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NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE LEONARD HORWIN

SUBJECT: VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

ACTION

DISPOSITION

ROUTE TO:	ACT	DATE	TYPE	C	COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D	YY/MM/DD

CHARLIE HORVATH	ORG	89/10/11		C	89/10/11
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LAW OFFICES OF
LEONARD HORWIN
121 SOUTH BEVERLY DRIVE
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90212
(213) 272-7807 OR (213) 275-5132
TELEFAX (213) 275-7216

October 3, 1989

Hon. George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WRONG ASSUMPTIONS, WRONG CONCLUSIONS

Dear Mr. President:

The undersigned "Reagan Democrat" who endorsed, contributed to, supported and voted for Bush for President out of national security considerations, agrees with your and Secretary Cheney's "Man from Missouri" continuing reservations about the Soviets.

Right assumptions, viz. that the proof of the pudding is in the eating;
right conclusions, viz. "Man from Missouri."

But on the USA/Israel/Arab equation, it is patent that current policy is founded on wrong assumptions, and therefore slips into very flawed conclusions.

1. Wrong assumption. That Israel has "lands to trade for peace."

The facts are that unless Israel ceases to exist, the only "lands" she could "trade" are the so-called "occupied territories" lying west of the Jordan River to the Israel "Green Line."

Besides the fact that these "lands" are the "heartland" of the 3,300-year old "Jewish Homeland" (Balfour Declaration 1917, Faisal-Weizman Agreement 1919, League of Nations recognition 1920, U.S. Joint Congressional Resolution 1922), -- is the fact that 100 U.S. generals and admirals (their statement annexed) are among those who verify that these "lands" are essential to "secure borders" for Israel, to which she is entitled under UN Resolution 242.

Hon. George Bush
October 3, 1989
Page 2

For Israel already "traded" (and for a very "cold peace" indeed) 91% of the "territories" covered by UN Resolution 242, recovered in defending in 1967 against the Arab "ring of steel", when she took the incredible "risk for peace" of transferring to Egypt the 300-mile buffer of the Sinai Peninsula (Camp David Accords) for the second time (the first was in 1956).

And Britain had already "traded" for "peace" from the Arabs, 76.4% of the "Jewish Homeland" in 1922, when Britain chopped off all of the "Jewish Homeland" east of the Jordan River to form Jordan.

That brought no "peace" from the Arabs either, whether to Britain or to the Jews.

Jordan is an already existing 70% Palestine Arab state, albeit with a British-imposed Arabian monarch.

2. Wrong assumption. That the Arabs are capable of giving, or mean to give, a durable "peace" in trade for those "lands" to a sovereign presence of the "dhimmi" (inferior status) "People of the Book", i.e. Israel.

There is annexed, merely by way of example, "Pax Arabica" from the Christian Mideast Conference, verifying that 1,300 years of Arab religion, culture and practice currently preclude the Arabs from giving, nor do they intend to give, such a promise, nor to perform it, whether to the "dhimmi" Christian "People of the Book" (Lebanon) or Jewish (Israel).

For the same underlying reason, and the pervasive general poverty, ignorance and fanaticism in the Middle East, -- plus the fact that those peoples have not experienced the Reformation, Renaissance, Industrial Revolution, nor Age of Enlightenment of the West, -- there are no bona fide "moderates" running any of the Arab countries, nor bona fide democracies, only despots, near-despots or anarchy (Lebanon), where terms so familiar to the West steeped in Judeo-Christian ethic and therefore employed by the Arabs in wooing them, such as "peace", "self-determination", "civil rights", etc., in fact have no reality in the Arab world. There, these terms are simply "metaphors for an absolute rule that could not be declared openly as such." (British analyst David Pryce-Jones in Commentary Magazine Spring 1989 "Self-Determination, Arab-Style.")

