

# Graffiti for intellectuals



SIMON SAYS



DECEMBER  
26  
2006

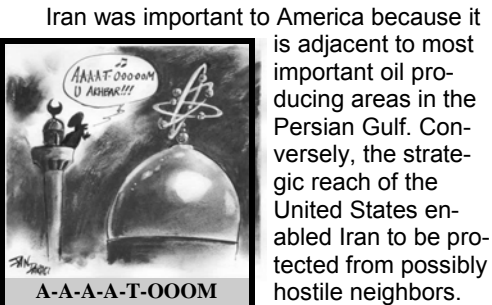


By Si Frumkin

## TO BOMB OR NOT TO BOMB? MAYBE LATER...

**Iran has** been a major American concern since the end of World War II. In 1946, Truman threatened military action and successfully blocked Stalin's move to partition Iran into Soviet and Western zones of influence.

Thirty years later, in 1978, U.S. was ready to risk American lives again in a major intervention. The Soviet Union appeared to be ready to thrust into Iran and advance to the Persian Gulf and seize ports and oil wells. Sizeable U.S. forces were readied to oppose the Soviets in conjunction with American trained and equipped Iranian troops. U.S. intelligence was faulty – Afghanistan, not Iran, turned out to be the Soviets' target.

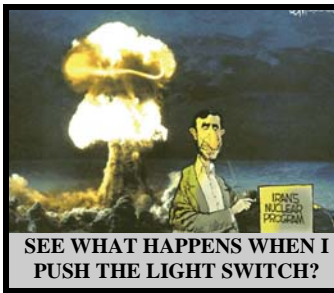


Iran was important to America because it is adjacent to most important oil producing areas in the Persian Gulf. Conversely, the strategic reach of the United States enabled Iran to be protected from possibly hostile neighbors. I recall the jubilation of thousands of Iranian students – and their American sympathizers - on our college campuses, in 1979, when the Shah was overthrown. Many of them returned to Iran hoping for a life in a liberal democracy, free from what they saw as the Shah's oppressive dictatorial regime. Most of them were disappointed when the victorious clerics declared America to be "The Great Satan" and rejected cooperation. After Islamic Puritanism was imposed by the mullahs, many of the U.S.-educated disillusioned returnees managed to emigrate again and join other émigrés in forming large and viable Iranian communities abroad – the largest of them in Southern California- that are united in their opposition to the current regime.

Initially, the Khomeini regime had the support of just about all of the segments of the Iranian society. As time went on, however, all of the members of the coalition, except for the more extreme clerics, were excluded from power. In the words of Iranian scholar, Edward Luttwak, "All the members of the broad coalition of the deluded, except for the radical clerics, were one by one excluded

from any share of power, and then, variously outlawed, imprisoned, executed, marginalized, or simply ignored, leaving extremist clerics in full control. Initially, they still used Khomeini's authority to justify their power, and still enjoyed the traditional respect that many Iranians used to feel for the clerics of Shiite Islam. But this is entirely gone now, replaced by resentment and contempt."

It was widely believed that under the Shah government corruption added about 15% to the cost of everything that was bought. Now the graft is more like 30% and the Shah and his minions appear to be shining examples of rectitude compared to the greedy clerics. The most notorious of them is Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani who is believed to be Iran's wealthiest man. Rafsanjani is a low ranking cleric who from 1989 to 1997 was twice president of the Islamic republic, chairman of the powerful "Expediency Dis-



cernment Council", and top adviser to the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The regime has lost all moral authority and survives by using brutal force. It uses the part-time Basij militia of poor illiterates and the Revolutionary Guards – *Pasdaran Inqilab* – who are structured as ground, air and naval combat units but are often used as enforcement forces against civilians. The *Pasdaran* are well paid but implement their income by legal and illegal business, that range from manufacturing enterprises to using their naval units to smuggle products from the Persian Gulf neighborhood, including both embargoed items and luxury products for private profit.

Ahmadinejad's declarations that Iran already possesses all the required processes and techniques ring somewhat hollow when his qualifications are examined: he does

have a Ph.D. in engineering which he won in a special program for *Pasdaran* veterans - it is in urban traffic management, not nuclear engineering. His announcement that the centrifuge technology is "the proud achievement of the Iranian people" ignores the fact that 99.9% of it was purchased from A.Q.Khan.

