



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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Israel and Egypt After Iran, 1979.



Israel and Egypt After Iran  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
January 22, 1979

Those of our great-grandfathers who were science-fiction buffs delighted in stories of alchemists and magicians who constructed automatons and, by various rites, transformed their handiwork into a living thing equipped to act, hear and do. In the Jewish versions of those stories the heroes of those stories were the kabbalists. Presumably, they would take a bit of clay, shape and sculpt it into human form, place upon its forehead a seal bearing the word emet, truth (a word powerful not only for what it signified, but because it was composed of the initial, middle and concluding letters of the alphabet, thus including the power of all words) and recite appropriate incantations. If the kabbalist had done his work carefully and correctly and if he was pious, the golem came alive.

A golem, as this automaton was known, was never brought into being idly or because of a whim. To play God is always a dangerous activity. Only when a community was threatened by some enemy, by a pogrom or a crusade, and need a golem as guardian would a kabbalist resort to this dangerous art.

When you play God, as mankind long since has learned, the results are more likely to be tragic rather than beneficent. In most of these medieval tales about automatons and golems, the device soon begins to act on its own and to turn against its creator and to run amuck. Here is the story of the Sorcerer's Apprentice.

If you visit the Old New Synagogue in Prague and slip a few kopeks to the shamas, he may take you up four narrow flights of stairs to the attic. Once there he will show you the golem of Prague. All that you will see will be a mound of inert clay. He will tell you that this clay was once an active golem, created by the noted rabbi-kabbalist, Judah Loewe, some three hundred and fifty years ago. Prague's Jewry is now besieged by enemies, as the story goes, and Loewe constructed this golem as a



guardian. His golem served Prague well until one day something went wrong and the golem turned on Rabbi Loewe who had no choice but to erase the letter aleph, the initial letter of the seal emet which was on the golem's forehead. Now the seal read met, dead, and the golem collapsed into its original shapelessness.

What has all of this to do with Egypt and Israel after Iran? When men make a revolution they make a golem. There is a broadly shared feeling that an enemy, the Shah, must be bested. I am physically endangered and you are economically threatened. So the wizards, the Khomeinis, precipitate the revolution. A golem is brought into being and accomplishes the purpose for which it was shaped. The Shah is forced into exile; but, inevitably, the golem begins to run amuck and turns against those who created it.

Two days ago most of us watched that powerful scene as hundreds of thousands paraded in the streets of Tehran, a sea of humanity, shouting in jubilation over the overthrow of the Shah. As I watched, knowing what I do of golems and revolutions, I could not help but think that many of those in that parade would rue the day when they joined the revolution.

The classic example, of course, is the French Revolution. In 1759 the golem did the work for which he was created. The Bourbon kings were overthrown and a Constitutional Convention was brought into being in Paris. The new government moved against all who had been allied in any way with the king, particularly the High Church and the powerful feudal nobility. But soon the revolution began to run amuck. Divisions appeared within the Assembly; as it became clear that many read liberty, equality and fraternity according to their own agendas. Middle-class interests debated proletarian concerns. What Alsace demanded, Normandy opposed. These differences of goals had been sublimated during the period before the king was overthrown; but now every agenda broke loose. The golem slipped out of the power of its creators. Delegation turned against delegation. The Left sent the Right to the guillotine. The terror sent the Left to the



guillotine. Terror was mounted. Finally, Robespierre and the Montaigne went in the tumbrulls. It was time to destroy the golem - end the revolution.

Inevitably, once the geni is out of the bottle, once the golem has been created, it takes on a life of its own. Inevitably, many are hurt by the very revolution they have created.

The Iranian revolution was carried forward by people of many agendas. In Iran there is a merchant class disturbed by the lack of credit and commercial restrictions. There is a farming class which is semi-literate and fearful of modernization who have benefited little from the higher levels of taxation modernization has required and who have been dismayed as their young run from the farms to take advantage of the life in the city. There were the traditionalists in the religious community, the Shiite mullahs, who want to regain the great landed estates and the complete authority over everyone's social and personal lives which had once been theirs. There was the Communist Party, a sizable group in Iran, determined to bring about the resolution of the class conflicts of the country. Beyond the economical and social divisions, there are tribal and regional divisions. Until this week these divergent groups had been united by a single goal - to depose the Shah. This having been accomplished, these groups will turn against each other and since there is no settled power these quarrels will become increasingly violent and bloody until some months from now someone or a small disciplined group which is not afraid to use power will assume power and rule with an iron fist.

If we had lived in Paris in 1789 and heard the mobs shouting for freedom, popular assembly and equality we would not have dreamed that ten years later an iron-fisted Corsican colonel by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte would be dictator of France. More often than not, popular revolution ends with a Lenin, a Bonaparte, a Mao, a Castro; someone willing and able to impose order on a destabilized society. The society is changed, but the dictator is no less autocratic for these changes. There is no guarantee



that Iran, having overthrown a Shah who used the secret police freely and filled his prisons with political prisoners, may not soon be ruled by a harder tyrant than the Shah ever was.

Five years from now, when Iran's revolution has run its course, that country will not be as well off as it was six months ago. Most revolutions result in economic regression. It is said that it took Soviet Russia twenty-five years to regain the level of prosperity and of industrialization which the country enjoyed under the Czars. One of the reasons that Teng and the leaders of China have made overtures to the West is that Mao's permanent revolution with its cadres of Red Guard moving disruptively through the society set back China's industrial and technological growth to the point where China requires help from the outside to get back on the track. Already we are reading of economic dislocations in Iran: of oil wells silting over, of major industrial projects scrapped. Iran's problem will probably worsen in the next months. In all probability there will be a series of unstable cabinets and no government will be in office long enough to press through a consistent program for Iran's economic growth.

The golem is loose. None of us are prophets, but those who have studied revolutions know that those who first assume power rarely are able to sustain themselves in power. The public press already writes that Mr. Bakhtiar may not be able to remain in power. He represents only one tribe's power base and one traditional political set of concerns. Moreover, he came to power tainted with the consent, albeit grudging, of the Shah.

There is also little reason to believe that if and when Khomeini returns to Iran and assumes some kind of authority over a government which calls itself an Islamic Republic, that he and his confreres will be able to exert that authority for any protracted period. Khomeini is seventy-eight years of age, but, on a more basic level, it is doubtful that major segments of the Iranian population will accept for long the imposition



of Muslim puritanism, male chauvinism, and pro-Arab imperialism, all of which are explicit in Khomeini's platform. Iran's future is clouded. More convulsions are easily predicted.

The West, Israel and Egypt will suffer because of Iran's revolution and its inevitable consequences. For the West, particularly for the United States, one consequence is that whoever governs Iran will move that country closer to the bosom of the Third World and towards policies which derive from what is called Third World neutralism. There will be a demand that we take down the radar and surveillance stations which the United States has established along the sixteen-hundred mile border between Iran and the Soviet Union. These stations have been part of the forward warning system which the West uses to protect itself from surprise attack from the Soviet. This change will have consequences in terms of a SALT 2 treaty since surveillance of Russian activities will be more difficult. Our defense plans will change and so must our energy plans. The destabilization of Iran raises questions about dependability as a stable source of energy for Europe, Japan and the United States. Since Iran's political aims now will diverge significantly from those of the West, we may see an attempt to impose political as well as price requirements on the sale of oil. I can easily see a Pan-Islamic Iranian government demanding that Japan boycott Israeli goods or that Europe remove Israel from the list of countries having preferential trade agreements with the European Economic Market.

