

Graffiti for intellectuals



DECEMBER

4

2006



By SI FRUMKIN

NO MOSQUE AND NO RIOTS! WHY?

A quiz: Which of these 5 major cities – Rome, Tel Aviv, Teheran, Los Angeles, New York - doesn't have a Sunni Moslem mosque? Who was the mayor who stopped the last attempt to build one?

Surprise! It's Teheran and its mayor at the time was the man who is now president of Iran: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad!

Here is another surprise: Sunni Muslims account for more than 10% of the country's population, more than a million of them live in Teheran and, no, they can't have a mosque.

We live in an age of information overload. The popular print and visual media allocate just a few seconds to most important subjects. Interviews with scholars and experts

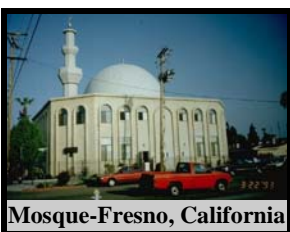


are measured in meager minutes and are routinely preempted by car

chases, police chiefs and unimportant activities by unimportant criminals, politicians and eccentrics.

The information that really matters is information that will impact our future and the future of our children. It is available but it has to be patiently amassed from the internet or serious (and mostly boring) publications. Most of us don't have the time or the patience.

The current Iranian problem is a prime example. By now most Americans know of



Iran's president Ahmadinejad and his strange ways. We are aware of Iran's intransigence on acquiring nuclear weapons in spite of repeated and so-far futile warn-

ings by the non-united United Nations. The proposed solutions to the impasse range from strong preemptive military action or meaningful unilateral sanctions to, on the other side of the spectrum, more talk, diplomacy, and appeals to common sense by the

Iranian leadership. But I bet that even among the few who care about the Iran problem only a tiny minority knew the answer to the question about the city where a mosque is not allowed.



It is essential that we understand our enemies in order to be able to confront and defeat them. The media that measure out information in minuscule superficial sound bites do not supply the knowledge we need. The ethnic and religious tensions faced by Iran are not reported to us and, I would guess, neither are they known to people in the media or to most of the politicians who decide America's foreign policy.

It is important for us to understand that



the Iranian regime is in permanent collision with its national cultures. While almost half of the country's population is non-Persian, Persian nationalism has been the official policy of the country since 1920. Jews and Armenian Christians are the only ones who are allowed to have religious instruction in Hebrew and Armenian, but all the other non-Persians are taught in Persian only; they are doomed to illiteracy in their own lan-

guages.

The Kurds, who have their own language, history and ethnic roots account for about 9% of the population. They are just across the border from the virtually independent and prosperous Iraqi Kurds and have recently shown signs of intransigence. Other nationalities – Arabs, about 3% and Baluch, about 2% - have also been violently resisting assimilation into Persian culture. These, plus several other ethnicities – Turkmen, Lurs, Gilaki, Mazandarani – amount to about 20% of the Iranian population.

Turkish-speaking Azeris compose an additional 25%. Since Azerbaijan's independence from the Soviet Union, many Azeris, especially in Teheran, have been affirming their Turkic identity and calling for cultural autonomy or even separation; they feel that Azerbaijan, not Iran, is their national home. Other minorities - Bahais, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians – compose less than 1% of the population.

The Sunni Muslims are not the only ones to be discriminated against by ultra-extremism exemplified by Ahmadinejad who labels them heretics. Lately, he has been antagonizing his more traditional fellow Shiites by following the teaching of the Ayatollahs who would impose an even more



puritanical Islamic regime. Some even fear that by trying to bring about the return of the mystical 10th century 12th Imam as a Mahdi – a Shiite Messiah -, Ahmadinejad may deliberately provoke a foreign attack on Iran so that the Mahdi would return and save Islam.

The most recent incident took place in Teheran, on October 8, when special forces and police units arrested Ayatollah Mohammad Boroujerdi and about 40 of his followers. The senior Shi'ite Muslim cleric has challenged Iran's system of clerical rule.

