Excerpts from

## ACPR's Policy Paper
## No. 108

# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS
# AND THE FACTS

A Series of ads compiled by

## *Yoram Ettinger*

## THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE FACTS
## Ad No. 2

### Is There Really a "New Middle East"?

According to the Prime Minister's basic assumptions, the Golan can be abandoned in return for a peace treaty with Damascus. That is because conditions have changed, and the Middle East has started down the path of peace. Is this really the case? Here is the reality:

Of the seven countries that the US defines as terrorist states (endangering world peace), five are in the Middle East (**Sudan, Libya, Syria, Iraq, Iran,** North Korea and Cuba).

Here are some of the developments in the region in recent years:

- **Algeria**: Civil war.

- **Libya**: **Terrorist state**. Occupation of Chad. Production of weaponry of mass destruction.

- **Sudan**: **Terrorist state.** Civil war and genocide claiming, so far, over 3 million victims.

- **Yemen**: Civil war.

- **Egypt**: Taking over land on the border with Sudan, Islamic unrest, unprecedented military buildup and open preparations for war

- **Iraq**: **Terrorist state.** Occupation of Kuwait, missile attacks on Israel.

- **Syria**: **Terrorist state**. Occupation of Lebanon, center for the Palestinian terrorist organizations, subversion against Turkey by means of the Kurdish PKK organization.

Among the largest drug producers in the world. Cooperation with Iran in the counterfeiting of billions of dollars.

- **The Palestinian Authority**: Unprecedented wave of terrorism. The murder of 264 Israelis.

## Escalation in the Conventional Arms Race.

The Middle East acquires 40% of all weapons sold in the world. 20 times the world average. The military expenditures of **Egypt**, which is armed with the best of American weaponry, are estimated at $14.7 billion, nearly 30% of the national product. This is a figure typical of states at war. * **Syria**, which is undergoing an unprecedented economic crisis (per capita GDP of $700!; among the poorest countries in the world), maintains an army of 450,000 soldiers that absorbs close to half of the national product. The military expenditures of **Saudi Arabia** (population 18 million) exceed those of Russia (population 150 million). The "security" expenditures of the **Palestinian Authority** account for 35% of the budget. More than the health, education, and welfare budgets combined.

## Escalation in the Mass-Destruction Arms Race

ولن تكـــون
أكتوبر آخر الحروب

The Middle East is the world's leading producer of chemical and biological weaponry. The producers are: Libya, Egypt, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. (This in violation of all relevant international treaties.) However, the **Syria-Iran** axis is the most large-scale, dangerous, and advanced. One should also bear in mind that the Middle East is the only place in the world since World War II where there has been large-scale use of weapons of mass destruction. Egypt annihilated villages in Yemen with mustard gas, Iraq annihilated Kurdish villages with nerve gas, and in the Iran-Iraq War (over a million victims) gas was used extensively. Hafez al-Assad asphyxiated to death 20 thousand of his countrymen in Hama with cyanide gas.

## Escalation in the Proliferation of Ballistic Missiles

The cheapest way to deliver chemical and biological weaponry is with a simple ballistic missile that is based on the technology of the 1940s. Hence the dizzying escalation in the production and acquisition of ballistic missiles of the SCUD series and its derivatives over the past decade. If at the beginning of the 1980s the number of ballistic missiles capable of reaching the Greater Tel Aviv area was only a few score, today it is estimated at **1,000**.

According to the "territories for peace" formula, Israel must give the one thing that it lacks: "**territories**". The Arab world must give the one thing that it lacks: "**peace**".
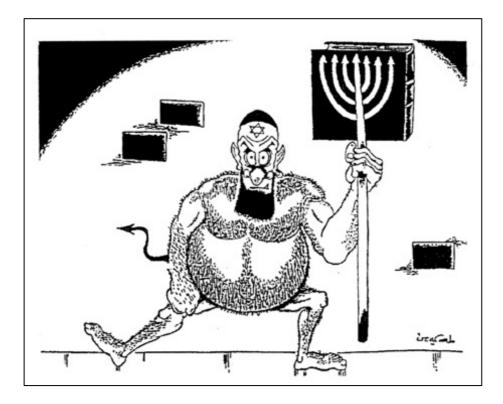


## Anti-Semitism and Delegitimization

Along with the open preparations for war, the Arab world, led by Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority, is conducting a campaign of venomous anti-Semitism in the education system and the media. This, in keeping with the Nazi precedent, is intended to prevent Israel's political legitimization and to dehumanize the Jewish individual.