Organization is Iran's weakest point – after a century of oil drilling the state still cannot drill for oil without foreign assistance. 25 years after the U.S. embargo Iran still cannot copy spare parts for U.S.-made aircraft and the planes remain grounded or crash. Neither can Iran build oil refineries without foreign help – it must import one third of the gasoline it consumes because it cannot be refined at home.

Compared to the North Korean facilities, the West knows a great deal about the locations and capabilities of Iran's efforts. Just as an example, the huge and most important Natanz centrifuge complex is located at 33°, 43', 24.43" North x 51°, 43', 37.55" South, just in case a friendly pilot should ask.

We might wonder about the information that flows from the supposedly secret enterprises. It is very likely that it comes from some of the many scientists, engineers and managers in the program who have the same low opinion of their rulers, as do most educated Iranians. Iran's extremist but not totalitarian regime cannot control the movement of people and communications in and out of the country to the same extent as North Korea or Saddam's Iraq.

To sum up, a premature attack on Iran might serve to unite the people behind the regime that is despised by most of the public. Incidents of disobedience and opposition appear to come more and more often and it is conceivable that the shaky regime might collapse – with some input from abroad – obviating the need for bombs. ت



**He was** labeled a "hound," a "fool" and one whose "judgment is always at fault." Denigrated as "hopeless when in power," this wartime head of government was scorned as being arrogant, ignorant and just about everything else in between. His strategic judgment was called into question, his military approach was belittled and maligned, and his own generals even mocked him, accusing him of spouting "absurdities" and being oblivious to detail.

Does any of this sound familiar, Mr. Bush? The subject of the vitriol described above was none other than the fearless lion of Britain, Sir Winston Churchill. That's right. The man now



WE DON'T KNOW WHERE WE'RE GOING, BUT WE ARE ON OUR WAY!  
(In 1918, during the Civil War in Russia, Britain had sent troops to protect oil interests and Allied material from the Bolsheviks. Eventually, the British forces withdrew, but the government continued to send arms to the White Russians. The general public wondered if this was a war or not. This cartoon ran on September 8, 1919, in the London Daily Express)

credited with saving Western civilization from the Nazi onslaught was the target of ruthless censure and disapproval.

His critics were fierce and unrelenting, but that did not stop this great visionary from seeing beyond the headlines and standing up for what he knew to be right.

The question now is: Will George W. Bush follow in this great man's footsteps? The threat facing the Western world is no less urgent or grave than it was in Churchill's day. Then the

Nazi leader spoke openly of murdering the Jews, and of conquering the world. Now the modern-day Hitler of Persia vows to commit genocide and boasts that the West will soon falter and collapse.

The only difference between the two is that while the Fuehrer could merely dream of obtaining an atomic arsenal, the tyrant of Teheran is dangerously close to getting one.

And the only person standing in his way, the one whom God Himself has given the ability to stop him, is none other than the president of the United States.

Without realizing it, we are standing at a defining moment not just for the Bush presidency, but for the future of the entire Jewish people and the Western world itself.

Enormous pressure is being brought to bear on the president to embrace diplomacy as the means for resolving the various crises in the Middle East. In recent months, the president has come under harsh criticism for the conduct of the war in Iraq. The results of the midterm elections earlier this month gave control over both houses of Congress to the Democrats, who will surely push for a more

conciliatory approach.

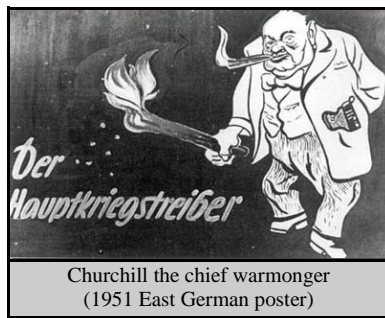
And as The New York Times reported on Monday, the bipartisan Iraq Study Group headed by former US secretary of state James Baker will recommend that Washington engage rogue states such as Iran and Syria and open a dialogue with them. In other words, it is sounding more and more like 1940 all over again.

