in tents and tin houses, many people to a small room—waiting for the United Nations to arrange for us to go back to our homes. Instead, in 1967, Israel occupied the rest of Palestine. The PLO emerged, and the people began to fight for their demands. Still we could not go back. After 30 years of very hard work, my family was fortunate enough to be able to move out of the camp. We moved to Sidon.

Israel was threatened by the presence of so many Palestinians so close to their homes, watching them and waiting to be allowed to go back. They began to bomb the refugee camps, to push Palestinians ever farther away. In the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, they used the same tactics that had worked so well in Palestine in 1948. Ein Helwi camp was carpet bombed. Leaflets were dropped over Sidon saying that the Palestinians were like insects, unfit to live in the city; together with Haddad's army, the Israelis forced the Palestinians back into the destroyed camps. Our neighbor, who refused to leave the home that he had worked so hard for, was shot dead. My 30-year-old brother, who was dragged from our house has not been heard of since. My 14-year-old brother was so badly beaten on his head by Israeli soldiers—simply because he was a Palestinian—that he is still having operations today. My family was forced to live in the rubble that had been the camp. For the second time my father watched as his home and a son were taken from him.

Dr. Berk claims that the Palestinians'



refusal to recognize the right of the Jewish people to create a state in "part of Palestine" is at the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Is this a "right" that the Zionists have, to kill the members of my family and take my home? Today, Israel has more than historic Palestine, having occupied part of Syria as well.

Dr. Berk is playing with words. Calling Israel a "democracy" legitimizes any actions it takes against Palestinians. Calling Palestinians "terrorists" makes Israel's attempted genocide of them acceptable to

the Americans who are paying for it.

What is at the root of the conflict is the illegal occupation of our country, and the brutal means that Israel uses to maintain that occupation: the bombing of camps, the destruction of homes, the arrests without charge, the interrogations under torture, the denial of our culture and of our people's right to chose their leaders.

I would like to ask Dr. Berk to join me in working for peace; so that my family can finally bury the memory of my brother and of the other victims of Zionist aggres-

sions—on both sides; so that Palestinian Jews, Christians and Moslems can live together in a just peace in Palestine, as they did—before the emergence of Zionism—for thousands of years.

**Adnan Farah, Albany,**  
*Schenectady Gazette,*  
December 25, 1986

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## Palestinian Rights

I am a Jew from the Soviet Union who wanted to enjoy the greater degree of freedom and higher standard of living in the West. I applied to go to the United States, but when my papers were completed and I was given an exit permit I was told that the Jewish organization that had arranged for my departure insisted that I go to Israel.

I was assigned to a flat in one of the Jewish settlements on the Occupied West Bank. It did not take me long to discover the burning hatred between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs. At first I sided with my Jewish neighbors who resented the presence of Arabs, but then I learned there was an Arab side, too. The settlement I lived on was built on land taken from Arabs, whose ancestors had inhabited that land for generations.

Jews in the settlement treated the Palestinian people like sub-humans. They were referred to as two-legged animals and scum of the Earth. They were taunted and jeered at all the time. The Jewish settlers strutted around with powerful weapons while the Palestinians were not permitted to own any kind of weapon. If a teen-ager threw a stone at a soldier or an Israeli vehicle, he could be thrown in prison for months. I learned what Jewish racism is really like.

I was appalled at the hypocrisy of the Jewish settlers—talking so much about human-rights violations in the Soviet Union but treating their own Arab population much worse than I or my friends were ever treated in the Soviet Union. The brutality of my fellow Jews sickened me. If an Arab kid responded just verbally to the insults of the Jews, he would often be beaten mercilessly.

When I would protest these things, my neighbors would just laugh at me and say "those dirty Arabs" don't deserve any bet-

ter. I could no longer stand seeing people treating another group the way they were once treated themselves in Eastern Europe and I applied for permission to come to the United States. It took me six years to get out of Israel.

I can understand all too well why the Palestinians have been rioting. Jews in the West Bank are arrogant bullies and oppressors.

**Rebecca Nudelmann, Oakland,**  
*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette,*  
January 13, 1988

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I am writing in response to a letter of Dec. 21 by Steven Matz, assistant director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in Atlanta.

To begin with, I'm really tired of anyone who criticizes Israel being labeled anti-Semitic. This is nothing but an attempt to intimidate and prevent people from freely voicing their views. I am a Jew, but I am not a Zionist. And, I'm certainly not anti-Semitic.

Let's address the truth behind Matz's "facts":

1. During the Holocaust, Zionist leaders made the rescuing of Jews secondary to building Zionist settlements in Palestine. Rather than helping to find refuge anywhere possible, they worked only to bring Jews to Palestine. And, later, even though most survivors wanted to come to the United States, the Zionist movement, through collusion with the United States and European powers, made sure they came to Palestine.

2. Palestinians in Israel live as second-class citizens, with the least-skilled, lowest-paying jobs, the worst housing and municipal services, inferior education and almost total lack of opportunity—even the most highly educated are often unable to find skilled work.

3. Education is separate and unequal, something we here in the South know a lot about: inferior buildings and services,

inferior textbooks, no teaching of Palestinian history, huge discrepancies on how much money is spent for the education of Jewish children and the education of Palestinian children. A lot like South Africa.

Palestinians are denied their history and their culture is stolen. Pita, hummus and falafel are renamed "Israeli foods." Arab folk dances and music are now "Israeli folk dances and native Israeli music." Even their very existence is denied when people like Golda Meir say, "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people . . . They did not exist."

The sad truth is that Jews as well as Palestinians are trapped in the web spun by Zionist ideology. And as long as the truth is obscured and denied, both peoples will continue to fight and to die.

