

was in Austin, Texas last month for a conference on women in government, and talked with Ann Lewis, a former official in the national democratic party who is writing a book on women in politics. In her interviews, she has found that male candidates typically speak in the imagery of war and sports while female candidates more often talk simply about achieving results, and achieving results usually means conciliation and compromise.

Much of the distaste people rightly found in the Thomas confirmation process arises simply from the muscle-flexing, locked horns, "slash and burn" tactics used in the process. It's certainly a result of socialization, not genetics, but the fact is that women just aren't as prone to such take-no-prisoners behavior. Barbara Roberts, the governor of Oregon, recently made quite a stir with a speech answering charges that she hasn't been in enough fights with the state legislature. She answered that she didn't feel the need to have a string of scalps on her belt.

Of course, you can be tough and effective without being Alan Simpson. I'll close with an example from my own experience.

When I was first elected to the New York City Council in the mid-1970s, I was on a council committee questioning a city agency head. I was not satisfied with the answers I was getting, and really zeroed in on him until I got the information I wanted. Afterwards, one of my colleagues said to me, "I thought you said you weren't a lawyer." "That's right," I said, "I'm not." "Then where did you learn to cross-examine like that?" "Oh, that's easy," I said. "I'm a mother." I can't help but think that if there had been a few tough mothers on the Senate Judiciary committee, the questioning would have been a lot sharper.

The Thomas confirmation process exposed the continuing vulnerability of women in America. It also shed light on the divisions among women that exacerbate that vulnerability. It reduced the already constricted hope of defending ourselves or enlarging our rights through the federal courts. The great unfinished task left by the hearing is the real maturation of feminist political power, and the sooner we get on with that task, the better.

## When Will Israel Get a Fair Deal?

By Daniel J. Bases

What a time to ask for more money. The Israeli government under the leadership of Yitzhak Shamir, riding high on the wave of good-will earned for allowing

Israelis to suffer over forty Scud missile attacks during the Gulf War, should have had an easier time in securing ten billion dollars in loan guarantees to alleviate the strain of

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supporting 1,000 new Israeli citizens a day. The flood of Soviet Jews into Israel was and still is considered an essential infusion of new lifeblood into the system. In just over two years, over 350,000 Soviet Jews have emigrated, in addition to the tens of thousands of Ethiopian Jews airlifted at great expense. What better time, rather what more essential time, to ask for loan guarantees from the United States than now, when the realization of so many dreams for freedom are coming true?

Israel is not asking for this money out of the American taxpayer's pocket. By co-signing the loans, the US will enable Israel to borrow money from private banks in the US at a lower rate, money which will be paid back over a 30 year period. The humanitarian requirements of this situation are immense. More than just supplying food and shelter to these refugees, Israel must build an infrastructure capable of supporting an estimated one million new citizens. "It is estimated that it will cost 40 to 50 billion dollars to absorb the immigrants. This will involve building 260,000 homes, creating 360,000 jobs, building 12,000 new classrooms and expanding Israel's water, sewage, and road systems." (*Questions*) The fact that over 40 percent of the Soviet immigrants are highly literate and technically trained in engineering, medicine, mathematics, sciences, and the arts will make the transition that much easier and afford Israel a greater potential for growth and success. By emigrating to Israel they have found the religious and political freedoms denied them in the Soviet Union. With American help, perhaps they may find a decent place to live and prosper.

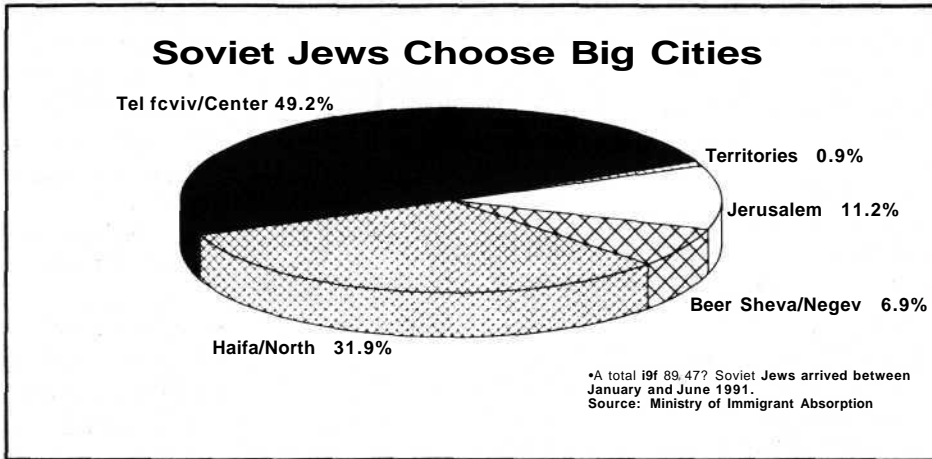
### Political-Economic Maneuvering

George Bush's request for a delay in granting the loan guarantees amounts to little more than strong-arm tactics for political gain. By creating a connection between loan guarantees and housing settlements in the "occupied territories," Bush has created a climate in which the US's greatest ally, Israel, is being made the scapegoat for all the problems of Arab-Israeli relations. As Martin Peretz of *The New Republic* points out, Bush's

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attempt to force Israel into making concessions on so significant an issue in advance of the talks and without any reciprocal concessions from the Arabs has tainted the peace process. The US has stated unequivocally that the

international community. Lebanon is perhaps in the weakest position to represent its own interests now that Syria has been given almost complete control over the country and will no doubt follow the Syrian line.



