

# OUTPOST

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## **A U.S. SPY SATELLITE FOR SAUDI ARABIA**

*Herbert Zweibon*

The Clinton administration has agreed to sell a powerful spy satellite to Saudi Arabia that will enable Arab air forces easily to pinpoint virtually any bombing target in Israel. The sale represents a victory of the Commerce Department over the U.S. army and the CIA, both of which oppose the sale. To add insult to injury, Israel has embarked on an effort to build its own photography satellite and the U.S. government has taken steps to prevent Israel from purchasing in the United States various parts which it has needed.

The satellite sale will further tighten the Arab noose around Israel. Israel's strategic position has already been seriously weakened by the Rabin government's territorial concessions. The strategic high ground of the Golan Heights will, it seems, be surrendered to Syria in the not too distant future. Now an Arab regime that is still at war with Israel, and which is religiously and ideologically committed to the destruction of the Jewish State, will have the military technology necessary to peer into every living room in Tel Aviv.

According to the agreement, the Saudis are not allowed to use the satellite for military purposes and they claim that they plan to station it over Riyadh and use it for civilian projects like searching for oil. But the U.S. army and CIA don't buy this story. If the Saudis only wanted the satellite for civilian use, they could readily hire the services from France or the United States. The Saudis insist upon the ability to choose the targets being photographed independently and without supervision. The satellite will be able to photograph for a distance of 2,000 miles in all directions. The Army and the CIA have openly expressed their fears that the Saudis will not stand by their commitments.

Israel vainly objected to the satellite sale. Even Shimon Peres, fantasizer-in-chief about Arab good intentions, told a meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that "Israel would object in principle to the sale of such a satellite to the Saudis" since it would severely undermine Israel's qualitative military edge.

From the perspective of American foreign policy

interests, the satellite would be a disaster. Selling weapons and military technology to Muslim dictatorships has repeatedly proven to be a reckless policy. The U.S. arms that were sold to the Shah of Iran ended up in the hands of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Weapons sold to Saudi Arabia have been transferred to terrorists (recall the crates of American rifles that Israeli troops uncovered when they overran PLO bases in southern Lebanon in 1982). Military training provided to the Jordanians to operate their U.S.-made Hawk missile systems was passed along to the Iraqis so that they could operate the Hawks that they captured when they conquered Kuwait. The Saudis can be counted on to transfer the information they obtain from their satellite to Israel's enemies in any future conflict.

Above all, the U.S. willingness to make this sale should serve as yet another powerful reminder of the folly of the Rabin government's policy of abandoning territories to Israel's Arab enemies. Pressed back into indefensible borders, thanks to the spy satellite, Israel will be an open book to her neighbors. She will not even be able to mobilize her forces in the tiny area remaining to her without their deployment being visible in every detail to her enemies.

The sale of the satellite to Saudi Arabia provides another lesson. It is a breach of the U.S. promise to maintain Israel's military edge. If the U.S. government does this at a time when it is eager for further Israeli territorial retreat on the Golan front, in other words, at a time when it is eager to soothe Israeli fears, what can Israel expect when the retreats on all fronts are complete, and the U.S. feels no need to placate Israeli fears?♦

*Herbert Zweibon is chairman of Americans For a Safe Israel.*

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FROM THE EDITOR

## **NO U.S. WEAPONS FOR JORDAN**

The Clinton administration has apparently promised to provide Jordan with significant amounts of sophisticated, offensive U.S. weaponry as a reward for King Hussein's recent meeting with Prime Minister Rabin in Washington.

American policymakers have apparently neglected to consider the possibility that sending U.S. arms to Jordan could be a replay of the mistake the U.S. made in giving weapons to the Shah of Iran, only to have them end up in the hands of the Ayatollah Khomeini. The lesson from Iran is simple: unstable Muslim dictators should not be showered with American arms.

In view of King Hussein's grave medical condition, it makes no sense for the U.S. to be planning to provide weapons to Jordan. When Hussein dies, Jordan could be taken over by anti-American fundamentalists from Hamas or the Muslim Brotherhood. American weapons would be used to further anti-American interests.

Giving arms to Arab dictators has never made sense, and it makes even less sense when the dictator in question is dying of cancer. Jordan is likely to soon become a hotbed of instability--which is the last place in the world into which the U.S. should be pouring offensive weapons. America should use its influence abroad to encourage democracy and demilitarization among Arab dictators. It should not be propping up dictators with weapons that could easily end up in the hands of America's bitterest foes. ♦

## **A FIFTH TERRORIST SHOULD BE EXPELLED**

Friends of Israel watched with some puzzlement this past summer as Prime Minister Rabin indignantly announced that Israel would not accept the presence in Gaza of four senior PLO officials who had been involved in planning several infamous terrorist attacks, including the massacre in Ma'alot of Israeli schoolchildren.

Certainly Israel is justified in expelling Mamduh Nofal, the PLO killer who masterminded the Ma'alot attack, as well as his three comrades. But why is the real mastermind not treated similarly? If Mamduh Nofal was expelled for planning the Ma'alot massacre, Yasir Arafat should be expelled for planning hundreds of other massacres of Israelis.