How much can we now depend on Saudi Arabia? The border of Saudi Arabia to the north is with Iraq. The border of Saudi Arabia to the east is with Iran. Neither border can be considered impervious to sabotage or infiltration. The small Saudi royal family will have to compromise more and more with the radical economic and political Pan-Islamic policies; policies which will be directed not only against Israel, but against



all "imperialist" nations. Up till now Saudi Arabia and Iran have determined OPEC pricing decisions and have looked on in fiscal terms - ask me as much, but no more, than a healthy western economy can bear. It is not hard to conceive of a time when Iran, Libya and Algeria will be indifferent to the economic consequences of a major oil price hike. In fact, they may be happy to contribute to the destruction of the western economies which are, after all, the economies of nations they consider as predators. Increases will not be five percent or fifteen percent but fifty percent.

For the United States there probably will be a major confrontation between President Carter's human rights concerns and the pragmatic need to deal with the Shiite religious state. Khomeini, or those like Khomeini, will have much to say in the new Iranian government, and much of what they say will be not only anti-West but anti-Christian, anti-Bahai, anti-Parsee and anti-Jew. About three and a half percent of the population in Iran is non-Muslim; and that three and a half percent has played a major role in the bureaucracy and the economy. From 1502 to the beginning of this century Iran was ruled by the Safavids who were Shiite Muslims to whom all non-believers were barbarians and pariahs, people whose touch rendered an object or the person he touched unclean. Khomeini exhudes the odor of medieval religious imperialism. There is only one truth. There is only one way. Non-Muslims are benighted and will be tolerated only as long as they acknowledge the superiority of our way and accept a subservient status. No Jew and no Christian may have a major role in government, in industry or in law.

Khomeini needs to be heard:



Today, at a time when imperialism and its agents among the traitorous rulers together with Zionism and atheistic materialism are joining forces to pervert and mutilate Islam, our responsibility is greater than at any time in the past. Before us we see the Jews making a mockery of the Koran, and distorting its text in the new editions printed in the occupied lands. It is our duty to reveal this treachery and to shout at the top of our voices until people understand that the Jews and their foreign masters are plotting against Islam and are preparing the way for the Jews to rule over the entire planet. I greatly fear that, by their own special methods, they will indeed realize their desired aims. It is because of our own weakness that we may wake up one morning and find a Jewish ruler dominating our country - God forbid!. . . In Tehran, Christian, Zionist and Bahai missionary centers issue their publications in order to mislead people and to alienate them from the teachings and principles of religion. Only one religion is. Is it not our duty to demolish these centers and to silence these people?

Mr. Carter will have to decide whether he will respond in terms of human rights to this challenge to the persons of Iran's minorities and to the dignity of all non-Muslims in or out of Iran. Will he be silent or will he act? Will we have another Lebanon, another abandoned Christian community; or will the West exhibit some power to the Muslim world so that Muslim imperialism is not allowed to run rampant over the lives of those who do not share their faith?

Mao used to describe the West as paper tigers. Last week we flew into Saudi Arabia a squadron of unarmed supersonic fighter planes. I know of no act which could have dramatized Mao's image more effectively.

In a world which is a jungle, a world where you get no points for good intentions unless these good intentions are successful, the last years have seen a significant number of occasions in which American actions failed to support principles and peoples to which American policy presumedly was committed. I speak not only of the defeat in Viet Nam. This year we were unable to respond effectively to the placing of Russian missiles in Cuba. Our response was a public relations explaining that these missiles did not threaten us, though in fact they do threaten us. They would not be there if they



did not. We have not been able to respond effectively to the presence of Cuban troops as Russian surrogates in sub-Sahara Africa. We did not make any effective response to the attack on the Christian communities of Lebanon. We lacked an ability to respond in Iran. When the world examines American actions they see our inability to support those we proclaim to be our allies. As a result, all who depend upon American power are weakened. Here we touch the new situation which faces both Israel and Egypt after Iran. Both are weaker for what has happened because the United States has shown herself to be a paper tiger.

The consequences for Israel because of the events in Iran have been documented in the newspapers. A good deal has been written about the loss of Israel's oil supply. Iran provided seventy to seventy-five percent of Israel's oil; but the United States, as one of the elements of the second Sinai disengagement arrangement, agreed to be a supplier of last resort to Israel. Israel will have oil, but at greater cost, since the oil will travel a greater distance.

A less well-publicized oil-related loss will probably have a greater impact on Israel. Some years ago the Israeli government built a pipeline from Eilat to Ashdod which was designed to move oil from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean without having to ship Iranian oil around the Cape of Africa. About twenty million tons of Iranian oil a year was being trans-shipped in this way. Israel built a new port in Eilat. Israel built a vast new port in Ashdod in order to be ready for what was hoped would be a project of major economic benefit to the country. Now this entire operation will be shut down at a great loss.

Each year about one hundred and eighty million dollars' worth of goods were exported from Israel to Iran; largely electronics, drugs and some agricultural produce. This trade will be eliminated. Bakhtiar, the most moderate of all the leaders we can



expect to see in power, already has announced that there will be no resumption of oil or trade with Israel. Solel-Boneh, the government-owned construction cooperative, has about three hundred million dollars' worth of active contracts in Iran and these will be cancelled. Iran has been a major area of operation for Israeli Intelligence and now that essential activity will be rendered more difficult. Finally, Israel may have to pay the cost of housing and integrating the sixty-five thousand Iranian Jews when and if they are allowed to come out. Certainly, if they come out, they will come out largely stripped of whatever wealth they had accumulated.

Israel suffers the loss of a relationship with a neighboring country. Fifteen years ago Israel hoped to leapfrog the confrontation states and establish meaningful commercial and cultural relationships with Ethiopia, Turkey and Iran, thereby establishing her position within her geographic world. The Ethiopian imperial government was overthrown several years ago and the new Communist government ended all relationships. After the '73 war most Israeli consulates in the sub-Sahara countries were closed and now Iran. A tenuous relationship remains with Turkey among all those countries in that area with which Israel had hoped to enter into trade.

Israel stands to lose a good deal by what has happened in Iran, but Israel is not alone. What many have not recognized is that Egypt stands to lose even more. It is not a matter of happenstance that when the Shah fled Teheran he piloted his plane to Aswan. Why did he go to Egypt? The Shah and Sadat represent the same groups and as leaders faced the same problem. Iran and Egypt were being led into a western way of life and economy. Iran and Egypt have the largest number of technically trained people of all the countries in the Middle East. They are the two states of the Middle East in which the religious leaders had been stripped of power, in which the battle of mosque and state had been won by the State. Both are states in which the Muslim leaders have not made their peace with this decision. We have seen the fury of the mullahs in Iran.



There is a Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, often revolutionary and violent, which has a strong popular base among the less literate and poorer elements of the community.

I do not know if you noticed it, but about a year ago the Egyptian Parliament passed a law which declared the conversion of a Muslim to Christianity to be a capital crime. This law was passed to relieve the government of heavy pressure from the Muslim activists. It was never actually enforced because of village protests. In the villages it is common for a bride, raised in a Muslim farmer's home, to marry the son of a Christian farmer and to take on the religious pattern of her in-laws' life. To have passed this law would have created chaos in many places; but the pressure was there. The Muslim Brotherhood is there. The Muslim Brotherhood has many ties with the urban Left. Sadat's power, which rests largely on the middle-class and the technologically-trained, has been weakened by the events in Iran which have made it apparent that in the Islamic world the power of religion and of the masses has gained strength.

As a poor nation begins to emerge those who know more gain more. Like the Shah, Sadat faces a widening gap between the rich and the poor. The literate and skillful pile up privileges at a geometric rate while the poor and the semi-literate take small steps into the new prosperity. Moreover, the divisions between wealth and poverty become ever more pressing as movies and television enter the out-of-the-way villages where people see the luxuries and compare them to the life of want which they live.

Just a year ago there were bread riots in Cairo. In Egypt the middle-class faces, as it did in Iran, a credit crunch. In Cairo, as in Teheran, there is a sense of the power of the masses.