After nearly 70 years of resistance to Zionist occupation, how can we be so blind as to fail to see that there will *never* be peace until the Palestinian right to self-determination is recognized?

**Barbara Gordon, Atlanta,**  
*The Atlantic Constitution,*  
January 12, 1988

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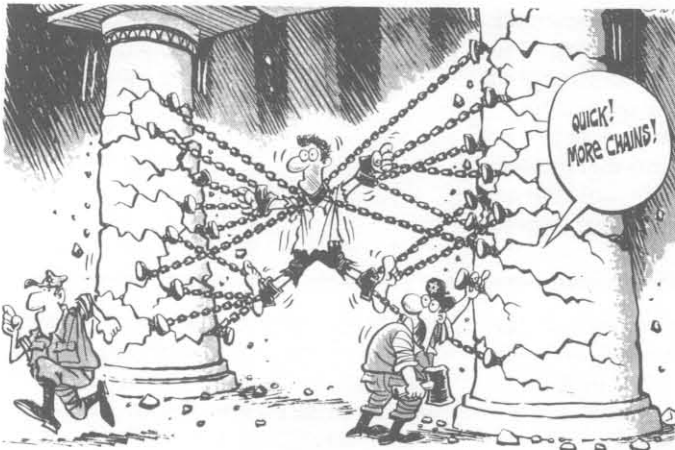
Don Feder's column on the Palestinian myth was infuriating.

He claimed that the Palestinians have no identity, and that their desire to form their own nation has no historical support. What kind of a national identity did the Jews who arrived from all over the world share? The Israelites were dispersed 1500 years ago. What rights do they have over the people who have worked the land for so long? Many European Jews, for example, spoke Yiddish and the language of their mother country, while Arab Jews spoke Arabic.

Furthermore, the allegation that Palestinian Arabs are no different from other Arabs is preposterous. Yes, Arabs share the same written language, but their dialects can be extremely different, and they are acutely aware of their cultural dif-

(continued on page 10)

# Political Cartoons



**SAMSON THE PALESTINIAN**

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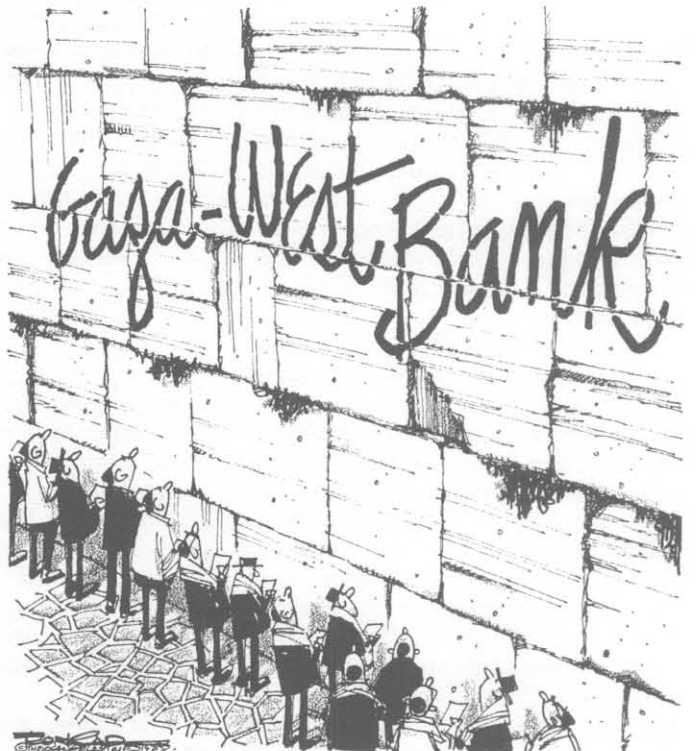


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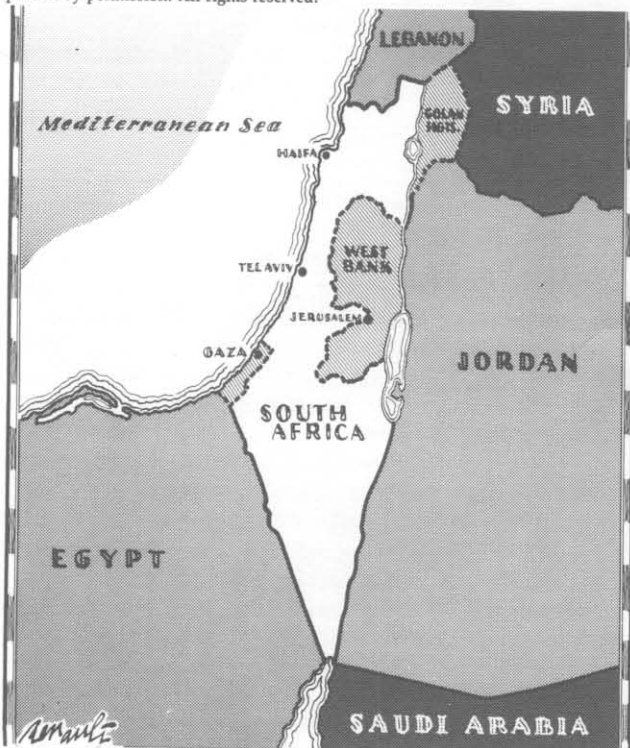


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**THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL**