Arafat bears the same moral and legal responsibility for thirty years of PLO murders that Adolf Hitler bore for the murder of the Six Million, and he should be treated as such. A recent public opinion survey found that more than two-thirds of Israelis believe Arafat and other veteran

terrorists should be put on trial, regardless of whether or not such legal action would affect the Israel-PLO negotiations. The Israeli government should heed the views of the Israeli public. That's what democracy is supposed to be all about. ♦

## **A CHALLENGE TO ISRAELI CONTROL OF JERUSALEM**

Yasir Arafat's shutdown of a rival Arab newspaper in Jerusalem infringes on Israel's control of Jerusalem and therefore deserves a swift and unequivocal Israeli response. The fact that the newspaper he shut down is not located in Gaza or Jericho, but in the very heart of Israel's capital. It is bad enough that Arafat is running Gaza and Jericho like a dictator--now he is directly intervening in Jerusalem affairs, and that must be stopped. The silence of the Rabin government in the face of Arafat's action strikes yet another blow at Israel's sovereignty over Jerusalem. Swift, forceful action is necessary to reaffirm Jerusalem's status as the capital of Israel. It must be made crystal-clear to Arafat that whatever limited authority he has, is confined to Gaza and Jericho. ♦

## **WHOSE PUBLICITY STUNT?**

Following a recent attack by Arab terrorists upon Israelis in the Gaza Strip, the PLO police rounded up a few dozen local Hamas militants. Prime Minister Rabin called the token roundup "a publicity stunt," and warned that PLO self-rule would not be extended beyond Gaza and Jericho if the PLO did not really crack down on the terrorists. Within days, the Hamas suspects were all set free, and there was no sign of any PLO crackdown. Yet Rabin is going ahead and extending self-rule. Perhaps it was Rabin's "tough" warning that was the publicity stunt--making it appear to the Israeli public as if he was being "hawkish" about Israeli security, when in fact he continues to give away as much as he can to the PLO. ♦

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# **IN PRAISE OF THE PEACE PROCESS**

*Rael Jean Isaac*

The Israeli government is smarting because the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations has not been sufficiently vocal in praise of the peace process. This was the burden of a recent Jewish Telegraphic Agency report, which pointed out that while in one week last year the Conference of Presidents had issued three news releases hailing Israel for granting asylum to 84 Bosnian Muslim refugees, it had not faxed out a single news release in the last ten months to hail Israel for the risks it had taken for peace.

According to the JTA report, the Israeli government "is concerned that the lack of euphoria is becoming a political liability." Opponents take out full page ads, complain Israel's Labor leaders, giving the impression to outsiders that theirs is the dominant opinion. Israeli Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich's theme, when he addressed a meeting of the Conference of Presidents, was summed up by one participant as "Where are you?"

One of the complaints was that the Conference of Presidents has not run any full page advertisements in the *New York Times* this year hailing Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's peace policies. Rabinovich specifically suggested that the Presidents' Conference rectify this omission by celebrating the first anniversary of the accord with the PLO.

In case the Conference of Presidents is having trouble coming up with a text, this writer offers the following as a full page ad to be published on September 13, 1994 in the *New York Times*:

## **PRESIDENTS' CONFERENCE SALUTES PRIME MINISTER RABIN**

The Presidents' Conference hails the tremendous achievements of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin who, in his pursuit of peace, has transformed Jewish history.

Mr. Prime Minister, in embracing Yasir Arafat, the world's terror chief, you have shown that the unhealthy Jewish obsession with morality, that has plagued us from Biblical times to the present day, has finally been jettisoned.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, we celebrate your wisdom, as well as that of your foreign minister, in understanding that in an age of missiles, territory is irrelevant, and your decision, in that light, to turn over to Chairman Arafat the lands of Judea and Samaria up to the outskirts of Tel Aviv, as you promised in the Declaration of Principles.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, while so many (some of our members among them) were blinded, you discovered who Israel's real enemies are--the settlers in Judea and Samaria, especially the kippah-wearers among them. They had been seen as heirs to the pioneering tradition of Labor Zionism, the best and most dedicated of Israeli youth, the jewel in Israel's crown, but you have taught us to see them as evil zealots, enemies of peace, the true partners of Hamas. You have taught us to see they are crybabies, not real Israelis, and whatever their fate, should be ignored, left, as you so aptly put it, to be propellers whirring in the wind.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are awestruck by your flexibility. In your election campaign, you swore that under your leadership Israel would never come down from the Golan. Now your foreign minister says the Golan must go to Syria, that Israel has "always" acknowledged that the Golan belonged to Syria.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, your ability rapidly to acknowledge and reverse your errors will be held up as a model for future statesmen. We think especially of your refusal to permit the entry of the murderers of the children of Ma'alot, and your reversal of your order within hours at the insistence of Chairman Arafat.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, with the help of your visionary foreign minister, you have made us comprehend the New Middle East, in which nationalism has vanished, democracy flourishes, Israel is accepted as an integral member, and progress flows like a mighty stream.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have taught us the true meaning of democracy. Democracy applies to believers in peace. Enemies of the peace agreement are enemies of democracy. As your foreign minister so eloquently said to Ruth Matar, a leader of Women in Green, "Go back to America where you came from."