Both Iran and Egypt were trying to go their own way in the Arab world. Both nations are Muslim in faith, but not Arab by nationality. Iran means Aryan. Iranians are proud of their northern ancestry. Egypt has believed itself to be Egyptian. Egyptians



are Muslim but not Arab. Both governments were trying to steer a nationalist rather than a Pan-Arab course, to do what was advantageous to it rather than to conform to the broad thrust of Pan-Islamic ideology aimed at the elimination of Israel and the elimination of imperialism and of "western" influence, but thought they could deal with the West. Both felt they could establish a modus vivendi with Israel.

Iran is already a different camp and Sadat finds himself increasingly isolated. Sadat has gambled that American prosperity, American guns and American technology can shore up his power so that he could go it alone. After Iran he must have second and third thoughts and his enemies must now feel that he is vulnerable.

Increasingly Sadat will be threatened from without and within. He could handle the Baghdad connection of Iraq and Syria; but now Iran and Iraq will have similar political policies and the Iraqi army can move west and join Syria in a powerful northern front against Israel. The Saudis, increasingly threatened, will have to take a more militant posture. Egypt has received tens of millions of dollars of trade and aid from the Saudis every year. If that aid is cut off and that trade is eliminated how long can Sadat remain in power or on his present course?

You may have seen an article by Irving Kristol that was published last Thursday in the Wall Street Journal. It was a pessimistic piece. Kristol opined that should an Islamic Republic be established it will indicate that American power virtually has been eliminated from the Middle East and that the Camp David accords are a dead letter. If you follow the logic of recent events you can see how Kristol, who is a perceptive observer, came to this conclusion.

There is another possibility, but this possibility requires the United States to display some spine and to be willing to adjust its policies to a new reality. There may just be a chance that the pressures for an Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement have been improved by recent events - the two exposed countries may find it advantageous



to draw strength from each other - provided Israel and Egypt feel confident that the United States will offer them the military and economic support they need and will not force either of them to deal with the complex of issues which go under the rubric of a comprehensive peace, issues which can no longer be faced. Today Syria, Iraq and Iran are in no mood to accomodate Israel. They are flushed with victory. They sense their power. Why accomodate? Jordan is too weak to do anything but go along with her northern masters. There is no chance in the immediate future for any meaningful progress towards a comprehensive peace. As long as the American government continues to pressure Egypt and Israel in that direction Washington plays into the hands of the enraged, the all-triumphant north, the poorer and more radical Arabs. So long as the Carter Administration insists on linkage we cancel out any opportunity for Egypt and Israel to arrange a new power bloc which would be a stable presence and a close American ally in the eastern Mediterranean. It's a long shot. Because of events in Iran the Camp David accords are less certain of being completed today than they were a month ago.

The Arab Middle East is in an imperialist and uncompromising mood. Islam again senses its power over the world and rejoices in it. The Arabs will not dominate the world. The Arabs are not as advanced as they would like to think themselves to be. There are many unresolved battles within the Arab world which will be fought out in the years ahead. All power is limited.

But what has happened in Iran represents a setback for that kind of development which suits our principles and hopes, technological development within a relatively free social order and as a cause of grave concern for those countries who are committed to freedom and development and who draw some of their strength from us.



There is an old saying among those who study revolution: "It is easy to make a revolution, but only the lucky survive their own creation." May our world enjoy some mazzel.





Israel and Egypt After Iran  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
January 22, 1979

Those of our great-grandfathers who were science-fiction buffs delighted in stories of alchemists and magicians who would construct automatons and, by various alchemical or magical rites, transform this artificial being into a living thing fully equipped to act, to hear and to do. In our Jewish tradition the people who turned automata into living things were the kabbalists. Presumably, they would take a bit of clay, shape it and sculpt it into human form, place upon its forehead the seal emet, truth (a word which was powerful not only for what it signified, but because it was composed of the initial, middle and concluding letters of the alphabet, thus including all power of words) and recite the appropriate kabbalistic incantations. If they had done their work correctly and if they were pious, the golem came alive.

The golem, as this living automaton was known in medieval Jewish folklore, was never brought into being idly or because of a whim. Only when a community was threatened by some enemy, by a pogrom or a crusade, would a kabbalist resort to this art for by constructing a golem they played God, always a dangerous activity. Only if a community need the golem as guardian would they work. The golem was the original bionic man.

When you play God, as mankind long since has learned, the results are apt to be tragic rather than successful. In most of these medieval tales about automatons and golems, the object created to protect their communities, the alchemists or the kabbalists begin to run amuck and turn against its creator. Here is the story of the Sorcerer's Apprentice. Fail safe and the original bionic man.

If you visit the Old New Synagogue in Prague and slip a few kopeks to the shamas, he may take you up four narrow flights of stairs to the attic. Once there he



will show you the golem of Prague. All that you will see will be a mound of inert clay.

He will tell you that this clay was once an active golem. <sup>created by the great rabbi -</sup> Presumably it was ~~enriched~~ by

Judah Loewe ~~who was rabbi in Prague~~ <sup>some</sup> about three hundred and fifty years ago, ~~who~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~known to have been of the scientists of the time.~~ <sup>known to have been of the scientists of the time.</sup>

<sup>When</sup> Prague ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> besieged by enemies, <sup>is the story goes, and</sup> Rabbi Loewe constructed this golem, <sup>at a certain point,</sup> and that the golem <sup>He</sup> served Prague well ~~for some time~~ until one day something went wrong and the golem

turned ~~against its creator.~~ <sup>ON</sup> Rabbi Loewe had no choice but to erase the letter aleph, the <sup>initial</sup> opening letter of the word emet, <sup>SOAL</sup> from the golem's forehead. Now the ~~table~~ <sup>SOAL</sup> read met, <sup>collated into it</sup> dead, and the golem ~~resumed~~ its original shapelessness.

What has all of this to do with Egypt and Israel after Iran? When men make a revolution they make a golem. There is a broadly shared feeling that <sup>AN ENEMY</sup> ~~unless~~ the Shah <sup>must be ousted</sup> is ~~deposed~~ things cannot get better. I am physically endangered and you are economically threatened. So the wizards, the Khomeinis, precipitate the revolution. A golem is brought into being and accomplishes the purpose for which it was shaped. The Shah is forced into exile, but, inevitably, the golem begins to run amuck and turns against those who created it. ~~There was a time when the golem had to be defused.~~

Most of us watched that powerful scene <sup>AS</sup> ~~two days ago~~ when hundreds of thousands paraded in the streets of Tehran, a sea of humanity, shouting in jubilation over the overthrow of the Shah. <sup>KNOWING WHAT IS UP GOLEMS AND REVOLUTIONS</sup> As I watched I could not help but think that many of those in that parade would rue the day when they joined the revolution.

The classic example, of course, is the French Revolution. The golem <sup>did</sup> ~~achieved~~ this goal for which he was created <sup>KNOWS</sup> ~~when~~ the Bourbons were overthrown and a Constitutional Convention was brought into being in Paris. The <sup>NOW</sup> ~~Constitutional~~ government <sup>WAS</sup> ~~began to~~ move against all those <sup>WAS</sup> ~~allied~~ in any way with the king, particularly the High Church and the powerful feudal nobility. ~~Then the golem began to run amuck.~~

BUT SOON THE REVOLUTION



Divisions appeared within the Assembly; as it became clear that many read liberty, equality and fraternity according to their own agendas, ~~Somewhat~~ Middle-class ~~values~~ <sup>interests</sup>

proletarian concerns, ~~there were concerns of one province and concerns of another~~ <sup>What Alsace demanded, Normandy opposed</sup>

These ~~divergences of concern~~ <sup>difference of goals</sup> had been sublimated during the period before the king was overthrown; but ~~that accomplished~~ <sup>the goal slipped out of</sup> every agenda broke loose. Delegation turned

against delegation. The Left sent the Right to the guillotine. <sup>The Terror sent the Left to the guillotine</sup> Terror was mounted.