WHEN WINSTON Churchill took office in May of that year, an emboldened Germany was on the march and the pressure to appease the Nazi dictator was at its peak. The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, was a firm believer in negotiations, and he wanted nothing more than to reach an understanding with Hitler, in the hope that such a deal would hold.

But Churchill knew that the time for diplomacy had passed. He understood that the Nazis would honor an accord only for as long as it might serve their interests, and that they would not hesitate to break it in order to achieve their destructive, long-term goals.

And so, virtually alone in his belief, Churchill pressed forward, convinced that only by confronting the Nazis could the danger to his country, and the world, be averted once and for all.

At a time when others were busy closing their eyes to the mounting threat, Churchill bravely sounded the alarm and refused to back down, setting the stage not for appeasement, but for victory. It is this approach, and this approach alone, that should guide the US



president in the weeks and months ahead. Diplomacy has failed, and sanctions will not deter Mahmoud Ahmadinejad from pursuing his aims. Military force is the only way to prevent the ayatollahs from joining the nuclear club, and time is running out if they are to be stopped.

THE SO-CALLED experts and realists are dead wrong when they predict that military action against Iran would kindle a firestorm throughout the Middle East. Precisely the opposite is true.

The reverberations of putting Iran in its place would be entirely positive, and would be felt throughout the region.

Right now the radicals are emboldened because they sense that America is weak and in retreat. Hence, they feel free to make mischief and continue destabilizing the area.

As a result, Syria did not hesitate to orchestrate the murder last week of the Lebanese industry minister, Pierre Gemayel, and Iran is not shying away from its ongoing pursuit of nuclear weapons.

And all this talk of talking with the bad guys has only served to encourage them still further.

What is needed now is decisive action, and fast, to slap them down and put the radicals back in their place.

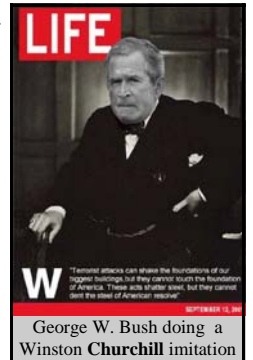
A massive American air assault on Iranian nuclear installations would do just the trick. It would not only set back Teheran's atomic ambitions for years to come, but also serve as a resounding display of US will and resolve.

A strike on Iran would amount to a reversal of the Shi'ite surge that is now taking place throughout the region. It would take the wind out of the Iranian leader's apocalyptic sails, and it would have a noticeable impact on the sectarian violence now raging in Iraq, too.

Syria, Hizbullah and others would take notice, and America's ostensible Arab allies - all of whom are Sunni - would certainly welcome a blow against the dangerous Iranian regime. Stopping Iran in its tracks is the great challenge of our day. For the sake of the entire Western world, and the future of the Jewish people, we can only hope and pray that President Bush will rise to the occasion and do what needs to be done.

"Had Britain stopped fighting in May 1940, Hitler would have won his war," wrote historian John Lukacs in Five Days in London. "He was never closer to victory." The same now holds true of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who may be just months, or even weeks away from crossing the nuclear point of no return. It was Churchill himself who once said, "I never worry about action, only inaction." As a result, he led his nation and the civilized world to victory.

Mr. President, may that now become your motto too. Ω





# DON'T BE FOOLED BY RONALD OLIVE!

ELIOT LAUER & JACQUES SEMMELMAN, THE JERUSALEM POST Nov. 28, 2006

**In Ronald Olive's** Post op-ed, "I busted Pollard" (November 20), Olive promotes his book *Capturing Jonathan Pollard: How One of the Most Notorious Spies in American History Was Brought to Justice*. Olive proclaims that his book "tells the true documented story of Pollard," "set[s] the record straight," and dispels "speculation, rumor, myths and lies surrounding the Pollard case."

As pro bono counsel for Jonathan Pollard since 2000, we have comprehensive knowledge of the public court record in Pollard's case. Olive's book and op-ed piece are fanciful concoctions that are utterly incompatible with the US government's own carefully crafted submissions to the court in Pollard's case.