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have taught us the meaning of "forgive and forget." At first you said that known murderers of Israelis (whom you had so graciously set

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*Outpost*

# **ISRAEL, IRAN AND NUCLEAR WAR**

**Louis Rene Beres**

It appears that I have been sorely mistaken! Rather than make preparations for the preemptive destruction of developing nuclear weapons in Iran (my earlier recommendation), Israel should now prepare to make large financial and technical contributions to Teheran's nuclear program. Following the stunningly imaginative lead of the United States in its antinuclear dealings with North Korea, Jerusalem should quickly understand that exertions of national military power against Iran would be counterproductive and that persistent appeasement represents the only sure way to Israeli safety.

How, indeed, could I have missed such persuasively correct reasoning? Doesn't history reveal case after case of purposeful capitulation to tyranny and planned aggression? Why not simply pay bribes to all those who would threaten our survival? After all, when the best and the brightest in Washington devise America's nonproliferation policy, shouldn't Jerusalem sit up and take notice? It is time to acknowledge that protection rackets operate in global as well as in municipal settings, and that paying off the collector is just as sensible in the former

setting as it is in the latter. Cities ought not to have a monopoly on intelligent policy options.

At this moment, Iran continues to move at a dizzying pace in constructing a complete nuclear arsenal, an inventory of catastrophic weapons intended primarily to overwhelm and destroy the Jewish State. Facing this existential threat to the Third Temple, Jerusalem has several different options. It can choose to do nothing, waiting for widely-scattered Iranian deployments and for the effective end to Israeli opportunities for anticipatory self-defense. It can prepare to undertake timely preemptions against Iranian nuclear assets, selective strikes against pertinent hard targets that would generate minimal loss of human life and would preclude later Iranian nuclear attacks against Israeli population centers. Or it can cooperate with Iran, accepting that country's prospective promise (a promise not yet offered) not to proceed with nuclearization in exchange for Israeli assistance with Iran's peaceful nuclear purposes. To operationalize this third option, which contains all of the obvious merits and refinements of United States strategic thought, the Government of Israel could levy a special tax upon all Israelis, allowing the entire citizenry to make essential contributions to Israel's new Islamic friends. Indeed, following its own special expertise in such matters, the Government of the United States could add several billion dollars to the bribe, a sweetener that would certainly make Iran change course and give Israelis needed peace of

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## **IN PRAISE OF THE PEACE PROCESS**

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free in one of your innumerable mass releases of terrorists from Israeli jails) could not be officers in the PLO police, and indeed you keep the right to veto such appointments in the agreement you signed with Arafat. But now, to cite just one of many examples, the convicted killers of David Rosenfeld, who was stabbed to death in Herodion, are officers in the PLO police.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have "chutzpah," the wonderful quality Alan Dershowitz taught us to appreciate in his book by that name. You have done the opposite of all you promised to do; you reverse yourself with a rapidity an acrobat might envy; and you boldly deny one day what you are forced to acknowledge the next.

If this were all you had done, it would be enough.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have been daring beyond the dreams of your forebears for thousands of years. You have dared to discard the claims of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel. You dare to redivide Jerusalem. You dare to install--even arm--those whose covenant still calls for Israel's destruction--at the edge of Israel's population centers. You dare to abandon the Golan. You dare to take a strong, proud nation and make it weak and defenseless. You dare to trust Israel's survival to Arab acceptance and moderation.

Mr. Prime Minister, as members of the Conference of Presidents of American Jewish Organizations, on this proud anniversary of the historic hardshake with Arafat, we celebrate your leadership and affirm our conviction that we are fortunate beyond measure that the future of Israel and the Jewish people lies in your hands.

How about it, Ambassador Rabinovich? Will this do?♦

*Rael Jean Isaac, a member of the executive committee of Americans For a Safe Israel, is the author of two books and numerous articles on Israeli politics.*

# GUNS 'N' ARABS

J.S.Sorkin

In May of this year, on Friday the 13th, two days before Shavuot, the government of Israel handed Jericho over to the world's largest terrorist organization, which is still officially committed by its unchanged Covenant to annihilating Israel.

And before the day was out, a PLO "policeman" handed his loaded submachine gun over to a boy to play with, who in turn shot his 9 year-old brother to death. This was predictable. Bringing the PLO over the Jordan and giving them guns was never a bright idea. This opinion is based on years of observing Arabs and their peculiar affinity for guns.

For example, after the PLO evacuated Beirut in 1982, Arafat's boys rode to the port in open air trucks firing off their weapons, joyously celebrating their rescue by the United States and other Western countries. The *New York Times'* Thomas Friedman, in his book (*From Beirut to Jerusalem*) wrote weepily of the PLO departure from Lebanon and this caravan to the port but failed to note that in their delirious antics Arafat's freedom fighters inadvertently killed or wounded about a dozen innocent fellow-Beirut Arab.