Jordan, *a-Dastur*, an Amman daily, 1996.
After the evacuation of Hebron. Two years after the peace agreement.

Syria, *a-Thawra*, daily newspaper of the regime, 1994.
During the negotiations with the Rabin government.



.. ولن تكــون
أكتوبر آخر الحروب

Egypt, *October*, organ of the Egyptian army, 1993.
Cover page of the issue: "The October War Was Not the Last..."
15 years after Camp David (sic).

Thus, the basic objective of the "peace process" is to compress Israel into the 1967 borders, which **Abba Eban** once described as the "Auschwitz borders".

The situation has been described lately in more restrained language by **Ephraim Halevi**, chief of the Mossad:

> From the Arab states' standpoint, the peace with Israel is "*hudna*" - no more than a cease-fire, a truce. These states do not accept the existence of the "Zionist entity". In essence, whoever anticipates a New Middle East is mistaken.

The following publications of the **Ariel Center for Policy Research (ACPR)** deal with some of the above issues:

- *Ballistic Missile Defense: The Threat and the Response*, London, 1999

- *Peace: The Arabian Caricature, A Study of Anti-Semitic Imagery*, New York, 1999

- Policy Paper No. 6: "Egypt's True Defense Expenditures – 2.7 or 14 Billion Dollars" by Shawn Pine (Col. Res., US Army)

- Policy Paper No. 19: "Paradigms of Peace for the Middle East" by Dr. Martin Sherman

- Policy Paper No. 23: "Grand Strategic Thinking for Israel" by Professor Yehezkel Dror

- Policy Paper No. 27: "The Missile Threat Against Israel" by Dr. Azriel Lorber

- Policy Paper No. 29: "The Chemical and Biological Threat" by Dr. Dany Shoham

- Policy Paper No. 78: "Israel's Alternative Policy in Lebanon" by Professor Walid Phares

# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE FACTS
## No. 3

## "Assad Has Made a Strategic Choice for Peace"

Israel has recalled its ambassador from Austria on the basis of statements by Haider, but... Assad provides refuge to the leaders of international terror and to Nazi war criminals including Alois Brunner, one of the senior henchmen of Adolf Eichmann. Assad is one of the most vehement Holocaust-deniers. On January 31, 2000, the editor of Assad's official newspaper, **Tishrin**, wrote: "...Israel invented the legend of the Holocaust so as to blackmail the world and wield terror among intellectuals and politicians..."

### But..."Assad has made a strategic choice for peace."

Assad is one of the most venomous anti-Semites even by Middle Eastern standards. He imparts to his people a hatred of Israel and Judaism by systematic incitement in the schools, the media that he controls, and in speeches at official events. On November 27, 1999, the Syrian weekly, *al-Osbua al-Arav* wrote: "...the Passover matza is soaked with the blood of Iraqis, Lebanese, and Palestinians...the Talmud is drenched with hatred... the hostility toward humanity is imprinted on the Jewish soul...the Jewish Shylock spreads throughout the world and acts under American sponsorship..."

### But..."Assad has made a strategic choice for peace."

Since taking power in 1970 by a military coup, Assad has maintained a minority Alawite government (11% of the population) by means of executions, torture, imprisonment without trial, and kidnappings of opponents. To deter the Sunni majority from attempts at revolt, Assad asphyxiated with poison gas over 20,000 residents of the city of Hama. 15 powerful security organizations ensure Assad's tyrannical rule.

For 30 years, Assad has been among the leaders of international terrorism. He provides operational and political support to command centers and training camps for terrorist organizations that act against regimes in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Assad works, by supporting radical movements, for the overthrow of conservative regimes in the Persian Gulf: Oman, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates.