Reprinted by permission: Paul Conrad, Los Angeles Times



Dennis Renault, Sacramento Bee

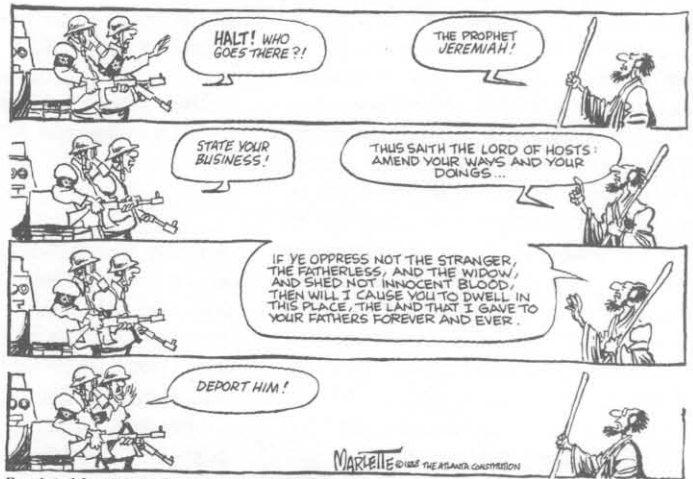


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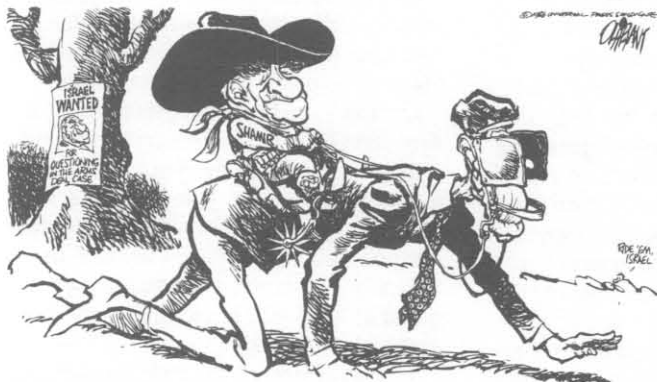




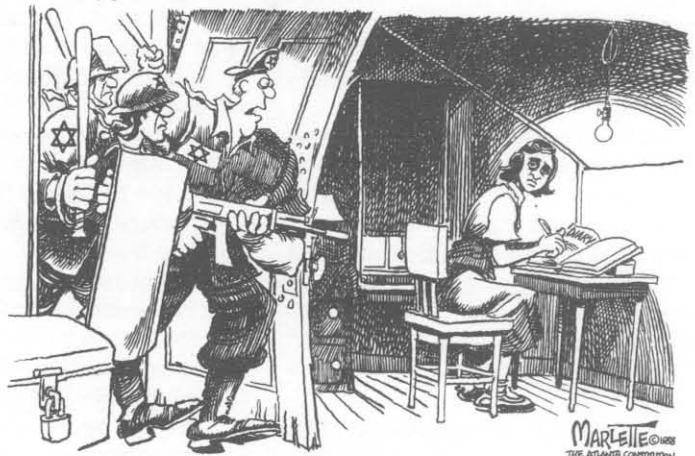
Reprinted by permission: Powell, *The News and Observer*



Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services



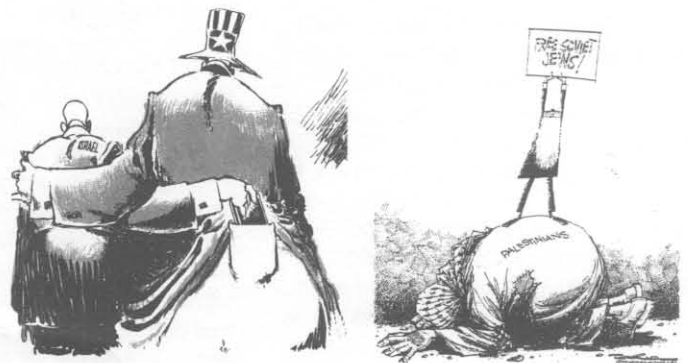
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"ANNE FRANK!"  
Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services



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Don Wright, *The Miami News* Reprinted by permission: Paul Conrad, *Los Angeles Times*



Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services



Reprinted by permission: Jerry Fearing, *St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch*

ferences with their neighbors. They are not interchangeable pawns in a board game. Feder also stated that the 22 Arab nations have 5.3 million square miles of territory. Has he noticed, how much of that territory is desert? Aside from some of the oil exporting countries, Arab countries are not rich. In Egypt, for example, there are an estimated 53 million people crammed into the Nile valley—one third of all Cairenes enjoy the luxury of running water and electricity. Unemployment and extreme poverty is what it's all about. Egyptians have very slim prospects of improving their economy. How can they be expected to simply "absorb" Palestinians, and with a welcoming smile? Of course, they resent it.

As to the allegation that Arab Jews should have their own states as well, the comparison is invalid. Arabs did not simply arrive at the Jews' doorstep and tell them to go away.

Palestinians may never have had sovereignty over their land, but they are its people, and a people becomes a nation the moment it sees itself as one. Has Feder ever tried to explain to a Palestinian that the Polish Jew who just disembarked on his beach has every right over his land? He should try it sometime, and then see if he still thinks Palestinians have no identity.

**Mari Mansfield, Cambridge,**  
*Boston Herald,*  
January 21, 1987

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We read with satisfaction Charles C. Hurt's My Word column headlined "Afghanistan, Palestine: A paradox of sympathies."

Hurt courageously asks the question: "Why is it that, when the Western world occasionally glances at the Afghan war, it condemns the Soviet Union but does not condemn Israel for similar actions?"

We commend Hurt for his forthright explanation of the unfairness toward a suffering people desperately seeking a legitimate homeland and a stubborn refusal on the part of Israel to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization on this important question.