Likewise in August 1988, after Khomeini in Teheran declared an end to eight terrible years of war, the locals in Baghdad--presumably, as residents of their country's capital, Iraq's most sophisticated and civilized people--carried on for three days by firing off their private stock of automatic weapons, rocket-propelled grenades and even some mortars in a Fourth of July-style jamboree during which, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, some 350 people were accidentally killed--a figure far exceeding the number of casualties sustained during any Iranian Scud attack during the war itself.

Every July 4th, here in America, a few painfully stupid kids invariably blind themselves, or blow off fingers, with firecrackers; in Arab lands there are millions of such idiots, young and old alike.

It was thus predictable that on the first day of PLO rule in Jericho, some truly brainless PLO "cop" would hand his loaded rifle over to a child, who immediately shot his little brother.

The next week, the *New York Times* reported that during the all-night carryings-on in Gaza following the IDF's ignominious retreat in a hail of stones, jubilant Arabs let loose with gunfire for hours, using up all the ammunition that the PLO had brought from Jordan and Egypt. For Arabs, weapons are not only instruments of violence, but carnival fireworks and party noisemakers.

How these civilians got their hands on this "police" ammo, and how many injuries resulted from their hijinks, are interesting questions, but don't look for answers either in the *Times*, the mainstream American Jewish press or

mainstream Hebrew press in Israel. It is not for them to point out that around guns, Arabs can be recklessly juvenile. When the PLO in 1982 was negotiating its exit from Lebanon, Arafat was most adamant that each of his departing "fighters" be allowed to carry his own personal weapon with him--like a child inseparable from his teddy bear or cap pistol. Were that permission to be denied, Abu Ammar warned, his "men" would simply not board the ships but prefer to die as martyrs to Israel's siege. A mollycoddling U.S. allowed the PLO this gesture--which later forced the governments in the Arab countries of refuge--fearful for their own people's safety--to keep these armed and barbarous "freedom fighters" locked up in detention for years.

The *Times* further reported that Samu Abu Samhadana, a Fatah Hawk leader in Gaza who defected from Arafat, has vowed not to allow himself to be disarmed by his former gunmates. Though Israel got Abu Ammar to promise that his "moderates" would have a monopoly on weapons, this clearly will not happen. Sami Abu et al will not relinquish their guns, he said, until "our land is liberated" and when "the Israeli settlers are gone."

Translation: He and friends will continue with their murder and mayhem until all 130,000 Jews leave their houses, synagogues, stores, schools and

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# ISRAEL AND IRAN

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mind.

Why shouldn't this third option be the best one for Jerusalem? Which serious observer could see any reasons at all! Even though Iran, like North Korea, will not have to submit to any seriously intrusive inspections or checks on its conformance with agreed-upon procedures, we may assume that the leadership in Teheran will act honestly and in complete good faith in its pledges to a country it has sworn to annihilate. In the absence of such an assumption, Israel would have to take exceedingly unpleasant actions in the short run. Wouldn't it be far better, following the American lead, to trade-off long-term physical survival for short-term political benefit? As an added incentive, such a trade-off would be especially rational for Israel today, as Jerusalem has already embarked fully upon a policy of capitulation and bribes in its dealings with the Palestine Liberation Organization. By paying off Iran, therefore, Israel would not only be acting in dutiful mimicry of American wisdom, it would also be acting consistently with its other already-implemented policies for national security.

Let me end on a more specific note. In the

agreements being worked out between the United States, North Korea and South Korea, when the North guarantees the "transparency of its nuclear activities," Seoul will support North Korea's development of the "peaceful use of nuclear energy." Such support will take the form of modern nuclear power plants costing about 4 billion dollars. The guarantee of "transparency" is to be ensured by Pyongyang's "pledge" to abandon activities that might produce nuclear weapons and to remain a party to the Nonproliferation Treaty. What more could anyone ask for? Surely this Korean solution, reflecting our State Department's particular genius for making foreign policy, is tailor made for resolving Israel's nuclear concerns about Iran. Or am I perhaps missing something important?♦

*Louis Rene Beres (Ph.D., Princeton, 1971) is the author of fourteen books dealing with issues of nuclear strategy and nuclear war, including Apocalypse: Nuclear Catastrophe in World Politics (University of Chicago Press, 1980) and Security or Armageddon: Israel's Nuclear Strategy (D.C.Heath, 1986).*

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# GUNS 'N' ARABS

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factories behind for Arabs like himself to move into--to inherit, to reverse what happened in 1273 BCE when the Israelites dispossessed the Canaanites.

One wonders about the basic intelligence of an Israeli government--like adults who give matches to children to play with--which gives guns to the PLO, when guns and the PLO is an unstable and lethal mixture.

Or is the new reality on the ground being created by the Rabin administration--allowing thousands of armed terrorists into Judea, Samaria and Gaza--being done in full awareness that by their brutishness or simple doltishness these PLO gunmen will "encourage" the Jews living in those areas to leave? More than ever, these Jewish families, many with young children, will become the targets of murderous potshots if not directly from the "police" themselves then by their friends, who should have no trouble finding an indulgent "cop" to "inadvertently" allow

his gun to be "stolen."

In that case, this Israeli government runs the risk of being charged less with criminal negligence than true malice aforethought.