Finally, Robespierre and Montaigne went in the tumbrils <sup>to the guillotine</sup>. ~~The guillotine~~ <sup>It was time</sup>

~~was closed in the land.~~ <sup>To destroy no</sup> ~~revolution.~~ <sup>golem</sup>

Inevitably, once the geni is out of the bottle, once the golem has been created, it takes on a life of its own. Inevitably, many are hurt by the very revolution they have created.

### The Iranian

In ~~Iran~~ the revolution was carried forward by people of many agendas. ~~A~~

~~country as diverse as Iran suddenly does not coalesce with a single unified national purpose.~~ <sup>The lack of</sup> ~~There is a merchant class disturbed by credit and~~ <sup>commercial</sup> ~~restrictions~~

There is a farming class which is semi-literate ~~or illiterate~~ and fearful of modernization <sup>have</sup> ~~who will~~ <sup>and</sup> benefit little from the higher levels of taxation modernization requires <sup>has</sup> ~~and who~~

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the life in the city. There were the traditionalists in the religious community, the Shiite <sup>complete</sup> ~~mullahs~~, who want to regain the great landed estates and the authority over everyone's

social and personal lives which had once been theirs. There was the Communist Party,

a sizable group in Iran, determined to bring about the resolution of the class conflicts <sup>Beyond the economic and social division</sup> of the country. There are tribal ~~divisions~~ and regional divisions ~~and more~~. Until

this week these divergent groups ~~have massed for the great moment of release.~~ <sup>had been united by a single goal - to reach the shore</sup> ~~Now~~

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there is no settled power these quarrels will ~~inevitably~~ <sup>inevitably</sup> become violent. ~~More blood-~~ <sup>more bloody</sup>

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ciplined group which is not afraid to use power will assume power and rule with an iron fist.

If we had lived in Paris in 1789 and heard the mobs shouting for freedom, ~~for a~~ popular assembly and ~~for liberty, equality and fraternity~~ we would not have dreamed that ten years later <sup>an iron Fisted</sup> a little Corsican colonel by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte would be dictator of France. More often than not, popular revolution ends with a Lenin, a Bonaparte, a Mao, a Castro, someone willing and able to impose order <sup>ON</sup> a destabilized society. The society is changed, but the dictator is no less autocratic for these changes. There is no guarantee that Iran, having overthrown a Shah, who used the secret police freely and filled his prisons with political prisoners <sup>may</sup> will not soon be ruled by <sup>a harden</sup> someone, perhaps ~~more of a~~ tyrant, than the Shah ever was. ~~and generally~~ <sup>most</sup> revolution results

in ~~the~~ economic regression ~~of that society~~. It is said that it took Soviet Russia twenty-five years to regain the prosperity and <sup>Level of</sup> the ~~pace~~ of industrialization which <sup>the country</sup> was in place

<sup>Europe</sup> under the Czars. One of the reasons that Teng and the leaders of China have made ~~the~~ <sup>current</sup> overtures to the West is that Mao's permanent revolution with its cadres of Red Guard moving disruptively through the society <sup>got back</sup> reduced China's ability <sup>in a way that</sup> to push forward technologically <sup>growth to no point where</sup> and industrially under the permanent revolution. Economic progress was retarded ~~to the point~~ that China requires help from the outside to get back on the track.

Five years from now, <sup>Iran's</sup> or whenever the revolution has run its course <sup>that country</sup> Iran will not be as well off as it was six months ago. <sup>we are learning</sup> We have already begun to hear of economic dislocations, of oil wells silting over, of major industrial <sup>projects</sup> plans scrapped. <sup>Iran's</sup> ~~the~~ problem <sup>will probably worsen in the next month</sup> will <sup>unstable</sup> go away ~~quickly~~. In all probability there will be a series of ~~popular front~~ cabinets and no government will be in office long enough to ~~develop and~~ press through a consistent program for Iran's <sup>economic</sup> growth.



None of us are prophets, but those who have studied revolutions know <sup>that</sup> those who first assume power rarely are able to sustain themselves in power. (The golem is loose. <sup>knowny units</sup> ~~it is already being indicated~~ in the public press that Mr. Bahktiar may not be able to remain in power. He represents only one ~~tribal~~ <sup>tribe</sup> power base and one traditional political set of concerns. Moreover, he came to power tainted with the consent, albeit grudging, of the Shah.

There is also little reason to believe that when Khomeini returns to Iran and assumes some kind of <sup>Authority</sup> ~~power~~ within a government at least ~~nominally~~ <sup>while calls itself</sup> called an Islamic Republic, that he and his ~~republic~~ <sup>confeder</sup> will remain long in power. ~~He~~ <sup>is</sup> is seventy-eight years of age; but, on a more basic level, major segments of the Iranian population will ~~not~~ accept for long the imposition of Muslim puritanism, male chauvinism, and ~~an~~ <sup>explicit</sup> Arab imperialism, all of which are ~~implicit~~ in Khomeini's platform. Iran's future is clouded. More convulsions are easily predicted.

The West, Israel and Egypt ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> suffer because of Iran's revolution and its inevitable consequences. For the West, particularly for the United States, one consequence is that whoever governs Iran will move that country closer to the bosom of the Third World and towards what is called Third World neutralism. There will be a demand that we take down the radar and surveillance stations which the United States has established along the sixteen-hundred mile border between Iran and the Soviet Union. These stations have been part of the forward warning system which the West uses to protect itself from surprise attack from the Soviet. This change will have consequences in terms of a SALT 2 treaty since surveillance of Russian activities will be more difficult. Our defense plans will change and so must our energy plans. The destabilization of Iran raises questions about ~~considering her~~ <sup>Reliability</sup> as a stable source of energy for Europe, ~~Iran~~ <sup>Japan</sup> and the United States. Iran's political aims now will diverge significantly from those of the West ~~to the point where they may~~ <sup>no may see an attempt to</sup> impose political as well



as price requirements on the sale of oil. I can easily see how a Pan-Islamic, ~~anti-~~  
~~Israel~~ Iranian government might demand that Japan take ~~action~~ <sup>ING</sup> ~~against~~ <sup>boycott</sup> Israeli goods  
 or that Europe remove Israel from membership in the European Economic Market ~~where~~  
<sup>NO LIST OF COUNTRIES 'HAVING' WITH</sup>  
~~she has~~ preferential trade agreements. How much can we now depend on Saudi Arabia?

~~Afghanistan has installed a pro-Soviet military government and Iran will have a sense~~  
~~of destabilized neutralist governments.~~ The border of Saudi Arabia to the north is with

Iraq. The border of Saudi Arabia to the east is with Iran. Neither border can be con-  
 sidered impervious to sabotage <sup>OR</sup> infiltration. The small Saudi royal family will have to

compromise more and more with ~~some~~ <sup>NO</sup> radical economic and political Pan-Islamic  
 policies; policies which will be directed not only against Israel, but, ~~increasingly~~,  
<sup>determined</sup>

against all "imperialist" nations. Up till now Saudi Arabia and Iran have ~~been able~~ <sup>determined</sup> to

~~dominate~~ OPEC pricing decisions and have looked on ~~these~~ <sup>WESTERN</sup> in ~~limited~~ fiscal terms - as

<sup>AS</sup> much, but no more, than a healthy ~~world~~ <sup>WESTERN</sup> economy can bear. It is not hard to conceive  
 of a time when Iran, Libya and Algeria will be indifferent to the economic consequences  
 of a major oil price hike. In fact, they may be happy to contribute to the destruction  
 of the western economies which are, after all, the economies of nations they consider

as predators. ~~Increases may not~~ <sup>will NOT</sup> be five percent or fifteen percent but fifty percent. ~~If~~

~~the West wants to maintain its present levels of industry and indulgence the West either~~

~~will have to take strong military action or pay the price~~

~~Down the road~~ <sup>FEA</sup> the United States <sup>1980-87</sup> there will be a major confrontation between