3. Wrong assumption. That the very vocal chorus of left-to-pseudo-intellectual-"liberals" both within and without Israel, who join with the Arabs to purport to voice that Judeo-Christian ethic to demand that Israel trade her security for another Arab "promise of peace", -- in fact speak the mind or intentions of the People of Israel.

They do not.

Hon. George Bush
October 3, 1989
Page 3

Just as the national US elections both under Reagan and for Bush demonstrate the supremacy of realistic conservatism, so in Israel an increasing majority reject the unrealistic nostras of the Labor Zionist socialists both on defense and on the economy, and address themselves to the very evident realities.

Merely by way of example, there is annexed from the Jerusalem Post International Edition for the week ended September 30, the full page ad of one of the components of the broad coalition of conservatives headed by the Likud, -- this one the TSOMET party led by Israel's very distinguished retired Field General Raphael ("Rafal") Eitan.

It will be noted that the conclusions differ only in additional reasons given for the same conclusions as reached by the 100 US generals and admirals.

For all but those who want to believe, no matter what the reality, must conclude that, although economically non-viable, those "lands" are essential to Israel's "secure borders" because they control the Jordan River Valley and crossing, plus the heights, passes, contours, contiguity which would enable a hostile power, directly or through an international facade of "demilitarization", to cut off Israel's main water and food, its capital, its waist-line seacoast from Haifa to Tel Aviv, plus pierce its underbelly from the seacoast shortcut (Gaza Strip) while Israel would lack the depth in space or time within which to counteract.

4. Wrong assumption. That the security interests of the USA lie in "battering up" the Arabs rather than safeguarding the security of Israel.

Partly because the USA is a consequence of the Judeo-Christian ethic and is therefore part of the "dhimmi" "People of the Book", -- indeed is "The Great Satan", -- and partly because of the same 1,300 years of Arab religion, culture and practice, and their consequence in the Arab/Muslim world, the USA has no bona fide "allies" among the Arabs, nor can the purported friendships be aught but transitory and circumstantial.

Indeed, merely by way of example, at the UN, the Muslim Arab voting record is over 90% with the Soviets, and less than 10% with the USA.

Moreover, the supposed oil clout of the Arabs is adventitious, too heavily over-mortgaged to permit use of it to boycott, and could, perhaps not far hence, be partly or wholly supplanted by such as thermo-nuclear fusion or other alternatives.

On the other hand, Israel, which characteristically gets short-shrift from the largely orchestrated media, in fact has a record of voting over 90% of the time with the USA and against the Soviets, is one of

the most vibrant democracies in the world, is the only democracy with credible continuity and effectiveness of performance in anti-terrorism, is a "strategic partner" of the USA, was and is the source of invaluable intelligence to the USA, is on its way to privatization and successful performance in an international free market economy, and indeed does for the Middle East much of the job done by NATO for Europe, but without US troops and at 1/100th the cost in military aid to the USA (1.8 billion versus 180 billion).

5. Wrong assumption. That such as Labor Zionist Socialist Shimon Peres, for whom the President purports such regard, or the same party's General Rabin (Minister of Defense), given such play here because of his "romance" with President Mubarak, are to be preferred from the standpoint of US security to such as, merely by way of example, General Sharon of the Likud (Minister of Industry & Commerce), who often gets such qualified media play here.

The opposite is the fact.

Without any attempt to evaluate or denigrate, Peres in Israel is regarded as bankrupt with his "lands for peace", "Jordanian option", "structured international conference", "peace process" illusions; has a reputation for cleverness and deviousness, indeed is regarded by General Rabin (for Peres' deviousness) as a principal reason why General Rabin's own Prime Ministership failed.

General Rabin is regarded as equally bankrupt with his "political solution" to the "Intifada", and applause for Mubarak's "10 points", would notwithstanding now (for lack of any better) be the Labor Zionist party's probable leader in any "new elections" because of his present "macho" personality, but is "widely reported" there for such as his breakdown as chief of staff in the Six Day War." (Jerusalem Post 9-30-89, p. 3, and see military historians detailing, "Jerusalem Post 9-22-89 "Exploding the Myth of 1948") of his totally unsatisfactory performance in the War of Independence.