When one notes that 151 nations in the United Nations recognize the P.L.O. as the legitimate government-in-exile of the Palestinian people, while only 126 recognize the state of Israel, we should begin to ponder the inequities in attitude toward this suffering people.

While we Americans of Middle Eastern heritage in Central Florida abhor terrorism and vehemently condemn the acts of terrorists, we are shocked and dismayed that our fellow Americans are one-sided in their

attitude in favor of Israel, regardless of its stand on problems in that unfortunate region of the world.

**Joseph F. Hatem Sr.,**  
**Chairman, Past Presidents' Council,**  
**Syrian Lebanese American Club Inc.,**  
**Orlando, Florida,**  
*Orlando Sentinel*

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Anatoly Shcharansky must have felt a sharp twinge of *deja-vu* recently, when he was forced to issue a prepared apology over the airwaves of Israel for merely talking to two Palestinians in his home for 30 minutes earlier this week. Considering that 94 percent of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories support the P.L.O., it must have been obvious to Mr. Shcharansky at the time he met with the two men that they were most likely pro-P.L.O. His prepared denunciation of the P.L.O., therefore, rang just as falsely vitriolic as any forced denunciation in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Shcharansky left the U.S.S.R. because his basic human rights and democratic freedoms (freedom of the press, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of thought and speech, etc.) were denied. And now in Israel, purported to be a bastion of democracy, he has been forced to publicly apologize for merely listening to somebody else's viewpoint in the privacy of his own home. Not for doing anything, not for agreeing with that viewpoint, but just for listening.

Roughly 40 percent of "Eretz Israel" (including the *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip) is Palestinian and 93.5 percent of the Palestinians in a recent poll of the Occupied Territories (Al-Farj, also partially cited in The New York Times, Sept. 9) support the P.L.O. as their "sole legitimate representative." This means that 40 percent or almost half of the people in "Greater Israel" are denied their democratic right to choose their own leadership. And the new Israeli law forbidding Israeli citizens from talking to the P.L.O. means that almost half of the population is forbidden to talk to the other half. If it weren't so disturbing, this would seem downright ludicrous.

I applaud Anatoly Shcharansky for trying to exercise his human rights. And I hope that this setback will not deter him

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## U.S. Aid

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On Dec. 14, U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci made an agreement with Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin to

from continuing to strive for equal rights for everyone everywhere—including the Palestinians in Israel.

**Deidre L. Boyd, Old Greenwich,**  
*Greenwich Times,*  
November 21, 1986

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The treatment of Soviet dissidents receives the bulk of U.S. news coverage of human-rights violations. Let's compare human-rights violations in the Soviet Union with parts of the world where we have more influence.

Compare the media coverage of Soviet dissidents like Andrei Sakharov to the coverage of the killing and brutalization going on in South Africa. Sakharov was never separated from his wife and never placed in jail. In contrast Stephen Biko was killed in prison, Govan Mbeki spent 23 years in jail and is still under close surveillance by the South African government, and Nelson Mandela is still in jail after 24 years.

Compare the human-rights situation in Argentina and Chile, where torture is used and thousands have disappeared. In Guatemala, a U.S. "friend" in Central America, 100,000 unarmed civilians have disappeared in the last eight years. In El Salvador the death squads have eliminated at least 40,000 civilians, including Archbishop Oscar Romero.

The detainment of Nick Daniloff in Moscow produced a frenzied uproar by the U.S. media and government but when Ben Linder was killed by U.S.-supported contras in Nicaragua, the government's response was: "It was his choice to be there."

The media are relatively silent about human-rights violations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, even though U.S. financial aid to Israel gives us some leverage to moderate that government's harsh and oppressive policy.

How do we account for this lopsided treatment of human-rights violations? Is it because we regard Palestinians, South African blacks and Central America's poor as being somewhat less human and therefore not having as many human rights as others?

**George Sivanich,**  
**Northfield, Minnesota,**  
*Minneapolis-St. Paul Star-Tribune,*  
January 26, 1987

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elevate Israel to the status of senior Non-NATO ally. The immediate effect of this agreement is to give Israel access to U.S. weapons systems and technology that was previously denied.

But perhaps more important in its long-term adverse impact on our economy, this

agreement allows Israel to bid against U.S. defense contractors for a wide variety of defense programs. These include weapons-systems development, testing, manufacturing and maintenance.

Fewer than 14 days after signing the agreement, Israel "won" the profitable Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile. It will be profitable for Israel because the American taxpayer will pick up the bill and Israel will not bear any real financial risk. And, of course, Israel gets the jobs for her economy.

The United States has already lost a large part of her industries such as steel, automotive, electronics, textiles and ship-building. Some of it was lost to stiff foreign competition. Some was lost because of a severe lack of government foresight and leadership.

It will be interesting to see how fast we can divest ourselves of our defense industry's production capability by sending it overseas to weapons merchants such as Israel. After we lose it, we can all work in service industries and fast-food restaurants. Maybe then we will have time to reflect on how we and our Congress allowed other countries to guarantee our fate as a third-rate power.

**Jack Earwood, Marietta,**  
*The Atlanta Constitution,*  
January 15, 1988

Isn't it strange that the arms-for-hostages scandal initiated by Israel and involving such Israel-First actors as Michael Ledeen, Amiram Nir, Stanley Sporking, Abraham Sofaer, Elliot Abrams, Albert Hakim, Al Schwimmer, Noel Loch, Howard Teicher, Yaacov Nimrodi, David Kimche, Shlomo Gazit and Shimon Peres, the then prime minister of Israel, should come to be known as the "Iran-Contra" affair and not the "Iran-Israeli-Contra" affair?