The Islamic Sufi sect that has been tolerated in the past is also being persecuted. Sufi gathering places are being closed or attacked. A major Sufi center in the holy city of Qum was demolished, with hundreds of protesting dervishes arrested.

Most importantly, there exists the regime's antipathy for the Persian culture itself. An essentially Arab-Islamic culture is favored while cherished pre-Islamic customs are no longer tolerated. Thus, historic Persian culture and its influence on every culture throughout central Asia is denigrated and devalued by emphasizing narrow Islamism.

These cultural tremors may not bring about the end of the regime but it is quite likely that military action against Iran would unite the population in opposing an external enemy. This may well be one of the major reasons for Iran's seemingly senseless provocation of the world community on the nuclear issue.

And now let's reveal a few facts about Iran's nuke secrets that aren't really secrets - just not reported by our media.

The ethnic and religious conflicts in Iran are seldom, if ever, addressed. You might think, however, that Iran's nuclear program that is developed by an irrational president is adequately reported. You would be wrong.

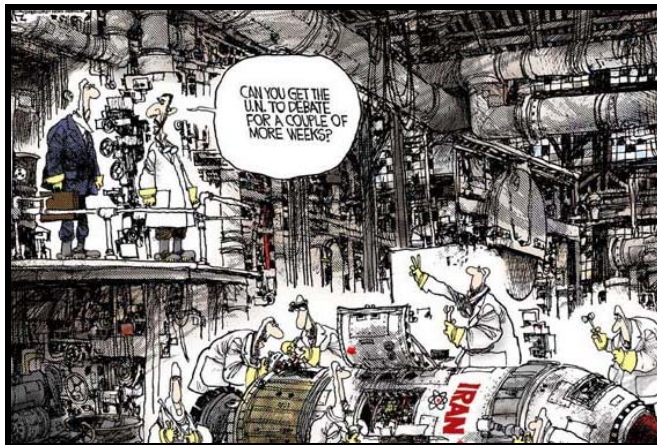
The story of Iran's development of a nuclear capability is fascinating. It's also practically unknown, except to those who have the time, expertise and persistence in digging for it. One of them is Edward Luttwak, a Senior

Fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, prolific author, contributor to prestigious journals like "Foreign Affairs" and "Commentary", and an advisor

and consultant on foreign affairs to past and present administrations.

Dr. Luttwak's account of Iran's program to go nuclear should be much better known. It

begins with August 1974 when the Shah announced his intention to build 23 nuclear reactors, ostensibly to supply Iran's total electricity needs. He said that this would allow Iran's oil resources to be used to produce valuable petrochemicals rather than be used as fuel. His real goal, however, was to acquire nuclear weapons. Since then, with the discovery of Iran's immense proven natural gas reserves - 812 trillion cubic feet (15% of the world's total), more than enough to cheaply generate all the electricity it needs by gas turbines - that cover story became even more incredible. In 1975, the Shah contracted with the French for enriched uranium, and engaged a consortium of German companies to build the first two nuclear reactors and generating units. In 1979, after much work had been done, the new revolutionary rulers of Iran refused to pay the overdue payment of \$450 million and the Germans abandoned the projects. Both of them had been largely completed but had been damaged by air strikes, flown by French pilots, during the 1988 war with Iraq. The Germans were then asked to return and



finish their work. They refused.

Next, Iran approached the Russians. In 1995, Yeltsin, against American objections, approved the delivery of a VVER-1000 light-water reactor powered by slightly enriched uranium. The reactor was to be delivered and fitted by Iranian and Russian contractors into one of the damaged German projects.

Now, eleven years later, 2500 Russian technicians are still feverishly working at the project that is far from ready. When completed, the Russians alone will be in charge of processing the uranium rods and the U.S. no longer objects to this program.