On the other hand, General Sharon, the master of blunt telling, speech and direct action, is widely and very credibly regarded in Israel as Israel's Patton; as the single main reason why the Arab surprise attack success of 1973 was turned into Israeli encirclement of Egypt's Third Army and certain defeat of the Egyptians but for the "truce" intervention of Kissinger and the Russians; is regarded, including by the Christians of Lebanon, as the Israeli leader who foresaw the "genocide" of the Christians which occurred before and is occurring now; and if left to complete his incredibly successful routing of the PLO and its Syrian and Russian allies by the June 1982 incursion into Lebanon, instead of being stopped by the US (egged on by such as Peres), would have left a Christian-dominated government in Lebanon, and a basis for Lebanese peace and existence, rather than, as happened because of his being stopped before completion, the opportunity for the PLO terrorist organization to reestablish itself in Tunis, Syrian/Iranian-inspired blow-up

Hon. George Bush
October 3, 1989
Page 5

of the Christian Beshir Gemayel cabinet, then the US Embassy, then US marine corps barracks, then US withdrawal with its tail between its legs, then Israel left to salvage through attrition in Lebanon, then Lebanon reduced to the total destruction and chaos in which it now finds itself.

6. Wrong assumption. Mubarak is a "peace process" middleman, and Egypt is its harbinger.

Again, the opposite is the fact.

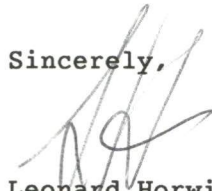
Now that it has the "land" (Sinai Peninsula), Mubarak calls the "promise" a "dead horse"; his Foreign Minister says it was always subordinate to Egypt's prior commitments to its fellow members of the Arab League (all save Egypt in declared war with Israel); Egypt has performed substantially none of the trade, commerce, cultural, social provisions of the Camp David Accords; Israeli bathers shot down on Egyptian Red Sea beaches in cold blood by Egyptian police are without redress; Mubarak's defense Minister says Israel is Egypt's "only enemy"; only a month ago, Egypt called on the Soviets to "boycott" Israel.

Mubarak's "10 points" are predictable, -- an adroit use of "elections" to promote Israel's loss of control over its "heartland" essential to its "secure borders."

RIGHT CONCLUSION.

"Durable peace" will not be gained by a "peace process" which is in fact a "stage" (PLO PNC Resolution of 1974, and unamended Covenant of 1964) in a war process, because it would deprive the USA's ally of its "secure borders" and expose it to the same eventual fate as Czechoslovakia (Munich 1938).

Sincerely,



Leonard Horwin
former U.S. Diplomat
former Counsel, U.S. Board of
Economic Warfare
former Editor-in-Chief, Yale
Law Journal
former Mayor of Beverly Hills
Member, Executive Committee, Americans
for a Safe Israel

LH:gg

Encl.

Hon. George Bush
October 3, 1989
Page 6

cc: Hon. James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State
Hon. Dennis Ross, Director, Policy Planning, Dept. of State
Hon. Richard Cheney, Secretary of Defense
Hon. Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor
Hon. General Colin Powell, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Hon. Jesse Helms, US Senator
Hon. Bob Packwood, US Senator
International Security Council
International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem
Christian Mideast Conference
National Jewish Coalition
Americans for a Safe Israel

TSOMET

Presents the facts:

Even in times of peace, continued Israeli control over Judea and Samaria is essential to ensure the physical existence of the state.

Why?

Because:

- ★ Even if the historical rights of the Jewish people to Judea and Samaria could be forgone
- ★ Even if one could ignore the security problems involved in withdrawal, at every level – strategic, tactical, and the maintenance of day-to-day civilian safety
- ★ Even if one could discount any malicious design on the part of hostile elements in the "West Bank"

Even then:

Withdrawal from Judea and Samaria is a Step that Mortally Endangers the State of Israel.