As usual the United States bought this idiotic Israeli scheme and our supine politicians are not only ashamed but too afraid to admit it.

Show me any politician, such as former Sen. Charles Percy, R-Ill., and former Rep. Paul Findley, R-Ill., who dares to publically challenge any whim of Israel and I'll show you a politician serving his/her last term in office on the hill in D.C.

**Kenneth R. Crouch,**  
**Decatur, Illinois,**  
*Herald & Review,*  
September 22, 1987

At this time of the year it is ironic to hear of the ongoing disturbances in Israel and in the occupied West Bank, with 22 Palestinians killed—just as the Christian world turns toward the Holy Land and Bethlehem, to pray for peace and goodwill among men.

What has precipitated the recent unrest and protests from the Palestinians? Two major factors can be cited. The first is the intolerable crowding of the Arabs in the narrow Gaza strip, where poverty and unemployment cause hostility and give little chance for the youth to work toward a better future. The second factor has been the recent well-publicized move by General Sharon into a dwelling in the Arab sector of East Jerusalem, "like a conqueror" as one Arab leader put it. This is the same General Sharon who invaded Lebanon in 1982—"to solve the PLO problem"—and left that country in turmoil, after the massacres of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Chatilla camps of Beirut.

The problem of the Palestinians will not just "go away." Genocide is out of the question. And obviously Israel cannot either drive them out of their country completely, or suppress them indefinitely by force. The only two other alternatives are: a) to give them equal rights and privileges in Israel, or b) to permit them to establish their own country on the West Bank, which has been occupied since 1967 by Israeli armed forces.

Obviously Israel will not move in that direction unless the United States, which supports Israel with much military and economic aid (estimates reported for 1986 alone at \$3.75 billion, all in non-repayable grants), insists on such a course. And Jewish supporters in the United States could lend support to the growing minority in Israel, who recognize that diaspora and fear among the Palestinians will inevitably lead to more hate and killing.

May the year 1988 lead to a new start toward understanding and cooperation, and peace in the Middle East.

**Daniel B. Dorman, M.D.,**  
**Pittsfield, Massachusetts,**  
*Berkshire Eagle,*  
January 1, 1988

Should the U.S. continue to financially support Israel? I have read that since 1948 the people of the United States have given about \$40 billion to Israel, a nation with a population about the same as Greater Detroit. That's over \$13,000 for each person in Israel. Now at the very time our leaders are telling all of us how concerned they are about our deficit spending, are

cutting spending for our own defense, and are even talking cuts in Social Security benefits, they are still planning on giving Israel three to four more billion in 1988. Who are our congressmen really representing?

**Earl James,**  
**Lansing, Michigan,**  
*Lansing State Journal*  
January 5, 1988

The Oct. 5 issue of *The News Herald* had a very informative editorial concerning the Israeli Lavi jet fighter. I would, however, like to submit additional information in reference to this fiasco and what it has cost, and will cost, the American taxpayer.

The Lavi program is one example of excessive American military aid to Israel which dramatically demonstrates both the power of the Zionist lobby and the appalling subservience of the U.S. Congress and the executive office.

The Lavi project has cost the U.S. so many billions of dollars with unfavorable results, that rather than pour more billions into the project, the Defense Department offered Israel \$1.8 billion to junk the Lavi program. Premier Yitzhak Shamir refused the proposal, claiming it would be detrimental to Israel's economy! His reason was that some 2,500 personnel would have to be laid off. Also, he feared that some workers would leave Israel.

This past September, however, Shamir reluctantly abandoned his American dollar-devouring dream in return for still more of the American taxpayer's money—to cover the cancellation costs of the project. The U.S. will give Israel \$450 million to use to pay termination charges to Israeli contractors who were working on the aircraft. Washington will also increase military aid from \$100 to \$400 million which Israel will use to purchase weapons manufactured in Israel. (Every other recipient of U.S. military aid must spend it on U.S. manufactured weapons.)

In addition, the Reagan administration will permit Israel to require U.S. defense contractors to buy \$150 million a year in Israeli products to offset the cost of cancelling the Lavi. The offset money will assure employment for 3,000 Israeli aircraft industry workers.

(Ironically, a study conducted by the congressional research service last year concluded that by the U.S. financing the Israeli Lavi project it had cost 6,000 to 8,000 American jobs. It was, of course, ignored by both Congress and the administration.)

Other concessions made to Israel included an agreement to co-produce the



American F-16C jet fighter in Israel and a guarantee not to reduce total grants to Israel below \$3 billion for the next two years, despite the fact that aid to other American allies is being slashed by up to 40 percent.

While the White House and Congress continue to lavish aid on Israel, the U.S. defense aircraft industry goes begging.

The billions of dollars being poured into the Zionist state are being used, according to U.S. foreign aid expert James Bovard, to underwrite wage and price controls, provide subsidies for scores of inefficient state companies, and to finance make-work programs custom-made to reduce productivity.

Richard Bissell, assistant administrator for programs and policy at AID, said in a recent interview: "... Our ability to persuade Israel to do anything in the way of economic reform is zero. If we had any influence, we would advise them to privatize."

The operative word in Bissell's observation is, of course, "influence." If the U.S. cannot exert its influence upon a so-called allied nation that it bankrolls to the tune of several billions of dollars a year, then this country is in a sorry shape.

**Arthur McFadden,**  
Panama City, Florida,  
*The News Herald*

Every Texas taxpayer should be mad as hell and not willing to take it anymore after reading that Sen. Daniel Inouye, in all his arrogance, insisted that the good ol' U.S.A. had to send \$8 million to support a school for immigrants in France.