The secret weapon-grade uranium production program by the centrifuge process is much more obscure. It began when the Pakistani, Abdul Qadeer Khan, who is regularly described as a scientist but who has never invented or developed anything. He sold Iran a complete centrifuge-technology package, which he had stolen from the European UR-ENCO consortium. Khan, who is described as a thief and smuggler by authoritative sources, also included samples of Pakistani-

made centrifuges, full-scale plans for production facilities and the blueprints for a cannon-type uranium bomb that Pakistan had received from China.

In 1996, after the U.S. successfully objected to the sale of a complete plant, China sold Iran plans for a conversion plant that had not been included in Khan's package. It has now been built, near Isfahan. It is operational and appears to have been tested but could be incapacitated by fewer than twelve 1000-pound bombs.



Satellite image of the Natanz nuclear facility in Iran

Centrifuges were the most important part of the Khan package. They were the somewhat outmoded aluminum and steel models derived from a 1957 German design that was based on aluminum centrifuges developed in post-war USSR by German scientists.

The U-235 uranium isotope is only 1.26% lighter than the mass of U-238 – natural uranium. U-235 is extracted by using extremely fast centrifuges revolving at 1500 revolutions per second – 100 times the speed of a washing machine. The centrifuges must operate in a vacuum in order to reduce the friction that would melt it. It is extremely susceptible to breakdowns.

If based on the design currently used in Iran, at least 1000 centrifuges would have to work around the clock for at least a year to produce enough U-235 for a single bomb!

The 1000 centrifuges would have to be produced and installed and they must not break down. When, in November 2003, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) shut down the cascade of 164 centrifuges already in Iran, a fully 1/3 of them crashed!

On the other hand, some of the problems in producing U-235 were overcome when mostly German and Swiss firms eagerly sold high strength aluminum and steel, electron-beam welders, vacuum pumps, and other highly sophisticated machine tools for the production of centrifuges. The Europeans also trained Iranians in the manufacturing of centrifuges whose only purpose could be to enrich U-235. The IAEA inspectors read and photographed all the equipment whose labels no one had bothered to remove.

To sum up, the regime is unable to produce nuclear weapons in less than three years and may not be able to do so even then because of the many difficulties that must be overcome.

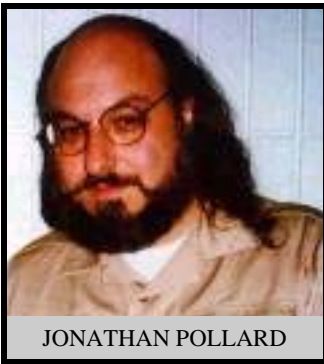
In addition to the social and nuclear difficulties there are other aspects to the Iranian problem, which I will address next time. A



LYNCHING JONATHAN AGAIN BY ESTHER POLLARD

11/19/2006— No matter how many ways the old lies about my husband, Jonathan Pollard, are repackaged, they are still lies. Whether as a series of leaks to the media by unnamed American officials, recycled by Seymour Hersh in the New Yorker, or repackaged in a new book by a "retired" intelligence officer - they are all lies.

For 21 years, the Israeli government has turned its back on Jonathan, enabling hostile elements in the American intelligence community to use his case as a weapon against Israel and the Jews. They point to Jonathan as "proof" of Israel's unreliability as an ally, and of American Jewry's disloyalty. Determined not to lose such a valuable weapon against Israel the American intelligence community lobbies fiercely to keep Jonathan in prison forever.



JONATHAN POLLARD

Jonathan, knowing that they will never have to substantiate them or be challenged in a court of law.

Reusing a strategy from the 1998 Wye Summit, US intelligence officials recently turned to the ever-willing Israeli media to again attempt to torpedo any chance of Jonathan's release. The strategy is: Lies about Jonathan are entrusted to the Israeli media as an "exclusive" scoop. In Israel this "exclusive" is picked up by the foreign press, relayed around the globe and back to the American press. By the time the circuit is complete, public opinion is so thoroughly galvanized against Jonathan that his life sentence is virtually ensured.