This is not Chauvinistic Demagoguery. Not Extremist Scare Tactics. These are the Cold Hard Facts:

The Water Problem – Withdrawal Means Relinquishing Control over 60 percent of the Country's Water Supply

Approximately 60 per cent of Israel's water supply is contained in geological structures (aquifers) which serve as natural underground reservoirs. These structures (Yarkon-Taninim and Coastal Aquifers), and the waters they store are affected, directly and indirectly, by civilian and ecological activity in Judea and Samaria – both as to the quantity and the quality of the water. Excessive pumping or uncontrolled sewage and waste disposal are liable to cause serious depletion, salination and pollution of the aquifers. Relinquishing the western slopes of the Judean and Samarian hills will bring about a situation in which the fate of the national water supply is left to the tender mercies of whatever Arab authority would control the evacuated areas after withdrawal. It is important to note that critical dangers implicit in such a situation could arise even without there being any malicious intent on the part of the Arabs. They could result with equal severity from simple municipal mis-management, poor planning, lack of knowledge, or plain neglect. However, whatever the reasons may be, Israel might easily find herself facing irreparable damage to the supply of one of her most vital strategic resources – a situation which could in the most tangible way endanger her continued survival. Then noble phrases regarding "the rights of other nations" will sound a little hollow... and very irrelevant.

Demilitarized State – A Dangerous Illusion Leading to a Lethal Dead-End!

The mortal dangers that the establishment of a militarized political entity in Judea and Samaria would involve for Israel have been extensively detailed in the past by former Minister of Defence Shimon Peres in the Labour Party newspaper "Davar" and by Professor Amnon Rubinstein ("Palestinian Lies" and "The Pitfall of the Third State" in "Ha'Aretz"). There is therefore a wide consensus that any territory evacuated by Israel would have to be demilitarized.

But even if one ignores the substantive and legal contradictions implicit in the idea of a "demilitarized state" (on which Professor Rubinstein elaborates in his articles) and one supposes that one could find a hypothetical Arab with the willingness, the sincerity, and the authority necessary to conclude a treaty with Israel regarding the establishment of a demilitarized political entity in Judea and Samaria, even then the setting up of such an entity would still constitute a grave and complex source of peril for Israel. Why? Such a demilitarized entity would be totally dependent on Israel for the prevention of incursions by foreign forces into its territory. And if such an attempted incursion took place (not a rare event in the Arab world) Israel would have to fight, and sacrifice her own soldiers, to keep it demilitarized – as the local government would not,

If you believe that you don't have to be a "leftist" to be "enlightened," "progressive" or "politically sane"; if you believe that there is a dire need for firm resolute Zionism, but that its proponents have been inarticulate, and awkward in presenting their case; if you identify with the content and style of this message – help us spread it. Spreading ideas costs money and, faced with an unsympathetic press, we have to pay for the publication of our views. We need your support to continue with similar messages.
Our address: 22 Huberman Street, Tel Aviv. Tel. 03-204444/6/7 Bank Account: Bank Leumi 041387/39 Branch No. 809, Tel Aviv.

by definition, have the forces to do so! And if there were an attempt to overthrow the incumbent government (not a rare event in the Arab world), financed by extremists opposed to the agreement with Israel, and if the local police could not put down the uprising, Israel would be called on to preserve the stability of the regime. Best elements backed by Syria or Libya take over power. Or if Gaddafi or Assad finance acts of terrorism from within the demilitarized territory (as they undoubtedly will) and the local peace-keeping forces are unable, or unwilling, to curb these acts, Israel will be faced with a cruel dilemma regarding the demilitarized entity: to either arm it (then it would no longer be demilitarized); or to police it (which means reverting to the present situation but under more difficult circumstances); or to invade it (what would the reaction be in the Arab world and the international community to the annihilation of the fledgling and defenceless Palestinian state?). Therefore, given the nature of the regimes and the prevailing realities in the Middle East, the establishment of a demilitarized political entity in Judea and Samaria will not contribute to the security of Israel. On the contrary, it will be an additional burden, obliging her not only to see to her own security but also that of the neighbouring Arab regime... and the realities of the "security zone" along the northern border will be duplicated along the Hadera-Kfar Sava frontier!!!