President Carter's human rights concerns and pragmatic ~~considerations about dealing~~ <sup>NEED TO DEAL WITH A</sup>

~~with whatever government rises to power.~~ <sup>WHITE HOUSE STATE</sup> Khomeini, or those like Khomeini, will have

much to say in the new Iranian government, and much of what they will say will be not

only anti-West but anti-Christian, anti-Bahai, anti-Parse and anti-Jew. About three

and a half percent of the population in Iran is non-Muslim; and that three and a half

percent has played a major role in the bureaucracy and the economy. From 1502 to the



beginning of this century Iran was ruled by the Safavids who were Shiite Muslims to whom all non-believers were barbarians and pariahs, people whose touch rendered an object or the person he touched unclean. Khomeini <sup>excludes</sup> ~~excludes~~ the odor of ~~that~~ medieval religious imperialism, ~~which we once associated in the imperial Catholic Church.~~ There is only one truth. There is only one way. Non-Muslims <sup>AND</sup> ~~were~~ benighted. <sup>AND</sup> ~~They~~ will be tolerated only as long as they acknowledge the superiority of our way and accept a subservient status. No Jew, <sup>AND</sup> no Christian, <sup>MAY</sup> ~~is to~~ have a major role in government, in industry, <sup>OR IN LAW</sup> ~~in anything~~ ~~that is of consequence~~

*Khomeini needs to be heard!*

To give you the sense in which Khomeini speaks, let me read from one of

~~his speeches~~

Today, at a time when imperialism and its agents among the traitorous rulers together with Zionism and atheistic materialism are joining forces to pervert and mutilate Islam, our responsibility is greater than at any time in the past. Before us we see the Jews making a mockery of the Koran, and distorting its text in the new editions printed in the occupied lands. It is our duty to reveal this treachery and to shout at the top of our voices until people understand that the Jews and their foreign masters are plotting against Islam and are preparing the way for the Jews to rule over the entire planet. I greatly fear that, by their own special methods, they will indeed realize their desired aims. It is because of our own weakness that we may wake up one morning and find a Jewish ruler dominating our country - God forbid! . . . In Tehran, Christian, Zionist and Bahai missionary centers issue their publications in order to mislead people and to alienate them from the teachings and principles of religion. Only one religion is. Is it not our duty to demolish these centers and to silence these people?

Mr. Carter will have to decide whether he will respond in terms of human rights to this challenge to the persons of Iran's minorities. <sup>AND TO THE DIGNITY OF ALL NON MUSLIMS IN IRAN</sup> Will he be silent or will he act? Will we have another Lebanon <sup>NOTHIN</sup> ~~with an~~ abandoned Christian community or will ~~there~~ <sup>be some way in which</sup> Western power <sup>EXHIBIT SOME</sup> ~~becomes evident~~ in the Muslim world so that Muslim imperialism is not allowed to run rampant over the lives of those who do not share their faith?

*OF IRAN*



LAST WEEK WE FLEW

The most dramatic symbol of the last few days has been the fly-in to Saudi Arabia of a squadron of unarmed supersonic fighter planes. Mao used to describe the West as paper tigers. I know of no act which could have dramatized Mao's image more effectively.

In a world which is <sup>a</sup>the jungle, a world where you get no points for good intentions unless these good intentions are successful, the last years have seen a significant number of dramatic episodes in which American actions indicated that we do not have the will or the ability, the power, to stand up for those things to which American policy presumedly <sup>was</sup> committed. I speak not only of the defeat in Viet Nam. This year we were unable to deal with the placing of missiles in Cuba. <sup>Our response was a public relations exercise explaining</sup> The Administration made no response except to offer the explanation that somehow did not threaten us, though in fact they do threaten us. They would not be there if they did not. <sup>AN</sup> We lacked ability to respond in Iran. We have not been able to respond effectively to the presence of Cuban troops as Russian surrogates in sub-Sahara Africa. We did not make any effective response to the attack on the Christian communities of Lebanon. When the world examines American actions they see weakness. <sup>allies</sup> They see our inability to support those we proclaim to be our friends. As a result, all who depend upon American power are weakened. <sup>THE QUESTION OF HOW TO COPE WITH</sup> And here we touch the new situation which faces both Israel and Egypt after Iran. Both are weaker for what has happened in Iran because the United States has shown herself to be a paper tiger.

<sup>CONSTANTLY FOR</sup> The troubles Israel faces because of what has happened in Iran have been <sup>THE EVENTS</sup>

documented in the newspapers. A good deal has been written about the loss of Israel's oil supply. Iran provided seventy to seventy-five percent of Israel's oil; but the United States, <sup>AS ONE OF THE ELEMENTS OF</sup> in the second Sinai disengagement arrangement which Secretary Kissinger brought into being, agreed to be a supplier of last resort to Israel. Israel will have



oil but at greater cost since the oil will <sup>travel</sup> a greater distance.

loss will probably  
have a greater  
impact on

~~There is another~~ less well-publicized oil-related ~~cost~~ <sup>which</sup> to Israel. Some years ago the Israeli government built a pipeline from Eilat to Ashdod. ~~This pipeline~~ was

designed to move oil from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean without having to take it <sup>ship from the</sup> all the way around the Cape of Africa. About twenty million tons of Iranian oil a year

was being

were trans-shipped in this way. Israel built a new port in Eilat. Israel built a vast new port in Ashdod in order to be ready for what was hoped would be a project of major economic benefit to the country. Now this entire operation will be ~~scrapped~~ <sup>shot down as a</sup>

~~economic cost.~~  
~~economic cost.~~

~~each year~~

About one hundred and eighth million dollars' worth of goods ~~annually~~ were being exported from Israel to Iran; largely electronics, drugs and some agricultural produce. This trade will be eliminated. Bakhtiar, the most moderate of all the leaders we can expect to see in power, already has announced that there will be no resumption of oil or trade with Israel.

The Solel-Boneh, the government-owned construction cooperative, has about three hundred million dollars' worth of contracts in Iran and these will be cancelled.

Iran has been a major ~~center in which~~ <sup>AND OF OPERATION YU</sup> Israeli Intelligence ~~was able to gather information~~ <sup>essential</sup> about the activities of the Arab world and now that activity will be rendered more dif-

icult. Finally, Israel may have to pay the cost of housing and ~~accepting~~ <sup>integration</sup> the sixty-five thousand Iranian Jews when and if they are allowed to come out. Certainly, if they come out, they will come out largely stripped of whatever wealth they had accumulated.

Israel will suffer ~~also~~ <sup>relationship with a</sup> the loss of ~~another one of these~~ neighboring countries with which ~~there is the beginnings of a~~ <sup>relationship with a</sup> meaningful commercial and cultural relation-

ship. Fifteen years ago Israel hoped to leapfrog the confrontation states and, by re-  
lationships with Ethiopia ~~and~~ <sup>AND FROM THERE</sup> Turkey, establish her position with her own world. The Ethiopian imperial government was overthrown several years ago and the new Com-

GOODENBERG



munist government ended all relationships. After the '73 war most Israeli consulates in the sub-Sahara countries were closed and now Iran ~~has been closed~~, so ~~that~~ only <sup>1</sup> ~~some~~ tenuous relationships remain with Turkey among all those countries in that area with which Israel had hoped to enter into trade.