This time, the patsy given the "exclusive" was Israel TV Channel 10; and the scoop: an "expos" about Pollard by "retired" intelligence officer Ronald Olive, in the form of a new book published by the US Navy press.

The book repeats all the old lies about Jonathan and reveals that the Navy even created its own video about Pollard for the Defense Intelligence Agency to train new intelligence recruits about treason. Even though Jonathan was never charged, indicted or convicted of treason - a crime which applies only to those who spy for enemies of the US - Olive boasts that this video makes the name "Pollard" synonymous with the crime of "treason."

THAT THE Navy chose to misrepresent Israel as an enemy state by making Jonathan the poster boy for treason speaks volumes. The Navy deliberately featured the Israeli spy over all the others it was holding at the time, including spies for Cuba, China, North Korea and the Soviet Union. This sends a strong message to new intelligence recruits that America regards Israel as the greatest threat to her national security!

Indifferent to the extreme sensitivity of the timing - the eve of last week's Bush-Olmert's meeting - Channel 10 chose not to question any of Olive's allegations or the American intelligence community's motivation in continually blocking Jonathan's freedom.

Part of the Channel 10 presentation featured a surveillance video provided by Olive. The video shows a clip of Jonathan putting documents into a briefcase, a routine part of his job as an intelligence analyst. The commentary by Olive, however, falsely describes the clip as "Pollard caught in the act of stealing a million documents."

Never questioning the content of the video, nor the vitriolic voice-over, nor the timing of its release two decades later, Channel 10 (followed by others) dutifully rebroadcast it.

Also cued by Olive, Channel 10 resurrected the canard that Jonathan would be freed unconditionally in the year 2015. This is another blatant lie. In 2015, after 30 years in prison, Jonathan would be entitled to make another request for clemency, nothing more.

Jonathan Pollard is not in prison for what he did, but for what he represents - Israel and the Jews. Those who oppose his release after 21 years in prison will continue to oppose it forever.

Not to be outdone by Israel TV's Channel 10, which broke the Pollard "scoop," the media in Israel jumped on the bandwagon and embraced the lies about my husband as if they were documented fact.

NOT A SINGLE media outlet asked Jonathan's Navy accusers for hard evidence or factual documentation. No one asked the basic, simple question: "If Pollard is guilty of additional crimes, and he spied for other countries, why was he never charged, indicted or tried on these charges?"

Media outlets which normally call us every time Jonathan sneezes, this time had no questions for us about any of these new accusations against Jonathan.

The media's marketing of all of the old lies about Jonathan exploits an urgent need on the part of the Israeli public to understand why the government of Israel has so cruelly abandoned him. Broadcasting the slander creates the impression that the indifference of Israel, of the American Jewish leadership and of the Israeli media to Jonathan is somehow reasonable.

Jonathan has already served 21 years in prison - far longer than the median sentence for this offense, two to four years. No one blinked when a recent decision of a US Court sentenced to a mere three months a pentagon analyst who had spied for China for more than a decade.

For China's spy, three months in jail is enough. But for Israel's spy, even 21 years is not enough?

The original sin of betrayal and abandonment by Israel remains the root cause of this latest smear campaign against Jonathan. The Israeli government has failed, once again, to come to the defense of her agent; and once again Jonathan has been lynched in the court of public opinion.

The silence of Israeli officials, commentators and opinion-makers as Jonathan enters his 22nd year in prison screams to the heavens.

What other country in the world demonstrates such an abject lack of national honor?

Shame!



Esther Pollard



Graffiti for intellectuals

SIMON SAYS



Southern California Council for Soviet Jews publication
(affiliate member of Union of Councils for Soviet Jews)
P.O.Box 1542, Studio City, CA 91614

DECEMBER

4

2006

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NOWADAYS OP-EDS TRUMP BULLETS By Dr. Daniel Pipes

Soldiers, sailors, and airmen once determined the outcome of warfare, but no longer. Today, television producers, columnists, preachers, and politicians have the pivotal role in deciding how well the West fights. This shift has deep implications.