"The Right of Return" – An Impassable Obstacle

Even if one were to suppose that the inhabitants of the refugee camps were to give up their dreams of returning to Haifa, Jaffa and Acre, and were to resign themselves to the fact that they will never cultivate their former lands now cultivated by kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair, there are still hundreds of thousands of refugees living in camps in the neighbouring Arab states. And by what moral or legal standard could these refugees be denied return to their newly established "National Home"? Moreover, it is far from unlikely that the Arab states themselves would forcibly "transfer" these refugees to their new "motherland." The result? A huge wave of poverty-stricken humanity placing impossible pressures on the new regime, and the growth of huge slum areas, concentrations of misery, frustration, and crime on the very doorstep of the coastal metropolis and Jerusalem. This additional population, caught in a trap of despair, deprived of minimal living conditions and of the hope of ever improving them, must inevitably intensify the already grave problems of:

Uncontrolled water consumption, unplanned sewage disposal and the resultant pollution, growing discontent with the incumbent regime (the one party to the agreement with Israel) and the attempts to overthrow it because of this discontent. Therefore if Israel wishes to prevent the dangers implicit in the large-scale return of Palestinians to their newly formed national entity, and the creation of impossible social and economic pressures on its administrative systems, she will have to keep absolute control over all immigration and transit procedures into and from the Palestinian entity. Otherwise those pressures will be directed westward towards Israel's coastal plain and its tantalizing slender waistline of only 10 miles.

Therefore in order to ensure the continued existence of the state, in order to obviate mortal dangers, which need not originate from any purposeful malice on the part of the Arabs (!), Israel must have absolute control over all aspects of the water supply, the sewage and waste disposal system, immigration and travel procedures, and be a dominant factor in security matters. It must therefore be obvious to anyone with even an inkling of knowledge of political theory that these constraints preclude any solutions involving a sovereign Palestinian state; any any confederation of doubtful composition, or even Arab autonomy. Israeli control of all these factors vital to its existence implies – full Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria!! It is not possible to find within the territorial limits of Judea and Samaria a solution that is consistent with the existence of the State of Israel, on the one hand; and fulfilment of Palestinian national aspirations on the other. Any solution that ensures the existence of Israel does not allow an honourable solution to the question of Palestinian nationalism. All talk of "confederations," "corridors" and "demilitarization" are nothing but dangerous illusions, distorted caricatures of a "solution" which would bring not national honour but national humiliation and degradation to the Palestinians. Only EAST of the Jordan, where most of the Palestinians live, in a population which is mostly Palestinian, can the question of Palestinian nationality be honourably resolved in a way that does not imperil the existence of Jewish nationality.

Tsomet: Zionism unmistakably resolute

Update From Jerusalem

Bible News From The Holy Land

PAX ARABICA Or The Islamic Meaning of "Peace"

SUPPLEMENT IS PUBLISHED IN ORDER TO SHED LIGHT ON THE BLOODSHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH IS OCCUPYING OUR ATTENTION SO MUCH LATELY. THIS KNOWLEDGE IS ESSENCIAL TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE BACKGROUNDS, MOTIVATIONS, CIRCUMSTANCES, AND CAUSES BEHIND THESE STORMY EVENTS.