In the same edition of the *Star-Telegram*, we have a story about De Zavala School on our own South Side. This is a school struggling to keep children in school and fed and clothed. Even a small portion would have been welcome there.

We need to remind those people in Washington that our pockets are empty and that Texas is fighting its own battle of educating immigrant children. The federal government says we have to do it, and truthfully, we realize that those children need to be educated if we want to keep them off the welfare rolls. Do we have to do it in France, too?

I personally am sending my letters of protest to the good senator, as well as to all the people who are supposed to be representing Texas in that insane asylum.

**Wanda Conlin, Fort Worth, Texas,**  
*Fort Worth Star-Telegram*

Clement Schultz's Feb. 14 letter to the Tribune states: "It is apparent that our aid to Israel is minuscule compared to other countries."

Schultz overlooked the fact that much of the U.S. aid given to Israel is in the form of outright grants and will never have to be repaid. Such aid does not appear on Israel's balance sheet at debts.

Overall, we currently subsidize Israel to the tune of \$8.5 million a day in grants and credits alone according to the 1986 Statistical Abstract of the U.S.

## Critique

Last summer Deena Hurwitz, an American peace activist, visited the Palestine National Council meeting in Tunis and later wrote in the periodical *In These Times*: "One of the truths about the P.L.O., for better or worse, is that they don't play to a Western audience." Although Hurwitz didn't say it, her observation applies to the Arab nations and, in a different way, to Arab-Americans.

Neither the Arab nations nor the P.L.O. have so far exhibited a sophisticated understanding of public opinion in the United States, perhaps because in their own traditions public opinion is grounded in different and slower-moving forces. Long ago, the P.L.O. could have launched a propaganda "peace offensive" repeatedly offering to recognize Israel in return for Palestinian recognition. The Arab nations could have financed a cultural awakening in the American media, telling of their contributions to Western civilization. A museum exhibit reproducing the multifarious artifacts and scientific advances innovated by the Arabs could reap a major reshaping of the Arab image.

To a professional journalist, it seems clear that both the Arabs and Arab-Americans must revise their priorities and update their techniques for dealing with the mass media. They must learn how to inform and motivate

Meanwhile our own national debt stands at \$2 trillion and increases each year the budget remains unbalanced.

Every American worker will have to plunk down \$100,000 in taxes during his lifetime just to pay the interest on our present national debt. So while Americans are all tightening our belts, let Israel also tighten its belt.

**Bill Riehl,**  
Indian Lake Estates, Florida,  
*Tampa Tribune*

Americans and others who impact on them. To accomplish this, they will have to formulate short- and long-term public information programs employing trained professionals both here and overseas. Emulating their Israeli counterparts, Arab leaders as well as their embassy representatives should be trained and coached by professionals to deal effectively with the media.

Arab-American organizations have also failed to grasp the necessity to retain media-experienced aides to formulate and execute information programs. Public information practitioners without media experience are like lawyers without law degrees. Understanding professional news values and judgments is the *sine qua non* of effective public information programs. Those who lack such experienced judgment, and the timing that goes with it, offer little except window dressing.

Arab and Arab Americans are conspicuously absent from the national dialogue that swirls around the Middle East. Not very often do they appear in newspapers or on the broadcast media, thus ceding to others the power to inform and influence. In addition to their own efforts, there is nothing to prevent the provision of supplementary aid to freelance writers with proven records of

publication in books and newspapers.

In presenting themselves to the world, Arabs and Arab-Americans need to reclaim and better appreciate their own heritage. In gathering information for her book, *Becoming American*, Dr. Alixa Naff was struck by the widespread ignorance and avoidance of their culture on the part of the pioneer Arab immigrants. She recorded in her book that an Arabic language newspaper in New York that published cultural information about the Arabs lost readership and ultimately folded. Arabs and Arab-Americans have missed the gains inherent in a public information program grounded in Arab contributions to Western civilization.

This article has sought to establish that while the media's bias and animosity are real and serious, opportunities abound for progress if the commitment, professionalism and funding are available. For such a program, the timing, at this writing, seems singularly propitious. Newspaper editorials and cartoons have modified their focus from stereotyped Palestinian depictions to a more sympathetic and understanding view of 20 years of occupation that the media themselves formerly refused to reveal.

Other stories now cry out to be told. These are stories that either have never appeared in the mass media or have been downplayed or distorted to the point that one can objectively fault the American media. They include:

1. That the P.L.O. has many times openly declared its willingness to negotiate peace with Israel, and these declarations have been carried by the Israeli press – but not by the American press.
2. That the U.N. charter sanctions the Palestinian struggle to regain their homeland to receive compensation for lost lands.
3. That the P.L.O. is a complex "government-in-exile" with industrial, medical, social and political components.
4. That polls conducted by both Israeli and American publications have consistently established that the

P.L.O. represents the Palestinian people.