The process, which initially had limited positive results, has actually succeeded in getting all parties concerned down at the same table for the first time in many years. This in itself is a triumph. But for whom? The triumph is for Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker who have bullied their way to Madrid. According to Ze'ev B. Begin, a Likud member of the Israeli Knesset, in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs* this

**GRAPH A**

continued building of Jewish settlements in the Israeli-occupied territories is a direct hindrance to peace. In fact, fewer than two percent of the new immigrants choose to live in the occupied territories. The Israeli government has no specific program to settle any citizens, anywhere. (See Graph A) But Bush held all the cards in getting the Middle East peace conference started. He knew that Israel desperately needed humanitarian aid. As a result of the Gulf war and waning Soviet influence in the area, the Arab states lined up, more or less, to take part in the talks at James Baker's request. Israel lined up too and felt as if it was being led into a narrow "killing field." (*New York Times* 16 OctJ. This was the "Window of Opportunity" George Bush talked about, and Secretary of State James Baker III worked to open wide.

"conflict cannot be ended by a quick fix." Although statement was made before the actual conference, the meaning is clear: there can be no real long-lasting peace if the opponents are thrown into an environment where no room has been made for real compromise. Preconditions were not allowed, yet Syria insisted before the conference that "they would not strike separate deals with Israel". They said that the "exchange of land for peace must be part of the package that would include all of the occupied territories and be approved by all neighboring Arab countries and the Palestinians." (Go/an) These conditions seemed less than optimal, yet Syria isolated itself when

**How Could They Refuse?**

How could they refuse? The Palestinians and Jordanians saw this as an opportunity to fix the terrible mistake they made in backing Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War. The Syrians are now without their major arms supplier and political ally, the Soviet Union. They see the Bush-Baker efforts as an opportunity to make nice with the US, by following up on the alliance struck during the Gulf War, as well as the chance to improve their standing in the



the other Arab participants seemed amenable to new ideas. Perhaps for the first time, the Arabs and Palestinians are realizing that this is by far their best chance for

peace, and are unwilling to jeopardize it in light of Syrian stubbornness. Perhaps there is a chance to be optimistic.

**Debate Over Loan Guarantees**

Where does Mr. Bush now stand on the loan guarantees? He has his peace conference with all the major players involved. Are we to assume that Israel will have to wait until she has a real peace treaty with each of

The delay in loan guarantees has shown the Israelis the ugly side of American diplomacy.

its Arab neighbors — a process that could take years? Meanwhile over one million immigrants will have poured into the country and found themselves at the mercy of a desperately overloaded system. The Israeli people will make the absorption of the Soviets and Ethiopians a successful reality no matter what Bush decides to do.

More importantly, President Bush is encountering heavy opposition to his policy of delay. 70 US Senators have co-sponsored legislation introduced by Senators Robert Kasten (R-WI) and Daniel Inouye (D-HI) which would provide Israel with \$10 billion in loan guarantees over the next five years. (*Veto-Proof*) Although it cannot be said that Bush wants to cancel the guarantees, his call for a delay damages an increasingly frail relationship between the US and Israel. When the proposed vote comes up in early January or February, 1992 it will be passed, but at what cost to the relationship between the US and Israel?

**A Slap In The Face**

The delay in loan guarantees has shown the Israelis the ugly side of American diplomacy. A leaked Bush Administration report that questioned Israel's ability to repay its debts (*Israel Approaches*) was the final slap in the face for the Shamir government.