### But..."Assad has made a strategic choice for peace."

Assad is in conflict with **all** of his neighbors. He incites Kurdish terrorism (the PKK) against **Turkey** and claims sovereignty over southeastern Turkey (Iskandron). Assad directs a struggle against **Iraq**; Assad invaded **Lebanon** in 1975, slaughtered the Christian leadership, and works for the annexation of **Lebanon** to Syria. Syria invaded **Jordan** in 1970 and threatened to invade in 1980 and 1989. This along with a systematic effort to assassinate the leaders of the Hashemite kingdom.

Under Syrian occupation Lebanon has become the largest terrorist camp in the world, and a conduit for heroin and other drugs (which garner about a billion dollars a year in the pockets of Assad and his cronies). Lebanon has become a springboard for the terror of Hizbullah, a terrorist organization that is funded and armed by Iran and Syria.

**But...“Assad has made a strategic choice for peace.”**

Syria, which the US government defines as a "terrorist state", is the main axis for strategic cooperation with the other terrorist states: Iran, Sudan, Libya, North Korea, and Cuba.

Syria is one of the most active buyers and producers in the world in the area of biological and chemical weapons. It cooperates, in violation of international pacts and agreements, with Iran, Pakistan, North Korea, Libya, and Egypt.

**But...“Assad has made a strategic choice for peace.”**

It seems that the head of a terrorist state, venomous anti-Semite who provides refuge to Nazi war criminals, mass murderer, trampler of human rights, leader of international terrorism, producer of weapons of mass destruction, and drug merchant, has made "a strategic choice for peace". This is the man Israel seeks to reward with the Golan Heights.

# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE FACTS
## No. 4

## Assad: A Serial Treaty-Violator

Like every dictator, Assad sees agreements as a tactical-temporary means to achieve long-term strategic goals: a "Greater Syria" that includes Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel-Palestine as well as hegemony in the pan-Arab sphere.

### Assad Violates Agreements with Jordan

Since 1953 Syria has violated all of the agreements it signed with Jordan on the supply of waters from the Yarmuk river. Syria consumes half of the Jordanian quota. King Abdullah complained to President Mubarak that Assad is not fulfilling his obligations, and supplies Jordan with polluted water that is not even suitable for agriculture. The Yarmuk "faucet" serves Assad as a means of blackmail for getting Jordan to change its policy toward its neighbors. Despite the official peace that prevails between the two states, Syria invaded Jordan in 1970 and threatened to invade in 1980 and 1989. Since his rise to power in 1970 Assad has worked to overthrow the Hashemite dynasty by means of terror and subversion (attempts to assassinate King Hussein and heads of his government, etc.).

### Assad Violates Agreements with Turkey

Since 1987 three security treaties have been signed between Syria and Turkey. All have been violated by Syria. Assad undertook to cease his support for Kurdish anti-Turkish terrorism (the PKK) and to remove the Kurdish terror base from Syria and Lebanon in exchange for the supply of Euphrates waters. Turkey has supplied the water, but Assad has persevered in his support for Kurdish terror, which has claimed 20,000 Turkish lives.

### Assad Violates Agreements with Iraq

In 1975 Iraq threatened to invade Syria in the wake of Assad's violation of an agreement for the supply of Euphrates waters. In October 1978 Syria and Iraq signed a Treaty for National Cooperation. In 1979 the two states were on the verge of war after the revelation of Assad's anti-Saddam Hussein connection.

### Assad Violates Arab Summit Resolutions

Assad violates the Arab summit resolutions that call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon (the Riyyad/Cairo summit – October 1978, Fez – September 1982, Taif – October 1989). Contrary to the Taif resolutions of 1989, which called for the total evacuation of the Syrian army by 1991, Assad is strengthening his military presence in Lebanon. In October 1990 Assad exploited Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to carry out a massacre of the Christian leadership in Lebanon, so as to establish his control. Assad does not recognize Lebanese sovereignty (Syria has no ambassador in Beirut) and Lebanon does not appear on official Syrian maps of "Greater Syria," which includes the Land of Israel.

**Assad Violates Promises to the United States**

In 1982 Assad undertook to Philip Habib, the US envoy to the Middle East, that he would withdraw his army from Lebanon immediately after Israel did so. A year later, in May 1983, in a meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz in Damascus, Assad brazenly denied making this promise.