Israel stands to lose a good deal by what has happened in Iran, but Israel is not alone. What ~~people~~ <sup>many</sup> have not recognized, ~~as yet~~ <sup>is</sup> that Egypt stands to lose even more. It is not a matter of happenstance that when the Shah flew ~~out of~~ <sup>E</sup> Tehran, he piloted his plane to Aswan. Why did he go to Egypt? The Shah and ~~Adnan~~ <sup>Adnan</sup> Sedat represent the same groups and ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> leaders who face the same problem. Iran and Egypt were ~~emerging~~ <sup>AND BECOMING</sup>. They were being led into a western way of life, Iran and Egypt have the largest number of technically trained people of all the countries in the Middle East. They are the two states of the Middle East in which the religious leaders had been ~~cut away~~ <sup>stripped</sup> from power, in which the battle of mosque and state had been won by the State. ~~There were~~ <sup>AND</sup> both states in which the ~~mosque~~ <sup>MUSLIM</sup> leaders have not made their peace with this decision. We have seen the fury of the mullahs in Iran. There is a Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt <sup>OFTON REVOLUTIONARY AND VIOLENT, WHICH WAS</sup> and an activist orthodoxy pushed out of power during the Nasser years, but, ~~nonetheless~~, angry and with a strong popular base among the less literate and poorer elements of the community.

I do not know if you noticed it, but about a year ago the Egyptian Parliament passed a law which declared the conversion of a Muslim to Christianity to be a capital crime. This law was passed to relieve the government of heavy pressure from the Muslim ~~majority~~ <sup>ACTIVIST</sup>. It was never ~~put into operation~~ <sup>actually enabled</sup> because the ~~Christian minority~~ <sup>OF VILLAGES PROTECT</sup> was sufficiently strong to prevent its becoming operational. In the villages it is common for a bride, raised in a Muslim farmer's home, to marry the son of a Christian farmer and to take on the pattern of her in-laws' life. To have passed this law would



have created chaos in many ~~villages~~ <sup>places</sup>; but the pressure was there. The Muslim Brotherhood is there. The Muslim Brotherhood has many ties with the urban Left. Sadat's power, which rests largely on the middle-class and the technologically-trained has been weakened by the events in Iran which have made it apparent that in the Islamic world the power of religious <sup>AND OF THE MASSES</sup> has gained strength.

Like the Shah, Sadat faces <sup>A widening gap</sup> ~~an increasing division~~ between the rich and the poor. As a poor nation begins to emerge those who know more gain more. The literate and skillful pile up privileges at a geometric rate while the poor, <sup>AND</sup> ~~the illiterate~~ and the semi-literate take small steps into the new prosperity. Moreover, the divisions between wealth and poverty become ever more <sup>apparent</sup> ~~apparent~~ as movies and television enter the out-of-the-way villages where people see the luxuries and compare them to the life of want which they live.

Just a year ago there were bread riots in Cairo. In Egypt the middle-class faces, as it did in Iran, a credit crunch. In Cairo, as in Teheran, there is a sense of the ~~mass~~ <sup>power of the masses</sup> power.

~~Therefore~~, Both Iran and Egypt were trying to go their own way in the Arab world. Both nations are Muslim in faith, but not Arab by nationality. Iran means Aryan. Iranians are proud of their northern ancestry. Egypt has ~~always~~ believed itself to be <sup>EGYPTIAN</sup> ~~of a separate biological stock~~. Egyptians are Muslim but not Arab. Both <sup>GOVERNMENT</sup> ~~countries~~ were trying to steer a nationalist rather than a Pan-Arab course, to do what was advantageous to it rather than to conform <sup>bread</sup> to the ~~whole~~ thrust of the Pan-Islamic ideology aimed at the elimination of Israel, <sup>AND</sup> the elimination of imperialism and ~~the elimination~~ of "western" influence, <sup>ESTABLISH</sup> ~~But~~ thought they could deal with the West. Both felt they could ~~arrange~~ a modus vivendi with Israel. <sup>Iran</sup> Iran is already a different camp and Sadat finds himself



increasingly isolated. Sadat has gambled that American prosperity, American guns and American technology ~~can~~ <sup>can</sup> shore up his power so that he could go it alone. <sup>AFTER THAT</sup> Now he must have second and third thoughts ~~and he is~~ <sup>he is</sup> ~~vulnerable~~ <sup>vulnerable</sup>. Sadat will be increasingly threatened from without and within. He could handle the Baghdad connection of Iraq and Syria, but now Iran and Iraq will have similar political policies and the Iraqi army can move west and join Syria in a powerful northern front against Israel. The Saudis are increasingly threatened and will ~~probably~~ have to take an ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> increasingly militant posture. ~~Where are his friends?~~ Egypt has received tens of millions of dollars of trade and aid from the Saudis every year. If that aid is cut off and that trade is eliminated how long can Sadat remain in power or on his present course?

You may have seen an article by Irving Kristol that ~~appeared~~ <sup>was published</sup> last Thursday in the Wall Street Journal. It was a pessimistic piece. Kristol opined that should an Islamic Republic be established ~~in Iran~~ it will indicate that American power ~~has~~ <sup>has</sup> virtually been eliminated from the Middle East and that the Camp David accords are a dead letter. ~~And if~~ <sup>of recent events</sup> you follow the logic which ~~I have suggested~~ you can see how ~~Mr.~~ Kristol, who is a perceptive observer, came to this conclusion.

There is another possibility, but this possibility requires the United States to display some spine and to be willing to adjust its policies to a new reality. There may just be a chance that the pressures for an Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement have been improved by recent events <sup>provided</sup> ~~which proved~~ Israel and Egypt feel confident that the United States will <sup>offer</sup> ~~provide~~ them the military and economic support they need and will not force either of them to deal with the complex of issues which go under the rubric of a comprehensive peace. <sup>issues which can no longer be ~~dealt~~ <sup>dealt</sup></sup> ~~Clearly~~, Syria, Iraq and Iran are in no mood to accomodate Israel. They are flushed with victory. They sense their power. Why accomodate? ~~Clearly~~, Jordan is too weak to do anything but go along with her northern masters. There is no

THE TWO EXPOSED COUNTRIES MAY FIND IT  
ADVANTAGEOUS TO DRAW LITIGATION FROM EACH OTHER



chance in the immediate future for <sup>any</sup> ~~a~~ meaningful comprehensive peace <sup>process towards a</sup> in the Middle East ~~and~~ as long as the American government continues to pressure Egypt and Israel in that direction <sup>Washington</sup> ~~our own government~~ plays into the hands of the enraged, the all-triumphant north, the poorer and more radical Arabs. So long as the Carter Administration insists on linkage we cancel out any opportunity for Egypt and Israel to arrange a new power <sup>base</sup> ~~center~~ which <sup>would be able</sup> ~~may eventually be able~~ to establish a stable presence as an American ally in the eastern Mediterranean. It's a long shot. Because of events in Iran the Camp David accords are less certain of being <sup>completed</sup> ~~completed~~ today than they were a month ago.

~~4~~ The Arab Middle East is in an imperialist and uncompromising mood. Islam again senses its power <sup>even</sup> ~~to dominate~~ <sup>and refuses in it</sup> the world. ~~It will not dominate the world.~~ The Arabs are not as advanced as they would like to think themselves to be. There are many unresolved battles within the Arab world which will be fought out in the years <sup>all around us</sup> ~~that lie ahead~~. There are limits <sup>to all power</sup> ~~to all power~~. The Iran situation will ~~implode rather than explode and the world will be affected only economically.~~

But what has happened in Iran represents a setback for that kind of development which is <sup>suits our principles and hopes</sup> ~~always associated with the West~~, technological development within <sup>as a cause of grave concern</sup> ~~some~~ kind of relatively free social order, and for those countries who are committed to freedom and development. <sup>and who have some of their strength from us</sup>

What the future will be no one knows, but it is a new ball game. There are new players and new pressures, and whatever policies our government adopts <sup>may</sup> ~~will~~ reflect <sup>some</sup> ~~some~~ recognition of the changed circumstances ~~and the limitation of possibilities which now exist~~. There is an old saying among those who study revolution:

"It is easy to make a revolution, but only the lucky survive their own creation." <sup>may</sup>

<sup>easy</sup> ~~our world~~ <sup>sumo</sup> ~~may~~ <sup>MAZZOL</sup>



# The Iranian Crisis: Lessons for U.S. Policy

The decline of the shah, and the Carter administration's handling of the Iranian crisis, have raised basic questions about America's strategic goals in the Persian Gulf and Middle East.