In a conventional conflict like World War II, fighting had two premises so basic, they went nearly unnoticed.

The first: Conventional armed forces engage in an all-out fight for victory. The opposing sides deploy serried ranks of soldiers, lines of tanks, fleets of ships, and squadrons of aircraft. Millions of youth go to war as civilians endure privations. Strategy and intelligence matter, but the size of one's population, economy, and arsenal count even more. An observer can assess the progress of war by keeping tabs of such objective factors as steel output, oil stocks, ship construction, and control of land.

Second assumption: Each side's population loyally backs its national leadership. To be sure, traitors and dissidents need to be rooted out, but a wide consensus backs the rulers. This was especially noteworthy in the Soviet Union, where even Stalin's demented mass-murdering did not stop the population from giving its all for "Mother Russia."

Both aspects of this paradigm are now defunct in the West.

First, battling all-out for victory against conventional enemy forces has nearly disappeared, replaced by the more indirect challenge of guerrilla operations, insurgencies, intifadas, and terrorism. This new pattern applied to the French in Algeria, Americans in Vietnam, and Soviets in Afghanistan. It cur-

rently holds for Israelis versus Palestinians, coalition forces in Iraq, and in the war on terror.

This change means that what the U.S. military calls "bean counting" – counting soldiers and weapons – is now nearly immaterial, as are diagnoses of the economy or control of territory. Lopsided wars resemble police operations more than combat in earlier eras. As in crime-fighting, the side enjoying a vast superiority in power operates under a dense array of constraints, while the weaker party freely breaks any law and taboo in its ruthless pursuit of power.

Second, the solidarity and consensus of old have unraveled. This process has been underway for just over a century now (starting with the British side of the Boer War in

1899-1902). As I wrote in 2005: "The notion of loyalty has fundamentally changed. Traditionally, a person was assumed faithful to his natal community. A Spaniard or Swede was loyal to his monarch, a Frenchman to his republic, an American to his constitution. That assumption is now obsolete, replaced by a loyalty to one's political community – socialism, liberalism, conservatism, or Islamism, to name some options. Geographical and social ties matter much less than of old."

With loyalties now in play, wars are decided more on the Op Ed pages and less on the battlefield. Good arguments, eloquent rhetoric, subtle spin-doctoring, and strong poll numbers count more than taking a hill or crossing a river. Solidarity, morale, loyalty,

and understanding are the new steel, rubber, oil, and ammunition. Opinion leaders are the new flag and general officers. Therefore, as I wrote in August, Western governments "need to see public relations as part of their strategy."

Even in a case like the Iranian regime's acquisition of atomic weaponry, Western public opinion is the key, not its arsenal. If united, Europeans and Americans will likely dissuade Iranians from going ahead with nuclear weapons. If disunited, Iranians will be emboldened to plunge ahead.

What Carl von Clausewitz called war's "center of gravity" has shifted from force of arms to the hearts and minds of citizens. Do Iranians accept the consequences of nuclear weapons? Do Iraqis welcome coalition troops as liberators? Do Palestinians willingly sacrifice their lives in suicide bombings? Do Europeans and Canadians want a credible military force? Do Americans see Islamism presenting a lethal danger?

Non-Western strategists recognize the primacy of politics and focus on it. A string of triumphs – Algeria in 1962, Vietnam in 1975, and Afghanistan in 1989 – all relied on eroding political will. Al-Qaeda's number two, Ayman al-Zawahiri, codified this idea in a letter in July 2005, observing that more than half of the Islamists' battle "is taking place in the battlefield of the media."

The West is fortunate to predominate in the military and economic arenas, but these no longer suffice. Along with its enemies, it needs to give due attention to the public relations of war. Ω