**Assad Violates Agreements with Israel**

In 1973 Assad violated the armistice agreement of 1967. In 1975 he made use of Palestinian terrorist organizations in northern Jordan to violate the separation-of-forces agreements of 1974. In 1977 he violated the "Red Line agreement" that limited Syria's presence in Lebanon to a regiment and prohibited the entry of fighter planes, tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles. From 1977 to 1982 Syria crossed the "Red Line" several times. Contrary to the agreement it did not restore Kuneitra and brought forbidden weaponry into the area. The Syrian assistance to Hizbullah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and others constitutes a gross violation of the "Operation Accountability Understandings" (1993) that prohibit attacks on civilian targets and of previous agreements, whether the terrorism is carried out on the Golan or elsewhere.

**When Can One Trust Assad?**

When he is anxious about his rule. In 1970 Syria gave up its attempts to conquer Jordan because of the mobilization of the IDF. In 1975 he stopped the wave of terror from northern Jordan after a strong response by the IDF. In 1977 he retreated to the "Red Line" as a result of an Israeli offensive. In October 1998 he expelled from Syria the leader of Kurdish terrorism, Ojalan, out of fear of a Turkish invasion. He maintains the quiet on the Golan front because the IDF's tanks and artillery are 60 kilometers from Damascus.

Indeed, the head of a terrorist state, a venomous anti-Semite who provides refuge to Nazi war criminals, mass murderer, trampler of human rights, leader of international terrorism, producer of weapons of mass destruction, drug merchant, and serial violator of agreements. This is the man Israel seeks to reward with the Golan Heights.

# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE FACTS
# No. 5

### Are the 1967/1949 Lines Defensible?

> *Israel cannot defend itself against an eastern Arab offensive without the Golan Heights. Israel cannot defend the Golan Heights without the central mountain ridge, which is the current boundary... A military force which stares (from the bottom) upward toward its adversary, is not a military force...*

> Motta Gur

The above is a quote from the 1998 book by the late Motta Gur, a former dovish C-O-S and a senior member of the Labor Party as well as a member of Rabin's Cabinet. This statement as well as the rest of the "Ad" are consistent with the conduct of every single country in the world: No country would give up the high-ground! No country would exchange topographical edge for promises, top technology, early-warning systems and advanced military systems. In fact, no country trades its own territory for peace (unless defeated on the battlefield)!!! Most importantly, it is the Eastern Golan (overlooking Damascus), rather than the Western Golan (overlooking the Lake of Galilee), which is IRREPLACEABLE for Israel's security!

### Are Technology and Sophisticated Weaponry an Adequate Substitute for the Golan?

### Sophisticated Early-Warning Systems Have Their Limitations

The United States possesses, in the Persian Gulf, the most advanced early-warning systems in the world. Surveillance aircraft and ships, spy satellites, and land-based early-warning facilities operate there 24 hours a day. Still, the US was surprised by Iraq's invasion of Iran (1980) and Kuwait (1990), in spite of its impressive presence in the Gulf, but due to climatic (fog, clouds, rain, sandstorms), topographical, technical, and human limitations.

Iraq's invasions led to over a million fatalities, the devastation of Kuwait, and scores of billions of dollars in other damages.

### Sophisticated Warning Systems vs. a Topographical Edge

In 1973, the IDF's early-warning facilities detected Egypt's and Syria's preparations for war. Yet the IDF failed in its interpretations of the threat assessment, as had happened before in the IDF and in the best military forces in the world.

It was the strategic depth of Sinai and the mountain ridge on the eastern Golan (which overlooks Damascus and not the Kinneret!) that made up for this human and intelligence failure.

Critical territorial features -- and not advanced technology -- enabled the fending off of the Arab tanks, the mobilization of Israel's reservists, and the snatching a victory out of the jaws of in the Yom Kippur War.