A major victim of the Iranian violence is the Nixon doctrine of replacing Cold War competition with detente, and accommodating American disengagement by the promotion of regional surrogates. It was thought that this would lessen tensions in sensitive regions while preserving U.S. influence.

Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar asserted last week that Iran will no longer be the *gendarme* of the region. Iran's assumption of this role has been the linch-pin of America's Persian Gulf policy since 1972. The shah accepted this as an imperial responsibility. No matter who ends up running the country, Iran's continuing political and economic revolution make it unlikely that it will soon reassume its role of chief protector of American interest.

## American Surrogate

Iran's role as American surrogate has been called into question on two accounts. First, Soviet gains in Africa, the Mideast and South Asia suggest that a more direct projection of power by the United States itself may be indispensable. Second, the change in Iran suggests the need for different standards for choosing regional surrogates and allies. In retrospect, the American political investment in Iran, and the defense of that investment during the mounting crisis, lacked adequate justification.

What were the failures?

First, there was a failure to appreciate how much the shah's authoritarian rule threatened himself, and America's interests. Iran's rioting, like Peking's wall posters, demonstrate that no people willingly accept Draconian repression. Quiescence is not necessarily acceptance. There was also a failure to appreciate how much a volatile developing country Iran was, despite outward appearances.

Second, there was a failure of the United States to challenge, question and confront the shah. There was a failure to build a basic relationship of give and take, essential to any mutual security arrangement.

The United States provided open-ended arms supplies, and extensive political support, arguing that this promoted Western security. Yet there was no challenging of the shah's role in OPEC, even as the policies of that organization were undermining Western security by causing severe economic damage. Seeing the United States too timid to speak in defense of its own interests, the shah had no reason to pay serious attention to the occasional, low-key suggestion from Washington about pervasive government corruption, or the SAVAK excesses.

Third, there was a failure by the United States to minimize its "downside risk." As Iran is still moving downward, the costs to the United States are still being totalled.

There was too much American political credit invested in the shah personally. The strategic relationship became dependent on one man. This had inevitable effects when the shah's control of Iran began to slip. The United States had limited information on the shah's opponents, and even fewer links to them. The administration did not perceive the seriousness of the shah's situation, and deprecated those who presented contradictory evidence, such as Israeli intelligence sources. American policy-makers became locked into a rigid perception of U.S. interests and alternatives in Iran. This produced the continuing intelligence failure about Iran.

Another downside risk left unprotected was America's military investment. The shah has been allowed to purchase more than \$15 billion of high-technology military equipment over the last seven years. Included are F-14 fighters, armed with Phoenix air-to-air missiles; advanced radars, communication systems, electronic countermeasure suites; and a vast array of tanks,

helicopters, aircraft, ships and bases.

At minimum, the United States now faces a significant compromise of its advanced military technology, as many systems in Iran are also used to provide primary defense for NATO. Disorder in Iran provides the Soviet Union with a prime opportunity to acquire plans, manuals and even equipment. Contingency plans to fly out the F-14s and Phoenix missiles in case a hostile government comes to power cannot mean much unless every missile and plane is accounted for. Even then, knowledge will remain behind, along with most of the other military, materiel and the infrastructure. What will prevent arms from being shipped to the Soviet Union for examination? In the long run, what will prevent remaining equipment from being used to menace America's allies, and interests, in the area?

## Pressing Responsibility

In light of the Iranian experience, the administration now has a pressing responsibility to re-evaluate its Arab-Israeli policy and modify it accordingly. The collapse of the shah demonstrates Israel's special value in the region as a reliable, militarily capable, politically stable ally. It also demonstrates how tenuous are calls now circulating within the administration for greater political and military alignment with Saudi Arabia. Compared to Iran, Saudi Arabia is less modern, less militarily capable, less stable, more vulnerable, more repressive and more oligarchical.

The shah's huge defense budgets contributed to his downfall by drawing the attention of Iran's impoverished masses to the maldistribution of wealth and the misdirected priorities of the government. The same effect seems likely to occur in Saudi Arabia, particularly since wealth is controlled primarily by the royal family and because the country has nearly a million alien workers. Finally, the security problems for advanced military equipment in Iran are even more acute in Saudi Arabia—a point raised and not refuted by the administration during last year's debate over whether to sell F-15 fighters to the Saudis.

The Iranian crisis has shown that a bilateral relationship is flawed if it is dependent on one man, and the American president's relationship with him, and if mutual interests and responsibilities are not clearly defined. This policy error may be destined to repeat itself, as current U.S. Mideast policy seems overly dependent on the good intentions of President Sadat, with Washington rigidly committed to an unrealistic comprehensive settlement.

—AARON D. ROSENBAUM

## Khomeini's Intolerance

*Those who held out any hope of religious tolerance on the part of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini were in for a rude awakening last week. Following is a passage from Khomeini's book Islamic Government, based on lectures the exiled Iranian Moslem leader gave in Iraq in 1970. The passage was reprinted in The Washington Post.*

Today, at a time when imperialism and its agents among the traitorous rulers together with Zionism and atheistic materialism are joining forces to pervert and mutilate Islam, our responsibility is greater than at any time in the past. Before us we see the Jews making a mockery of the Koran, and distorting its text in the new editions printed in the occupied lands and elsewhere. It is our duty to reveal this teachery and to shout at the top of our voices until people understand that the Jews and their foreign masters are plotting against Islam and are preparing the way for the Jews to rule over the entire planet. I greatly fear that, by their own special methods, they will indeed realize their desired aims. It is because of our own weakness that we may wake up one morning and find a Jewish ruler dominating our country—God forbid! . . . In Tehran, Christian, Zionist and Bahai missionary centers issue their publications in order to mislead people and to alienate them from the teachings and principles of religion. Is it not our duty to demolish these centers?



If ye are "my witnesses," I am the Lord,  
and if ye are not my witnesses,  
I am not, as it were, the Lord.

### *In thy heart*

"For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven. . . . Neither is it beyond the sea . . ." (Deut. 30:11-13).

They said to Moses:

Our master, lo, you say to us it is not in heaven and it is not beyond the sea;

then where is it?

He said to them:

In a place that "is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it" (v. 14)—

It is not far from you, it is near to you.

### *What animals teach*

Had the Torah not been given us, we could have learned modesty from the cat, the command not to rob from the ant, chastity from the dove, and propriety from the cock.

### *The core of the commandments*

Six hundred and thirteen commandments were given to Moses, three hundred and sixty-five prohibitory laws, equaling the number of the days of the solar year, and two hundred and forty-eight mandatory laws, corresponding to the parts of the body.

David came and brought them down to eleven; as it is written:

"Lord, who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle? . . .

He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh truth in his heart; that hath no slander upon his tongue, nor doeth evil to his fellow, nor taketh up



a reproach against his neighbor; in whose eyes a vile person is despised, but he honoreth them that fear the Lord; he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not; he that putteth not out his money on interest, nor taketh a bribe against the innocent" (Ps. 15:1-5).

Isaiah came and brought them down to six;  
as it is written:

"He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from looking upon evil" (Isa. 33:15).

Micah came and brought them down to three;  
as it is written:

"It hath been told thee, O man, what is good . . . : Only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (Mic. 6:8).

Isaiah came again and brought them down to two;  
as it is said:

"Thus saith the Lord,  
Keep ye justice, and do righteousness" (Isa. 56:1).

Amos came and brought them down to one;  
as it is said:

"For thus saith the Lord unto the house of Israel:  
Seek ye Me, and live" (Amos 5:4).

Or:

Habakkuk came and brought them down to one;  
as it is said:

"But the righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4).

### *A greater principle*

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19:18).

Rabbi Akiba says: This is the great principle of the Torah.