Jonathan Pollard was arrested in 1985. The US government conducted an overwhelmingly thorough investigation into his conduct and character, and into the harm his conduct had caused. Pollard pleaded guilty in 1986 to a charge of conspiracy to deliver classified information to Israel. He was not charged with intent to harm the US, although such a charge existed in the US Code.

On March 4, 1987, Pollard was sentenced to life in prison. Prior to his sentencing, the government - the United States Attorney and secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger - submitted over 130 pages of pre-sentencing memoranda to the sentencing judge. Those memoranda set forth in detail what the government claimed it had uncovered about Pollard's conduct and character, and about the harm he had caused.

Substantial portions of the memoranda were designated "classified" and were placed under seal. No one representing Pollard, including us - his security-cleared attorneys - has been permitted to see the classified portions of the docket since the sentencing in 1987.

In his book, Olive specifically disclaims ever having seen the classified sentencing materials. Yet he makes allegations against Pollard that appear nowhere in the unclassified, public portion of the sentencing materials. Since it is fair to assume that neither Olive nor any of his purported "sources" would violate US criminal law and disclose

classified information, the inevitable conclusion is that these allegations do not appear anywhere in the government's pre-sentencing memoranda.

For example, Olive claims that Pollard delivered classified information to Pakistan in the hope that Pakistan would retain him as a paid spy. Undoubtedly, Olive wants to poison the mind of the ordinary Israeli (or Israeli supporter) into believing that Pollard was a mercenary who would just as readily have spied for Pakistan as he did for Israel.

In assessing the credibility of this allegation, it is important to know that no such allegation appears anywhere in the public record docket materials. And since we have to assume neither Olive nor any of his "sources" would risk going to prison by disclosing something that appears in the classified docket materials, it is apparent that this allegation is not found anywhere in the government's voluminous pre-sentencing memoranda.

It therefore has no credibility whatsoever.

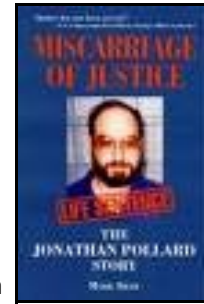
If the government believed this and other allegations made by Olive, it would have included them in the pre-sentencing memoranda. The government took an extremely aggressive approach toward Pollard, and would have relished the opportunity to inform the sentencing judge that Pollard had violated the law by delivering classified information to Pakistan - and with mercenary motives, to boot.

The book and op-ed piece contain numerous accusations that are nowhere to be found in the public sentencing docket, and that could not be disclosed if they were in the classified sentencing docket. They are therefore in neither place, and cannot be considered even remotely reliable.

In his book, Olive asserts that Pollard's conduct caused "irreparable damage" and "incalculable" harm to the US. However, the Victim Impact Statement submitted to the court by the Department of Justice in 1987 (and now a matter of public record) portrays a

very different effect on the US.

After preliminarily noting the substantial "breadth and scope" of the information provided, as well as the fact that "thousands of pages" of documents were delivered by Pollard to Israel, the statement goes on to describe the actual damage to the US as follows:



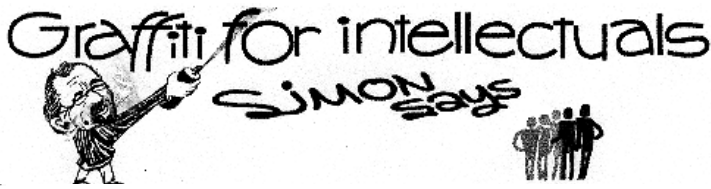
Mr. Pollard's unauthorized disclosures have threatened the US [sic] relations with numerous Middle East Arab allies, many of whom question the extent to which Mr. Pollard's disclosures of

classified information have skewed the balance of power in the Middle East. Moreover, because Mr. Pollard provided the Israelis virtually any classified document requested by Mr. Pollard's coconspirators, the US has been deprived of the quid pro quo routinely received during authorized and official intelligence exchanges with Israel, and Israel has received information classified at a level far in excess of that ever contemplated by the National Security Council. The obvious result of Mr. Pollard's largesse is that US bargaining leverage with the Israeli government in any further intelligence exchanges has been undermined. In short, Mr. Pollard's activities have adversely affected US relations with both its Middle East Arab allies and the government of Israel.