One wonders just how conscious and calculated is their plan to make life so dangerously miserable and bloody for the Jews in Judea, Samaria and Gaza that they flee? The day after Sami Abu spoke, a husband and wife riding in their car near Hebron were shot to death.

Had Israel's government let loose rabid dogs on the settlers, there would have been an outcry. This way Israel's socialists reap the plaudits of the enlightened.♦

*J.S. Sorkin is writing a history of America's first encounters with militant Islam.*

*(Since the above was written in early summer, Sarit Prigal, 17, was murdered outside Hebron with a weapon believed to have come from the PLO in Jericho, while Israel's intelligence services have reported that the PLO "cops" are selling their weapons for cash.)*



## GIs on the Golan?

# A PYRRHIC VICTORY

David Isaac

On Friday, July 1, hours before the Senate left on its Independence Day recess, the State Department, the Israeli Embassy in Washington, and AIPAC celebrated a Pyrrhic victory. Under their intense, combined pressure, the Senate, by a lopsided vote of 67 to 3, defeated Senator Malcolm Wallop's amendment to the 1995 Defense Authorization bill which would have required that Congress study the consequences of placing United States troops on the Golan Heights prior to doing so. But if the nays had the numbers, the ayes had the arguments, so much so that a closer look at the debate on the Senate floor is warranted.

Wallop argued that unless Congress participated in the decision to commit troops, the political commitment necessary to sustain a military one would be lacking. He asked for a Pentagon study to analyze the objectives, the risks, expected costs, duration and strategic implications of deployment. He further asked that Congress be given thirty days to consider the results of the Pentagon study prior to an actual presidential commitment to put U.S. forces on the ground. Wallop emphasized that his amendment did not prejudice whether U.S. troops should be sent, but merely ensured that Congress be consulted in advance of any deployment.

Wallop stressed that his amendment was consistent with current administration policy. In May of this year, the White House issued a report saying that in future "Congress and the American people must be genuine participants in the processes that support U.S. decision making on new and ongoing peace operations." Wallop noted, "If the President, and the administration, meant these words, if they are to have any meaning at all, my amendment should be welcomed at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue." It quickly became apparent that the administration did not mean those words.

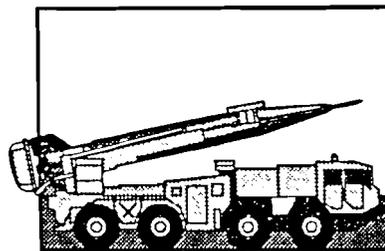
How did his Senate opponents respond to Wallop's eminently sensible arguments that a study be prepared? They argued weakly that any congressional involvement 1) was premature 2) might disrupt frightfully "fragile" negotiations 3) would be misunderstood.

"Premature," said Senator Nunn, echoed by Senators Leahy and Lautenberg. But Wallop noted that only two weeks earlier, on June 14, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs Robert Pellatreau had testified before Congress that he fully expected the United States to form part of any "international presence" on the Golan. In a *New York Times* column, A.M. Rosenthal put it more pithily: "For officials, 'premature' generally means that they haven't had time to cook the deal. But when any

arrangement involves the likely use of U.S. troops, premature is the exact time to look in the oven."

Ironically, in view of the "prematurity" argument, it now appears that a study already exists which addresses at least some of the questions raised by Senator Wallop. Commissioned by the Defense Department in 1993 from the RAND Corporation, it was given to the Pentagon seven months ago. Yet as Center for Security Policy director Frank Gaffney points out, RAND has been told it cannot brief congressional offices seeking to learn the contents of its study about prospective U.S. deployment on the Golan Heights--even though the study was made with use of congressionally appropriated funds. The official responsible for keeping the RAND study secret, says Gaffney, is none other than Dennis Ross, the Clinton Administration's Special Coordinator for the Middle East who is pursuing the Syrian-Israeli deal that will be contingent on U.S. troops.

Senator Lautenberg argued that a study "could be very upsetting," in negotiations "that could fall apart at any moment"; Senator Levin said it would introduce "uncertainty and confusion"; and Senator Feinstein called it "provocative." Wallop objected that if the negotiations



were so fragile and delicate and so dependent upon American troops it was all the more "essential for the negotiations and for our own administration to know whether such a commitment is realistic and sustainable."

Senator Nunn had an embarrassing moment when it became obvious that he had not even read the amendment, declaring it "has the effect of prohibiting U.S. participation" in a Golan force. When Senator Wallop protested that was not true, Senator Nunn was forced to read the document on the spot and admit he was wrong. He came back lamely: "I think it is the misreading of this amendment in the Middle East that would be the most dangerous side of the amendment."

Within the Jewish community, critics of the Wallop amendment have complained that those who support it are really against a "territories for peace" deal with Syria. It is true that those who call for caution in making a commitment of U.S. troops distrust long-range Syrian intentions and believe U.S. guarantees are no substitute for Israel's ability to defend itself. But this only makes the

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# THE WHALE'S COMPLEX

Rachel Israel

A few years ago, the symptoms of the disease were already beginning to show. They were becoming more recurrent and more widespread. But it has fallen to the current Rabin government to create the internal and external conditions to enable it to develop and reach a chronic state. What is this disease? In whales, it drives them to thrust themselves, for no valid scientific reason, onto the seashores in a mass suicide.