Ben Azzai says: "This is the book of the generations of Adam:

In the day that God created man, in the likeness of  
God made He him" (Gen. 5:1) —

this is a principle greater than that.



# Kaddish

Friday

Sunday

JANUARY 21, 1979

## Those who passed away this week

Max Ehrenreich  
Charles Friedman  
Ben Altshuler

## Yahrzeits

EDITH W. LEFTON  
JACK LAMPL, SR.  
MAX A. FELDMAN  
HELEN REISENFELD MARKOWITZ  
JOSEPH H. KITAY  
ARCHIE A. WEISS  
SARANE MEISEL COHN  
CLARENCE M. ROSKOPH  
PAULINE NEUMARK  
BERTHA L. CHESSIN  
CELIA ABRAMS  
ALVIN F. MELLMAN  
SARA R. BACHRACH  
FRANCES BLOCH  
WILTON HARRISON CAHN  
SOPHIE HIMMEL  
LEOPOLD A. STONE  
ARTHUR L. MANDELZWEIG  
SARA BEECHLER  
GARRY SANDS

MATHILDE STONE FISHEL  
SARAH GOLDSTEIN  
VICTOR N. EICHLER  
LEO H. SCHLANG  
LOUIS E. LEVY  
JOSEPH S. SILBER



# Your TEMPLE Calendar — Clip and Save

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
<b>14 SERVICES</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak on <b>YES, THERE WERE JEWS IN CHINA</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b> TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch  Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch  Religious School Board Meeting 8:15 p.m. - Branch	<b>17</b> TWA Board Meeting 10:00 a.m. - Branch   TMC Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	<b>18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b> Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch   TMC <b>AT - HOME DINNERS</b>
<b>21 SERVICES</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak on <b>ISRAEL AND EGYPT AFTER IRAN</b>  4th Grade Retreat	<b>22</b>	<b>23</b> TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch  Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch	<b>24</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b> Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch   Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel
<b>28 SERVICES</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Klein will speak  3rd Grade Retreat	<b>29</b>  <i>THE 10 COMMANDMENTS IMPERATIVE OR POLITE SUGGESTION</i>	<b>30</b> TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. Branch  Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch	<b>31</b>	<b>FEBRUARY</b> <b>1</b>	<b>2</b>  Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel <b>FIRST FRIDAY</b> <b>DR. BERNARD LEWIS</b> Worlds in Collision Islam and Judaism — A Too Little Known History 8:15 p.m. - Branch	<b>3</b> Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch   Bar Mitzvah <b>STEVEN GILL</b> 4:30 p.m. The Temple Branch
<b>4 SERVICES</b> 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Dr. Bernard Lewis will speak	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b> TWA <b>FIRST TUESDAY</b> 11 a.m. - Shop & Socialize 12 noon - Lunch 1 p.m. - David Gooding Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch  Mr. & Mrs. Club Board Meeting - 8:00 p.m.	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b> Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch   Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel







You are the friend and more you 1-year. Gideon  
 Charles R. Johnston 100 years ago - The  
 John is really now can be found <sup>block</sup> of  
 day - Johnston had to be in Gideon's section  
 it was to attack him as ~~was~~ in attack -

[illegible]

5000 173 1111

The same as before - the new - at first  
 a small can limited attempt a deviate regard  
deviation idea can stop concern and  
possibly be spread a deviate - But one  
idea had been described - a small only idea  
in the street - the deviation deviate  
begin to be the idea used to be deviate



The Constitutionally ~~guaranteed~~ to religious  
freedom & the First - the ~~freedom~~ of the people  
to ~~exercise~~ to the ~~freedom~~ - No one  
1754 could have predicted that a German immigrant  
Napoleon Bonaparte would be the ruler of France  
by 1804 - his power in early days  
was unlimited in ~~the~~ European -

The leader in revolution and at last -  
Talley - = 1 - WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES  
street and the city has joined to  
make a revolution --

The importance studies of revolution should  
be the primary of the people to be studied  
for more years of time the country of the  
revolution has been not done at  
least a little -

Some extra in the last of the  
Secret Review 25 years to get back to the















We have had to accept the name of

United States - Eastern & Co

Products of China for - of us

The world made and goods for all

to the United States & to the world

United States - Eastern & Co

United States - Eastern & Co

United States - Eastern & Co

United States - Eastern & Co

United States - Eastern & Co

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United States - Eastern & Co

United States - Eastern & Co



at the 4th & 5th floor - 100 lbs of lead  
consequently 1000 lbs to be removed - There has  
been some con- TINER of with 7 to be removed  
later - The blue is a fine -

Stable, Parker - 100 lbs of lead

"be done" - 200 lbs

Col. Parkhurst - 100 lbs

one of pupils of the 6th floor - 100 lbs of lead  
to remove 3 1/2 % of the removed to replace  
because the lead is not the same as the one that is being removed

some more lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
from 1 removed lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
about 1/2 of the lead is being removed

2 removed lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
be said lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
and lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
and lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
and lead is being removed - 1000 lbs  
and lead is being removed - 1000 lbs



much less than similar cases to Coste de ISANOL  
of St. Louis, Ill

1) I should mention that 3/4 of the total weight  
from the - that source is now being to be - of  
the entire case and be given a review - - 12<sup>th</sup>  
to be destroyed. They will be permitted to be  
destroyed for all - and 2 or more cost of  
review - but we will not be able to go further

I should also note  
and we may be able to see further  
any information about the case  
which is being handled  
which is being handled

2) The new material which has been added  
will be the source of one of the most important  
major investigations - the first has been completed  
and for Edwards to be included - for reference to  
Europe - some time ago - some time ago -  
Edwards will again receive a sharp head  
then when any further - towards



3) Israel would have to 120m <sup>sq</sup> ~~land~~ <sup>land</sup> would be -  
and Israel land would be 300m in  
containing containing

4) It would be land for Israel. Israel  
to give refugees - one of most important aspects in  
M.A. East

5) Islands around area in all types of land  
20 y as a land will be compensated - Egypt  
(as the new Central Tub area) sub below def a  
also will provide under for '73 area - new  
area



6) Industry, will be in large land area  
in surface - day in area in my land, not  
for day a small part - will it be land  
never return - under a S.A.

2, will then have to see what area in  
area of land for Israel a large area - and a  
number of people in area needed in land  
will be provided in the area needed in land  
then for Israel a large area







There were several more in the list  
you

more many - under - in credit  
space

Select not appear - last policy -  
refers of the need

Select in an area found in last month - 4 pages  
for continuity, intention - 8 pages more

publication of the new part 2 month ago - 16  
need for your paper  
the new content of the new work in

related to the new S.A. and go through  
the records - at least in the new  
document

What see the new for the future of the

Camp David Table - 22 weeks new to

series of the document - English committee of

initial - and it could mean that could be

long series in the selected to so it alone -



and that he would surely bring the money - in  
that I would need some to be able to leave - for  
an airplane.

Every hotel needs food and a person  
and that I - to some degree - intended  
in June - it would spend the ENR of  
EFFECTIVE US POWER IN W.C. - and about  
center that in 1940 spent some  
dead labor

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES  
It was as a document for a total  
service which for every individual  
event - Taylor said - They need to be controlled  
to - what he called the completely particular individual  
to produce - raised private business - the  
can all U.S. must not be able to  
allow - Egypt (and) the unhappy to  
off the peace and of C.D. in  
and - just to be dead labor - Not can  
allow the availability to allow the need to  
do so - in order not to be lost



Excluded

And see how low a cost - a small cost  
 is very important result in improvement  
 to the low cost of defects - much less  
 long run unit - 1 100 units are included  
 to still complete - full production -  
 should have not a cost on the way  
 and total cost has been for the best  
considered - very slowly done



TO START A REV. IS NOT HARD  
 TO END A REV. WELL IS A HARD  
 Achievement