While we cannot condone any unauthorized disclosure of classified information, the government's own words in the Victim Impact Statement, carefully scripted to present the most compelling case for the maximum sentence (life in prison), reflect - at worst - short-term friction between the US and unnamed Arab countries, and temporary reduction in bargaining leverage by the US rather than permanent, irreversible, and overwhelming damage to US national security, as claimed by Olive. Nowhere does Olive see fit even to mention the comparatively modest damage described in the Victim Impact Statement, which is how the US government itself has chosen to describe the harm caused by Pollard's conduct in the court document designed precisely for that purpose.

In sum, while Olive describes his book as a "true documented story," it is nothing of the sort. To use Olive's own words, his book is an exercise in "speculation, rumor, myths and lies." \*





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# HELP THEM SURVIVE!

by Si Frumkin

There was never anything resembling a Nuremberg trial in Russia. The thousands of judges, executioners, concentration camp guards and secret policemen who murdered millions of innocents were never brought to trial. No one was ever punished. Never...

It is as if the crimes had never existed. Many of these butchers are still alive. They live on a government pension, enjoy the respect of their families and friends and lose no sleep over what they had done.

The fate of the gulag survivors is much sadder. The government never acknowledged its debt to these innocents. All that the government has done was send a piece of paper to the relatives of those who died and to the few survivors who are still alive telling them that they were "rehabilitated". There is no res-



titution, not even an apology - just acknowledgment that they are no longer to be considered criminals.

Most of the survivors are sick and there is no reliable medical care for them. Most of the survivors are destitute - they are too old and too feeble to earn a living. Most of the survivors struggle to survive again, this time as free men and women under a government that didn't and doesn't care.

There is a man in New York who is helping them. His name is Yuri Fedorov. He was one of the two non-Jews who participated in the attempt to take a passenger plane to Sweden in 1970. This was the Leningrad Trial that made headlines around the world. The plot failed - the group had been infiltrated by

the KGB - and the sentences were harsh: death for some and long prison sentences for the rest. After a worldwide uproar, the death sentences were commuted to 25 years in prison and most of the prisoners went to Israel after 5 or 10 years.

Fedorov served his entire term and has been living in New York for over 10 years. He is a busy man. He has created the Gratitude Fund - an organization with just one goal: to help the gulag survivors in the former Soviet Union. He sends in medicines, food, information. It's a lonely and frustrating task but he will go on doing it for as long as he has the strength.



The Gratitude Fund is a tax-exempt charitable organization. It exists on contributions from those who have not forgotten these few heroic survivors of the struggle against a cruel regime. The Fund has hardly any overhead, no hired staff, no advertising budget.

Here is an excerpt from a letter I received from Fedorov. It's a cry for help:

*"This year we weren't able to collect even*

*the minimum that our clients need to survive. All we could send to Moscow this year was less than \$10,000... We ask you to involve just a few of your friends - even the smallest contributions are important...At this time our goal is to help with \$150 monthly. This is not enough to survive in Russia today. If you take into account the cost of medicine and medical care - most of our clients are old and sick - this is tragically inadequate.*

*"We are doing all we can but the memory of the dissidents and their tragic fate is getting weaker - with some help from the dictatorship of the KGB and its successor, FSB. We are probably the only voice that urges that last century's heroes be remembered.*



*"Help the Fund like you had helped before and ask friends to join you."*

Signed by: Vladimir Bukovsky, Eduard Kuznetsov, Yuri Yarim-Agaev and Yuri Fedorov -

names that were well known to those of us who fought for human rights and Jewish emigration in the bad, old days.

I will continue helping, but more importantly, I urge you to join me and spread the word. Send your tax-deductible contribution to **Gratitude Fund, 535 W. 110th street, #6-E, New York, NY 10025. You can call Yuri Fedorov at 212-866-5635 or 845-254-6997, or visit [www.thegratitudefund.org](http://www.thegratitudefund.org) Thank you, Si Frumkin**