In the case of the State of Israel, it consists of constantly weakening itself and giving itself over to its enemies, in defiance of all but "ideological" logic--that is, logic that is the product of mere wager and self-suggestion.

Chief symptom: acute delirium of the masochistic kind. Any violence by the other person is downplayed and reduced to an isolated "meaningless" act--for example, murders by stabbing or with axes are explained away by the "despair" of the Arab murderers, while their Jewish victims are buried without dwelling too much on the despair of their families.

And this is occurring when the only response in kind recently perpetrated by a Jewish citizen--in Hebron--is immediately branded "monstrous" and at once sets off a whole chain of self-deprecating reactions by Israeli Jews and a legal process in which the Israeli government files charges against the army, the police, and finally accuses itself. For the gunman from Hebron has absolutely no right to despair at having had to nurse so many victims of Arab terrorism!

Basic axiom: collective sin extends to all the Jewish people. "We are all responsible!" Politicians, intellectuals, journalists and their readers generously proclaim--but it does not apply to the Arabs. (On this subject, recall that Arab village in Galilee from which, two years ago, axe-wielding murderers swooped down and killed new immigrant soldiers asleep in their tents and to which Israeli Jews quickly flocked to demonstrate that this crime in no way brought shame on the whole village.) And not to the Germans, either, by the way!

Let us recall, in this connection, the "wise counsel" of the former Minister of Culture, Shulamit Aloni, not to send young Israelis to Auschwitz any longer, for they might come back "intolerant" (without ever specifying of what) and more "nationalistic."

This delirious reasoning is based on three premises. One: sin and responsibility are collective for Jews. Since the Hebron gunman belonged to the party of Meir Kahane, this party and its spinoffs were therefore immediately outlawed. Since he lived near Hebron, Hebron had better be emptied of its Jews and perhaps even Judea and Samaria, for the Jews threaten the security of its Arab inhabitants, who, by the way, throw rocks

at them daily when terrorists aren't attacking them with automatic weapons. Basically, however, this is the reasoning given: if the Jews hadn't been there, they would not be attacked there; they would only continue to be fatally attacked in Jerusalem, in Afula and Hadera or else in Tel Aviv.

Second premise: the enemy has only limited responsibility. Based on this reasoning, the Rabin government is to release, once again, 1,000 Palestinian prisoners "whose hands weren't stained with blood"--in other words, whose attempted attacks have simply failed and whose release will enable them to perfect the next ones. Not to mention some 5,000 or more Palestinian detainees whom Israel will soon "set free" when the Army withdraws from Gaza and Jericho.

Third premise: everything that Jews are forbidden to do, Arabs are allowed to do, and vice versa. When the Israeli Arabs of Jaffa tore up the pavement to pelt their fellow Jewish citizens, they were only "showing their

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## PYRRHIC VICTORY

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argument for congressional debate more powerful. Senator Wallop quoted Winston Churchill's warning after Munich, in which Britain and France guaranteed the border between Germany and Czechoslovakia. "While a policy of guaranteeing foreign borders is always hazardous, it may be justified in cases where the borders to be guaranteed have just been strengthened...To make a border indefensible and then guarantee it is the height of folly. The guarantor sponsors the deal primarily to avoid military confrontation, but does so in a way that ensures that any confrontation would occur on even more unattractive terms. The interest of the guarantor becomes to find every reason not to deliver on his pledge. This encourages potential aggressors and dispirits the party whose borders are guaranteed."

These are words Israel and her supporters in this country would do well to heed.

There are victories celebrated one day and rued at a later one. The defeat of the Wallop amendment is such a victory. Yet, the Israeli Embassy, AIPAC and the Clinton administration have barreled their way through Congress, and U.S. troops will probably be put on the Golan Heights without significant public debate. But without debate there is no support when the going gets tough. For "the worst thing we could do for Israel," as Senator Wallop said, "would be to make an unrealistic commitment."♦

*David Isaac is a freelance journalist.*

# SPOTLIGHT ON THE EXTREMISTS

...**Thomas Smerling**, executive director of the leftwing Nishma group, was the subject of a glowing feature story in the *New York Jewish Week* in August. The article claimed that Smerling's efforts to arrange public meetings between Israelis and Arabs played a role in recent behind-the-scenes negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. Smerling was described as having been involved in Democratic Party politics in Minnesota before taking the job at Nishma. What the article forgot to mention was that in Minnesota, Smerling was also a leader of the far-left New Jewish Agenda...

...Not too long ago, Israel-basher **Strobe Talbott** was being frequently mentioned as a likely successor to Warren Christopher as Secretary of State. Then pro-Israel groups exposed Talbott's anti-Israel articles in *Time* magazine, nearly torpedoing his nomination for Deputy Secretary of State. These days, Talbott's name is hardly mentioned in discussions about possible successors to Christopher. Veteran State Department watcher Carol Giacomo noted in a recent issue of the *New Republic* that if Talbott were nominated for Secretary of State, "his confirmation could be a problem," in part because of opposition from supporters of Israel. Giacomo believes that Madeline Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, is the most likely candidate to succeed Christopher, while syndicated columnist Robert Novak recently named former Vice President Walter Mondale as the leading candidate for the job...