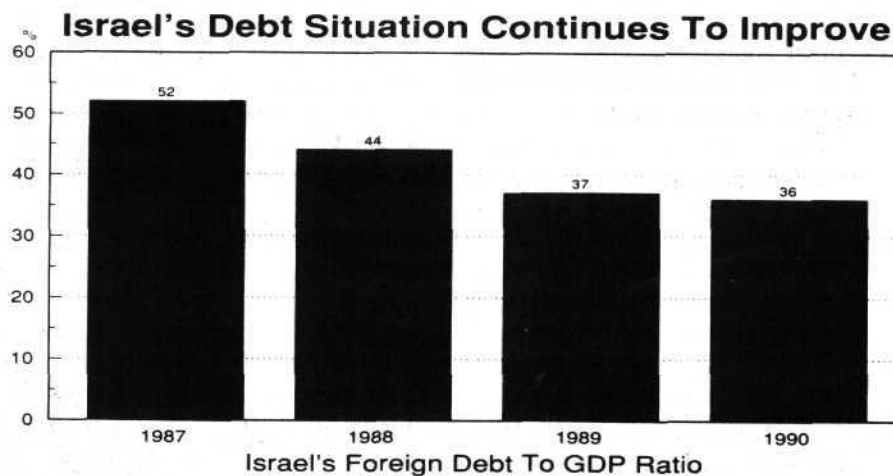
In reality, Israel's ability to pay back its debt is strong. It has, for starters, never defaulted on a loan. How many of our Arab friends can boast that? Since 1985, when ambitious economic reforms were introduced, Israel's foreign debt has been reduced to 36 percent of its Gross Domestic Product by 1990. (See GRAPH B) This figure is encouraging since the debt in 1985 stood at 80 percent. Some critics charge that this reduction has been

caused by government-sponsored debt reduction programs and is not really due to a growing economy. They see the economy as benefiting from a reduction in government owned industry (which stands at roughly 90 percent), and the transferal of funds to private enterprises. What must be noted according to a Salomon Brothers report is that "a gradual change toward freer markets, less regulation and orthodox macroeconomic policies is underway in Israel." In essence almost all subsidies have been done away with except for those to companies dealing with water and public transportation.

The infusion of loan money, along with the infusion of a rich and diverse human capital, will lead to success for Israel. "Already a world leader in research on semiconductors, biotechnology, lasers, fiber-optics, electrical energy, robotics, software technology, and many other growing fields," the infusion of new minds and new perspectives in the form of the immigrants will begin to thrive, produce, and become self-supporting. (*Israel's Ability*)

A large percentage of the money Israel will receive will return to America as purchases and contracts for housing and industrial products. Under the US-Israel Free Trade Agreement, Israel imported over \$3.2 billion worth of goods from the US in 1990 alone. This benefit of aid to Israel is not readily apparent.

**GRAPH B**



Source: Bank of Israel

**Conclusions**

It is time for a change in the Bush attitude towards Israel—no ally has done more for the US over the years. The problem lies in a double standard where Israel and its Arab neighbors are concerned. As A.M. Rosenthal writes, "For almost a half-century Israel has been bombarded with filth—from the ceaseless and still-continuing anti-Israel and anti-Jewish campaign in almost every

## *Helvidius*

Muslim country worldwide. Filth from the mouth, the press and the airwaves is meant to dehumanize a nation and make its extinction desirable. The world says nothing, does nothing." (*New York Times* 22 Oct.) When the Foreign Minister of Israel spoke before the United Nations, the Saudi president of the General Assembly would not stand and listen as a representative of the world's nations. Instead, he walked out of the Assembly hall, insulting Israel as well embarrassing his country and the entire UN. Nothing was said. If Israel had made such a stupid move, there would surely have been a call to arms and a vote to censure immediately. With no one to answer to, the White House is able to get away with treating a friend and ally harshly. Mr. Bush must be weaned away from the illusion that by not treating Israel with the respect she deserves as a sovereign country, the peace process will run smoothly and the Arab states will conform—a sorry miscalculation at the least. Bush and the American people must not forget that Israel is a democracy and not a military or royal dictatorship. American ideas will be better received in Jerusalem than in other states in the region where censorship and suppression is the rule of thumb. In the end, peace or no peace, President Bush will have succeeded only in wounding himself and his Mid-East ally, by leaning hard on Israel. Israel is not the root of the problem.

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## **Can Poor Schools Look to the Court?**

By Mark Leonard

The educational system in the United States deprives poor and minority children of an equal opportunity to succeed. In many states, districts with low property values cannot adequately provide for their students; they cannot afford textbooks, maintain school buildings, or recruit capable teachers. The classrooms are overcrowded; the libraries are empty; the faculty is either uninterested or overworked, and often unable to keep track of all its students. America's drop-out and illiteracy rates have reached staggering heights in districts such as the North Bronx, Selma, Camden, East St. Louis, and South Chicago. Inadequacies in the educational system reinforce the already strong link between race and poverty, deprive some children of opportunities, and predetermine class by residency. Despite the many pleas to elevate educational standards, both the state and federal governments continue to buy America's prosperity from the future and to neglect large segments of the youth.

Encouraging both levels of government to uphold minimum standards in education has become more difficult than ever in light of today's economic hardships; as the proportion of voters with children in public schools decreases, the public eye looks further away from education. The federal government absolves itself of almost all responsibility and holds education to be strictly a state issue. The states pass much of the fiscal burden onto local

Inadequacies in the educational system reinforce the already strong link between race and poverty.

districts to provide for their own educational systems, resulting in huge disparities in funding and expenditures among the school districts. Areas with low property values often cannot bear the burden. They devote a much higher percentage of their local tax to the educational