5. That the P.L.O. restrained attacks against Israel from Lebanon for almost a year in a serious overture before Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon.
6. That terrorist Abu Nidal is a mortal enemy of Chairman Yasir Arafat, because he views Arafat as a "moderate" willing to negotiate peace.
7. That Israel has never seriously advanced any peace proposals and has rejected, in advance, all P.L.O. proposals.
8. That Israel illegally employs American weapons, including cluster bombs, that were specifically limited by law to be employed for defensive purposes only.
9. That Israel has been suffering military casualties in its occupation of South Lebanon, a country that Prime Minister Begin pledged not to covet "one inch of."
10. That Israel and its mercenary army in South Lebanon hold thousands more hostages than do all the Arabs put together.
11. That the American hostages have denounced the one-sided American policy which supports Israeli militance, and these denunciations have come both before and after their release from captivity.
12. That the U.N., Amnesty International, the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, the U.S. State Department, the Swiss League for Human Rights, the London *Times*, and many other organizations and publications have all investigated conditions in occupied Palestine and have denounced Israel for serious transgressions.
13. That Israel has adopted an "anti-peace law" which prohibits Israelis from meeting Palestinians to discuss the possibilities of achieving peace and justice.
14. That Israel arrests peaceful Israeli demonstrators calling for peace negotiations or recognition of a Palestinian state.

15. That notwithstanding the Israeli army's being equipped with the most modern weaponry from the U.S., the army suffered high casualties at the hands of crudely armed irregulars during the invasion of Lebanon.

16. That Israel's decade-long bombing of Lebanon is a form of genocide against Palestinian and Lebanese civilians.

17. That Israel has spurned more critical U.N. resolutions than any other nation, and that the U.S. is virtually the sole supporter of Israel in the U.N.

18. That the Arab nations offered to recognize Israel in 1982 at their summit meeting in Fez, Morocco.

19. That there is an active, well-developed peace movement in Israel that believes Israel should negotiate with the P.L.O.

20. That recent reports have documented the torture of young Palestinian boys in Israeli prisons.

21. That conditions in Israeli prisons have led to numerous hunger strikes.

22. That long before the founding of the P.L.O., Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir led groups that killed and terrorized Palestinian men, women and children.

To conclude this article by observing that Israel's image has been damaged by recent events is not to assert that the situation vis a vis the media, Congress or the Presidential candidates has fundamentally changed. Such changes are normally preceded by changes in government policy. But the events of the past weeks have struck the generally passive and distracted American public as hard as they have the media. Such events feed on themselves and, except for the possibility that all Palestinian resistance fades, or a notorious, negative incident occurs, some of the information mentioned in the above list will, at long last, emerge.

But, again, it will be up to the unorganized, determined truth-seekers and idealists to nourish the national dialogue with Letters to the Editor and Editorial page articles.

# Book Views

## **Unified in Hope: Arabs and Jews Talk About Peace**

By Carol Birkland  
Friendship Press, 1988,  
160 pp., \$8.95.

Reviewed by Gail Pressberg

Carol Birkland, Middle East Secretary in the Global Mission Division of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, has produced an engaging portrayal of Israelis and Palestinians through the medium of personal interviews. Nine Israeli Jews and ten Palestinian Arabs are interviewed in this volume. They share with the reader their hopes, dreams, deepest fears and anxieties about the current situation in which they live as well as the future.

Most books written about the Arab-Israeli-Palestinians generally interpret the politics and history without regard to the impact of the conflict on human beings. Very few volumes on this subject discuss the conflict through the victims and actors on the scene themselves. Much to her credit Birkland allows her Palestinian and Israeli interlocutors to speak for themselves and shed some light on the rather miserable situation in which both communities find themselves. The discussion of the dilemmas faced by Israelis and Palestinians as they approach the fifth decade of conflict comes through as very authentic precisely because the story is told through human beings who have first-hand experience.

Ghassan Rubeiz, Middle East Secretary for the World Council of Churches, in his introduction to this volume, identifies four objectives for the book. They are:

To expose a diversity of views on the Arab-Israeli situation by articulate leaders, who have demonstrated concrete interest in peace.

To demonstrate that fear is the deepest factor in the motivation of people on both sides of the issue. Such a recognition has crucial implications in dealing with the political problem.

To show that, despite the conflict and difference of opinion, the views expressed are legitimate, rational and worthy to be heard.

To capture prophetic insights, which might generate dialogue and lead to attitude changes.

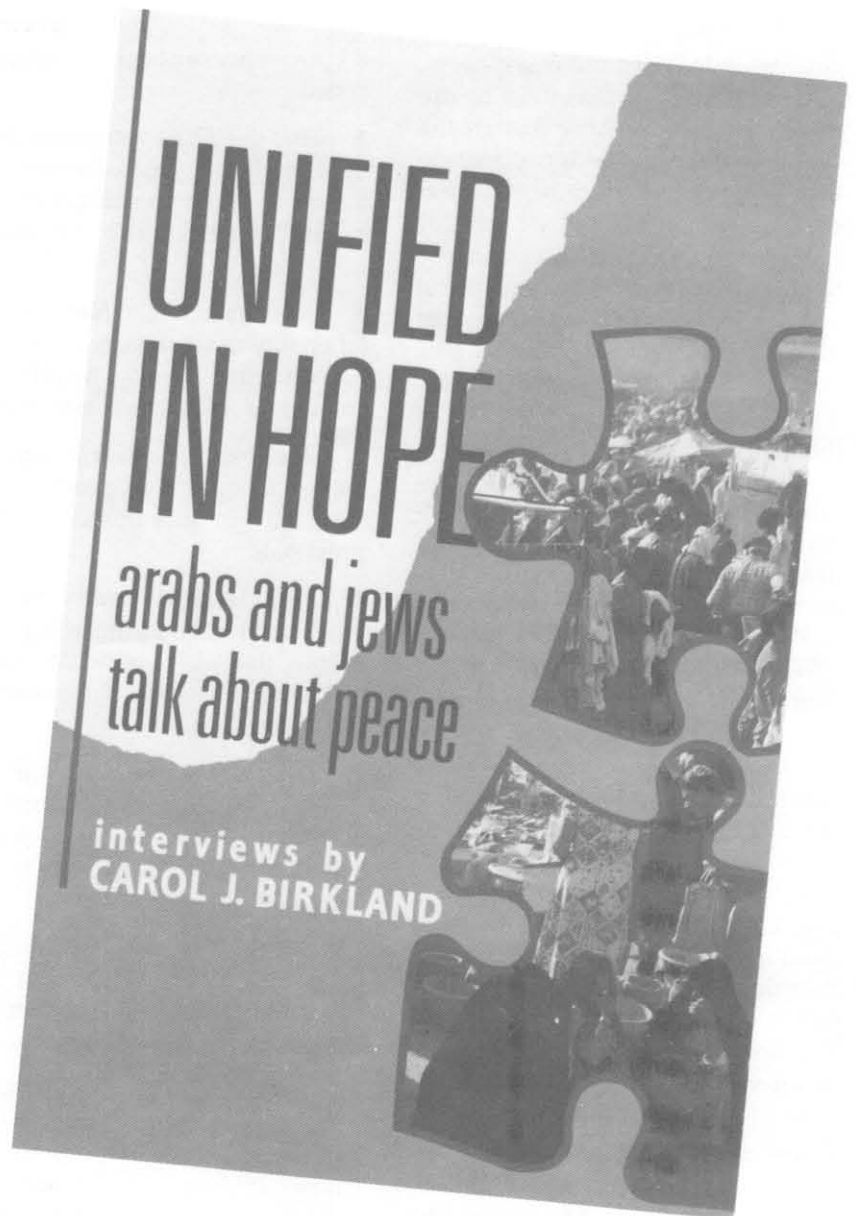
Birkland has certainly accomplished her objects in *Unified in Hope*. In addition, she presents us with a diverse group of Israelis and Palestinians, representative of Zionist and Palestinian nationalism respectively. In an era in which there are attempts to search