...Polemicist **Murray Polner** recently blasted Americans For a Safe Israel for criticizing the Anti-Defamation League's attack on Christian conservatives. AFSI's description of the ADL's position as "ultra-liberal" must be "a joke," Polner declared. But is Polner a fair judge of what is liberal and what is not? It is not widely known, but Polner has for many years been a leader of a tiny radical-left group called the Jewish Peace Fellowship--a group so far out that it endorsed conscientious objectors who refused to fight against Hitler during World War II...

...Were medieval Jews to blame for the behavior of European pogromists? That is the view of an obscure Israeli professor, **Yisrael Yuval**, who claimed in a recent article that there was a link between the anti-Semites who invented the blood-libel and the mass suicide of Jews trying to avoid forced baptism at the hands of Crusaders in 12th-century Germany. Later Jewish poetry which extolled the mass suicide as martyrdom may have inspired the blood-libel pogromists, according to Yuval.

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(He does not explain how medieval European peasants would have been familiar with Hebrew-language religious manuscripts.) Leftwing Jewish historian **David Blale**, of the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, wrote sympathetically of Yuval's view in a recent issue of *Tikkun*. Jews "always bore some responsibility for what happened to them and were never only passive victims of the Gentiles," he declared...

# THE WHALE'S COMPLEX

(Continued from p.8)

feelings" after the Hebron murder--while the cries, the mere cries, of anger of the Jews of Bat Yam after the murder of Helena Rapp had been called "racist slogans" two years ago! When Israeli Member of Parliament Darawshe, on a condolence call to Damascus, uses learned circumlocutions and utters the word "Israel" only once, as if it burned his tongue, declares to the press that the Syrian Jews are treated better than the Arabs in the country where he lives, and places flowers on the Syrian monument to the dead in the wars against Israel--well, when that Member of Parliament calmly returns to the Knesset, you can't help but think that in any other country, he would have been forcefully arrested for treason.

Which appears as an inverse paranoia in that, in defiance of any objective proof, it affirms that the other person is not doing us the harm that he is doing, and that, in fact, the evil lies in defending ourselves? What psychological mechanisms does such delirium lead to?

1) To an exacerbated masochism, expressed by constant disparaging self-criticism practiced by a group of what might be called "intellectuals" close to the seat of power, playing the role of the "moral conscience," of an intransigent Superego which brooks no aggressive intentions--even when it is a legitimate response in the face of what is happening around us or a self-preserving instinct.

2) As this morality is charged with self-hatred every step of the way, such masochism consists of the integration into the Jewish consciousness, of the old anti-Semitic or Judeophobic message about "Jewish evil." In other words, what we have here is alienation.

3) This alienation fulfills a dual purpose: the Jew sees himself from here on in through the eyes of his enemy, and now he even has a hope of finally being loved--don't Peres and Arafat hold each other's hands like nice guys? At the same time, in so doing, he internalizes the image of his enemy and even the image of the

"persecutor" in general, identifying himself with these two images as if to say, "At long last, we are Arafat, we are the Nazis--therefore, by killing ourselves, we shall be able, finally, to deliver the world from evil!"

4) This terrible suicidal reasoning is the inevitable harbinger of suicidal acts. We need only quote that gem repeated by so many lofty souls, justifying all the unilateral concessions granted by the present Israeli government: "If the Palestinians attack us, it is because they do not yet have any army." Let's not worry too much: they will soon have one--dressed up as a "police force"--and they will do with it what the other Arab countries did with their legions, for example, what Syria did one Yom Kippur. Which just goes to show that, in history, men in prayer have already been attacked, and not in Hebron. By the way: is the huge outcry that followed this collective murder over the setting where an act of killing took place--in a place of worship--or over the act itself? If it is over the act itself, why is the condemnation--when there is one--of the murders of Israeli Jews or Palestinian "collaborators" by the glorious "fighters" for the "Palestinian cause" so much less resounding?

In short, if there is still no explanation for the cetaceans, this whale complex is a manifestation of the Jews' indulgence of a death impulse, a form of giving up responsibility for the safeguard of their own existence as a people--as if the act of having dared to take their fate into their own hands during 100 years of Zionist successes has now triggered guilt about having fought against this very death plan which the other nations have had for them. On the Arab side, and this is the litmus test of reality, not one voice has ever been raised in favor of understanding or simple appeasement to echo the huge chorus of Jewish voices which are forever rising in defense of others!

Should the illness subside and not prove to be deadly, this difficult page in the history of Israel will probably remain the most sad and pathetic one.♦

*Rachel Israel is a psychoanalyst.*

Americans For a Safe Israel is pleased to offer a special bonus to our members and friends. **Knowledge On the Go** is a series of a cassette audio-taped narrations (unabridged) of articles by prominent writers on the Middle East and other Jewish concerns. The tapes in this year's series include contributions by Douglas Feith, Bernard Lewis, Paul Johnson, Robert Seltzer, Natan Sharansky, Edward Alexander, Kenneth Timmerman, Martin Kramer, Andrea Levin and Alan Mintz. They are culled from noteworthy publications such as *Commentary*, *National Security Quarterly*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, to name just a few. There will be six tapes (60-90 minutes each) per year.