TELEVISION HAS A UNIQUE ABILITY TO present and repeat half-truths in a way that, for all practical purposes, they become outright falsehoods. It is indeed easy for our sophisticated media today to have pure fiction accepted as the honest truth. This is so whether the evil is committed deliberately, or because of carelessness, ignorance, pursuit of sensationalism, or technical reasons.

A FABRICATED IMAGE BUILT of partially selective, unrelated clips, is particularly difficult to dislodge. Half a truth is much more deceitful than a total lie. Repetition makes the lie into a "commonly known fact," no matter how twisted it is. It is so convincing that often the reporter himself gets to believe in his own invention.

ONE GLARING EXAMPLE of the misused words that ensnare us in the media, is the word "PEACE." The Fanatic Moslems learned, especially since 1967, that in order to improve their image in the Christian world, they must declare themselves "striving for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." To achieve this, they say, the first step must be "the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict." They never elaborate on the words "peace" or "resolution." Under no pressure would any of them utter the forbidden explicit phrase: "peace with Israel."

IT IS SO BECAUSE THE MEANING of the word "peace" as used by Fanatic Moslems, is by no means similar to the meaning we attach to the same word. They ACTUALLY mean: "lasting peace is the state of the world when all infidels ("non-believers") are eliminated from it by the forces of true Islam."

AT THE RISK of being overly repetitive, we need to be reminded again and again that the teaching of Islam is indeed THIS: "peace will exist forever ONLY when all infidels are totally eliminated, be they Christians, Jews, Bhuddists, or others. Then Islam, the only true faith, will rule supreme, with total adherence to the Shari'la (Islamic Canon Law)." NO OTHER form of peace can possibly be acceptable to a Fanatic Moslem.

OBVIOUSLY, THIS NOT ONLY mandates the total rejection of Israel's very right to exist, but also denies the VERY RIGHT of Christianity to be the predominant faith of Europe and the Americas. This belief is deeply rooted in the basic position of the entire Fanatic Moslem world. The violent anti-American waves manifested in Iran and other countries, are not a nationalist phenomenon, but a RELIGIOUS one. The United States, which is now the major Christian power on earth, is thus in DIRECT CONFRONTATION with World's Islam.

OF ALL THE WORLD'S RELIGIONS, Islam is the most militant, intolerant and politically oriented. From its beginnings, Islam met with great military success. The "power of the sword of Islam" ("Self el-Islam") and the "JIHAD," the religious "holy war," are ingrained in the Koran (the Moslem holy book) and in the fabric of the very existence of the Islamic faith. WAR, NOT PEACE, are holy to the true Fanatic Moslem.

ISLAM'S MILITARY and political superiority is so central to the Moslem view of the world that they regard every event and process that led to the Christian domination of Europe or Africa, or to their defeat by Israel, as a deviation from the natural course of history. Therefore, it is necessarily transitory. Such "deviations" must be corrected by force, hence the "holy Jihad." The world beyond the borders of Islam ("darr al'hard," "zone of war" in Arabic) has no legitimacy, no right to exist. Moslems accept, however, that at times they may be compelled to deal with "infidel" governments in the "zone of war," but they do so only as a "temporary" situation, de facto, never de jure, as a rightful status. They believe that this "distasteful" situation will only last until the ULTIMATE JIHAD (the "holy armageddon"). This is a most basic, fundamental concept of Islam, a dogma set forth in the Shari'la.

MODERN ISLAMIC FANATICISM (mistakenly referred to as "fundamentalism"), which has mushroomed throughout the Islamic Arab world

in the last 60 years, is emphasized by the demand for the uncompromising application of the Shar'i'a, particularly in those military and political matters where it has been neglected for hundreds of years. Herein lies the serious threat that is posed by Islamic fanaticism, which today sets the tone in every public forum and influences the setting of priorities in Moslem societies.