for Palestinian spokesmen who lack roots in the P.L.O. and the Palestinian nationalist community, Birkland introduces us to people who participate in the mainstream of Palestinian affairs. On the Israel side she introduces us to authentic voices who both love their country and are searching for a way toward peace.

*Unified In Hope* is a very readable book and full of energy. It is a pleasure to be engaged by nineteen Palestinian and Israeli men and women who are searching and struggling for justice, peace and reconciliation.

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Gail Pressberg is Executive Director of the Foundation for Middle East Peace, Washington, D.C.





# Books To Order

## New Selection

□ *Unified in Hope: Arabs and Jews Talk About Peace*, Interviews by Carol J. Birkland, Friendship Press, 1988, 160 pp., \$8.95.

Nine Israeli Jews and ten Palestinian Arabs speak with disarming frankness of their fears—and hopes—for the future. Our price, \$6.90. See review, page 14.

□ Uri Avnery, *My Friend, The Enemy*, Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1986, 340 pp., \$12.95. A long-time Israeli peace activist gives an intimate record of the numerous secret meetings which a small group of "Peace Now" Israeli leaders have had with P.L.O. leaders. Our price, \$7.95.

□ Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection: Who Israel Arms and Why*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1987, 263 pp., \$18.95. This carefully researched book exposes Israel as arms dealer and military trainer of the world's most brutal and reactionary regimes. The author, an Israeli scholar, argues that Israel's war against third world independence movements reflects not only a need for exports markets and a desire to serve as a U.S. proxy but also reflects its own history as a Western imposition upon the hostile third world. Our price, \$11.25.

□ Elias Chacour, *Blood Brothers*, Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 1984, 224 pp., \$6.95. A Palestinian priest known for his social work in the Galilee tells the story of his search for conciliation between Palestinians and Jewish Israelis. Our price, \$4.95.

□ Colin Chapman, *Whose Promised Land?*, Herts, Eng: Lion Publishing, 1983, 253 pp., \$7.95. A good introduction to the conflicting claims to the Holy Land from the time of the Bible on. Our price, \$4.95.

□ Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, Boston: South End Press, 1983, 481 pp., \$11.00. Chomsky argues that the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States has led to a disastrous U.S. foreign policy. Our price, \$7.95.

□ Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors: International Terrorism in the Real World*, New York: Claremont Research, 1986, 174 pp., \$8.95. Prof. Noam Chomsky's new book is an incisive study of the deceptions

and double standards to which U.S. and Israeli officials and the media routinely resort in discussing the issue of terrorism. Our price, \$5.50.

□ Paul Cossali and Clive Robson, *Stateless in Gaza*, London: Zed Books, 1986, 159 pp., \$12.50. These cogent interviews with a diversity of Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip give the reader a sympathetic understanding of the vitality and endurance with which they face exile in their own land under a harsh Israeli occupation. Our price, \$8.75.

□ Elizabeth W. Fernea and Basima Q. Bezirgan, ed., *Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak*, Third Edition, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984, 452 pp., \$12.50. This classic collection of autobiographical and biographical sketches, spanning 13 centuries, offers the reader a superb introduction into the diversity of experience of Muslim women and the commonality of many of their concerns. Our price, \$7.75.

□ Paul Findley, *They Dare To Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby*, Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1985, 362 pp., \$8.95. The former eleven-term Congressman from Illinois discusses how Americans are victimized for opposing the Israel lobby. Our price, \$5.95.

□ Haim Gordon and Leonard Grob, eds., *Education for Peace: Testimonies from World Religions*, New York: Orbis Books, 1987, 240 pp., \$14.95. Sixteen essays addressed to students and professors in peace studies and comparative religion. Concluding essay focuses on experiment that transformed 300 mutually suspicious pupils from Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian high schools into mutually supportive friends. Our price, \$8.95.

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