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# WHAT THE ARABS ARE SAYING...

We carry our weapons and there is no way that we will stop carrying them. There is no way that the *intifada* will end unless we return to our nation its independence and freedom. Words cannot deceive us and also the voices of the West cannot deceive us.

The Palestinian nation knows that there is a state which was established out of historic coercion and it must come to an end. This is the Palestinian way. This is our right. They stole our land. The refugees must return to their land. This is the way of the revolution which began on its way many years ago.

--Farouk Kaddoumi, chief of the Political Department of the PLO, on Radio PLO in Algeria, August 8, 1994

Jerusalem was and will remain the capital of Palestine. All of it is Palestinian, and in the future it will be the capital of the State of Palestine.

--Yasser Arafat, during a press conference in Gaza, August 1, 1994

There will be no coordination or security cooperation between Israelis and Palestinian security services.

--Jibril Rajoub, PLO Security Chief for Judea and Samaria, quoted in the *Jerusalem Post*, May 20, 1994

The light which has shone over Gaza and Jericho will also reach the Negev and the Galilee.

--Rashid Abu-Shebak, a PLO leader in Gaza, in a speech in the Beduin village of Lakia in the Negev, May 29, 1994

One cannot recognize a country which does not recognize our rights and our personal existence, and which is aimed at imperialistic control by force on our territory... There is no point in establishing contacts with the Israeli intelligentsia, which agrees with Zionism and racism. The maintenance of ties with them would be like the recognition by the victim of his executioner.

--Assembly of the Union of Jordanian Writers, August 7, 1994

There are periods in the struggle of a nation in which it has to lower its head and agree to agreements which will lead it in the end to the desired breakthroughs. The Palestinian people deserves a Palestinian state and the Palestinian state is worthy of having within it the entire Palestinian nation. I will never give my hand to the annulment of one paragraph of the Palestinian National Charter.

--Yasser Arafat, message to PLO officials in Arab countries, quoted on Radio Monte Carlo, August 10, 1994

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## One Minute to Midnight

Dr. Irving Moskowitz

### **HEZBOLLAH'S PATRON**

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has publicly blamed the Hezbollah terrorist gang for the recent attacks on Jewish and Israeli targets in Argentina and England. Curiously, however, Christopher has denounced Iran for helping Hezbollah--yet he has not said a word about the crucial role that Syria plays in helping Hezbollah.

After all, Hezbollah has its headquarters in Syrian-occupied Lebanon. It can't receive weapons without Syrian clearance. It can't make a move without Syrian approval. On July 14, just a week before the bombing in Argentina, the London-based Arab newspaper *Al-Hayat* reported that Hezbollah "has received a green light" from its Syrian patrons to "carry out an extraordinary act of

revenge" against Israel for abducting one of its leaders, Mustafa Dirani. The condition for the green light, according to the report, was that "the operation must be executed in an area distant from Lebanon and Syria."

The Syrians didn't want their fingerprints too close to the scene of the crime. Hezbollah obliged by attacking Jews in Buenos Aires. Secretary of State Christopher knows all this. Yet in his zeal to score a foreign policy "success," Christopher has deliberately turned a blind eye to Syria's sponsorship of Hezbollah. In doing so, he is setting the stage for catastrophe. The American troops who will be stationed on the Golan Heights, after Christopher pressures Israel to give the Heights to Syria, will be sitting ducks for the Hezbollah gangsters. A foreign policy "success" will turn into a nightmare. ♦

Dr. Irving Moskowitz is a member of the Board of Governors of Americans For a Safe Israel.

# BALDERDASH

*"The occupation and settlements have contributed to a steady growth and institutionalization of racist attitudes and practices...The attitudes and practices are not new, however, and trace back to the very concept of a Jewish state..."*

--Edward Herman, in the May 1994 issue of *Z Magazine*

*"What American policymakers know about the Arab region is derivative from the propaganda designed by Jewish penetration into America...30% of Protestant bishops in the U.S. are originally Jews who did not quit Judaism. These 'bishops' have no other job but to preach in the direction which serves the Jewish propaganda claiming that the Jewish and American interests are the same."*

--editorial in the *Syrian Times*, May 15, 1994

*"The idea of a non-Zionist and secular alternative to Israel...has been very popular among young native Israelis."*

--Leon Hadar, in the July-August 1994 issue of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*

*"I am not really surprised that the [Hebron] massacre happened, since it is just a larger magnitude of the same kinds of killings and brutalization that have been visited on the Palestinians for many years."*

--Barbara Lubin of the Middle East Children's Alliance, in the Winter 1994 issue of *Alliance News*

*"[Israel-hater Yeshayahu Leibowitz was] one of the greatest figures in the life of the Jewish people and the State of Israel in recent generations."*

--Israeli President Ezer Weizmann in the *New York Times*, August 19, 1994

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