THE ATTITUDE OF ISLAMIC fanatics is often characterized by obsessive hatreds. They grant, however, that "as long as Jews and Christians know their place (as "subjected people," "ahl a-dhimma" in Arabic) and are content to accept the position of inferiors, they may live." When they "arrogantly" ask for equality, they (Israelis, Bahais in Iran, Christians in Egypt, Sudan and Africa, Bhudists in Asia, etc.) should be fought as bitter enemies and exterminated.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED that the Koran and the Islamic tradition preserve the memory of the Christian and Jewish rejection of Islam during Muhammad's lifetime, of the prophet's struggle against them in the 7th century AD, as well as that of the Christian Crusades, who freed the Holy Land from Islamic rule in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

SAUDI ARABIA, frequently defined in the media as a "moderate Arab" state, certainly is in no way moderate. We must remember that the Shar'i'a is the Law of the Land. The country is ruled by the kings of the House of Ibn-Sa'ud. They are members of one of the most extremely violent and bloodthirsty zealot Moslem sects in history, the Wah'habbees. In fact, the royal house depends on the Wah'habbee tribes for their very hold on power. The Wah'habbees cannot concede the existence of any "infidel," "foreign" free political or religious entity near them. Such concession would compromise the very roots of their creed. This is especially true with respect to the Holy Land.

AT NO TIME was there any sign of "moderation" in the Saudis' attitude. Monetary and economic reasons dictate that their thrust be first directed against Israel. The Saudis realize that the equal hatred they store for Americans, Europeans and all other Christians, must be muted for the time being. The fact is, however, that when they use the name "Israel", the Saudis actually mean all western "infidels." For all their efforts, it still becomes evident from time to time. For instance, despite the religious and political tension between them, King Fahd called, at the Gulf Cooperation Council in Riyadh (January 6, 1988) upon Iran's Khomeini to form a united front with him, "to help us liberate Jerusalem and the Islamic land in Palestine

controlled by The Colonialism." The literature that exposes the depth of their hatred toward the "colonialist infidels," represented by Christianity, Israel and the Bible, are too numerous to count.

IN THE FEBRUARY 12, 1988 issue of the official government newspaper "A-Riyadh," Ahmed A-Shibani published a lengthy article "proving" the "racist character of Israel and Bible believers," with quotations from the "distorted Bible." The "distortion" is disclosed by comparing chapters of the Bible to the Koran. The official Saudi spokesman concludes: "There is no hope of amending the traits, morals, and behavior of Bible believers as long as they cling to what is written in their Bible... Their racist discriminations originate in their Bible."

SAYIED FARAJ RASHID, writing in "A-Difa", the Saudi military organ (July 1987), "proves", on the basis of "modern Bible research," that there are "forgeries" in the Bible. In the Saudi newspaper "A-Nadwa" (Nov 3, 1987), Kamal A-Sharif calls for the immediate strengthening of the ultimate Jihad ("holy war"), because "the only solution for dealing with the Biblical ideology is its liquidation."

SYRIA IS RULED by the fanatic Alawit Sun'ni sect, and serves both as a major center for Islamic extremists and a haven for international terrorists of all kinds. President Assad, in his speech on the 25th anniversary of the ruling Ba'ath party's rise to power (Radio Damascus, March 8, 1988), set the tone. Said Assad: "we must persevere in war using every means, sometimes guns, sometimes stones, sometimes popular riots, and sometimes total military struggle." He also pledged to continue supporting worldwide terrorism by means of "Islamic opposition." According to Assad (in the same speech) there is no difference between "Nazism and Zionism." His newspaper called Israel "an artificial entity, insignificant and unnatural, which will yet be obliterated" (Tishrin, Jan 20, 1988).

THE IRAQI NEWSPAPER A-Thawara (Jan 2, 1988) has censured the "crimes of the new Nazis in Occupied Palestine," which means, according to the paper, "all the land from Lebanon to Egypt." Their goal is "the liquidation of the Zionist presence."

THE POSITION OF THE PLO is especially notable for its open-ended formulations and use of double-talk to present a so called "moderate" facade. Yasser Arafat himself admitted in an interview to the Kuwaiti paper "Al-Anba" (Jan 5, 1988) that he speaks "TWO LANGUAGES," one for the western media, and the other, totally different, to his Arab constituency.

Retain the Israel Asset

One hundred retired U.S. generals and admirals agree that Israel must retain the Jordan River as its defense border.

Recent developments in the Middle East—the Soviet decision to withdraw from Afghanistan, the cease fire in the Iran-Iraq war, the introduction of chemical weapons and medium-range missiles, the uprising of the Palestinian Arabs and the withdrawal of King Hussein from his claim to the West Bank—have created new conditions in the region.

A misinterpretation of these developments and the tendency in the era of *glasnost* to misread Soviet intentions may lead this or a new U.S. administration to attempt a settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute without proper consideration of America's global imperatives and the strategic needs of our most reliable ally in the region—Israel.

To maintain its ability to defend itself, and to continue to serve as a vanguard of Western interests in the region, Israel must retain the Jordan River as its defense border.

An Israeli withdrawal from this border would, in the present political reality, lead to the establishment of an irredentist Soviet-oriented PLO state in the 2,000 square miles of the West Bank. A dwarfed Israel would then be an irresistible target for Arab adventurism and terrorism and ultimately for an all-out military assault which could end Israel's existence.

If Israel were to relinquish the West Bank, 80% of its population and most of its industry would be within the range of light artillery, mortars and even rifles positioned on the high ground of the Samaritan and Judean ridges. These ridges cannot be effectively demilitarized or adequately inspected. Before 1967 they served as bases for terrorists, whose cross-border activities cost Israel over 700 dead and thousands injured. Since then, the natural barrier and the short border provided by the Jordan River have enabled Israel to control raids and infiltration and to prevent the country from turning into another Lebanon.

Military control of the Jordan River line is aided by Israeli observation posts on the range of hills overlooking the river from the west. Israel has installed extensive early warning and ELINT and SIGINT stations there. If Israel loses this line, it would have virtually

no warning of attack. Its border would be three times longer than the present one. In the midsection of the country it would be 9 to 18 miles from the Mediterranean. Virtually all the population would be subject to artillery bombardment. The Sharon Plain north of Tel Aviv could be riven by an armored salient within hours. The quick mobilization of its civilian army—Israel's main hope for survival—would be disrupted easily, and perhaps irreversibly.

In 1968, a then-secret report by the Joint Chiefs of Staff asserted that Israel's borders were indefensible without the mountain ridges of the West Bank. With the Arab armies at least four times the size they were twenty years ago, this assessment is even more valid today. To expect that Israel can repeat the miraculous military feat it performed in 1967 when it was attacked from these borders is to tempt fate.

It is often argued that the introduction of missiles to the region makes strategic depth irrelevant. After all, almost all of Israel is within the range of Soviet IRBMs and SRBMs now in the arsenals of Syria, Iraq and Iran, and the distance from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean can be crossed by supersonic aircraft on a final attack profile in less than three minutes. But missiles, artillery and aircraft can cause devastation. They cannot occupy. Only infantry and armor can overrun a country—and those are still vulnerable to natural barriers.

Defensible borders are not impregnable borders. Rather, they are borders that give early warning time and provide some strategic depth. In the face of unremitting hostility to Israel's existence by Syrians, Iraqis and the PLO, Israel must have such borders. Having repelled continued attacks on its population from this territory, and having acquired it in a defensive war in 1967, Israel has no legal, political or moral obligations to relinquish it.

A strong Israel has served America's interests. To remain strong it must retain the Jordan River line as its eastern security border. Pressing Israel to withdraw from this line will neither bring peace nor serve America's interests.

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INTERNATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

For further information write to:
 903 16th Street, N.W., Suite 402
 Washington, DC 20006
 (202) 347-2544