## Sophisticated Technology and Weaponry Possess a Limited Effectiveness

The most sophisticated weaponry in the world was used by the US, Britain, and France against Iraq in 1991. Despite the fact that they were acting against an inferior adversary, they were unable to destroy Iraq's ballistic missile launchers. On June 12, 1999, **Newsweek** reported that China, Syria's ally, had developed a technology that can probably neutralize the US air force, including the "Stealth" (F-117) and the plane of the future (F-22). The Chinese technology could jam US missile launchers and radar systems and paralyze Taiwan's defense. AP reported on November 11, 1999 that China's ballistic technology is probably capable of neutralizing anti-ballistic defense systems developed by the US. The development of a Czech technology ("Tamara") enabled the downing in Yugoslavia of the, supposedly invulnerable, US "Stealth".

## Sophisticated Technology and Weaponry Increase the Dependency on Foreign Suppliers

Advanced technology and sophisticated weaponry do not constitute an adequate substitute for critical territorial features. They constitute a temporary and tenuous support, which depends on factors that are uncontrollable by Israel.

Syria can import superior technology from China, Russia, Iran, Pakistan, France, and others. But Syria cannot import a topographical edge over the Golan Heights. The acquisition of sophisticated technology and weaponry increases dependency on foreign suppliers and on changing and unpredictable political, security, and economic realities in the US and the world. For example, up to 1967 the US refused to supply advanced weaponry to Israel. On the eve of the Six Day War, the US warned Israel against initiating a preemptive war. In 1981 the US delayed Israel's acquisition of critically needed weaponry as a sanction for the bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq. During the Gulf War (1991), the US withheld vital intelligence information and certain military systems from Israel. On the other hand, territorial features are permanent, fixed factors that are exclusively under Israel control, strengthening Israel's independence of action. A topographical edge compensates for temporary (and eventual) technological inferiority.

## Technological Superiority – A Temporary Edge

In 1967, Israel achieved victory due to the element of surprise and the technological superiority of its air force. Yet, within six years the trounced military forces of Syria and Egypt were reconstructed. In 1973 they almost defeated Israel with the help of surface-to-air and anti-tank missiles, whose effectiveness surprised Israel and the US.

## The Hacker Phenomenon and the Limitations of Technology

Microsoft and other technological giants were unable to stop the hacker attacks, which revealed the vulnerability of the most sophisticated commercial and military systems in the US, while causing billions of dollars in damages.

The book *Unrestricted War*, which was published in 1999 by the Chinese PLA, claims that the US and its allies will be defeated on the technological battlefield with sophisticated "virus" attacks that will jam radar, missiles communications, banking, and logistic systems. The more sophisticated the technology, the more vulnerable it is to injection of false data and to military hackers.

## The US Too, Recognizes the Superiority of Territory Over Technology

The US is the technological superpower of the world. The US does not face an existential or territorial threat and it stretches over a continent. Still, the US has chosen to control some hundred overseas military bases and installations situated at vital geographical and topographical locations. Indeed, the US does not depend on technology as an adequate substitute for a geographical or topographical edge.

- Early-warning facilities, advanced technology, sophisticated weaponry, and the human factor are fallible. Topographical advantages provide the security margin that enables one to make up for that fallibility.

- Defense, just like commercial, technology is an obsolescent product with a short shelf life. The High-Tech of today will be the Low-Tech of tomorrow, but the High-Ground of today will be the High-Ground of tomorrow!

- Even the most sophisticated technology and weaponry can be jammed. But there is no way to jam Golan Heights!

- There is no precedent for any country agreeing to exchange a topographical edge for sophisticated early-warning devices and technologies.

In the next full-page ad we will discuss: "The Centrality of Territory in the National Security Equation".

# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE FACTS
# No. 11

### UN Security Council Resolution 242 – A Withdrawal to the 1949/1967 Lines?

> *Israel should not have to withdraw its forces to the pre-June 5 armistice lines. This is not a prescription for peace, but for a renewal of hostilities.*
>
> Former President Lyndon Johnson,
> Address, June 19, 1967

> *It is clear however, that a return to the situation of June 4, 1967, will not bring peace. There must be secure and there must be recognized borders...*
>
> Former President Lyndon Johnson,
> Address, September 10, 1968

> *In the pre-1967 borders, Israel was barely ten miles wide at its narrowest point. The bulk of Israel's population lived within artillery range of hostile Arab armies. I am not about to ask Israel to live that way again.*
>
> Former President Ronald Reagan,
> Address to the Nation, September 1, 1982.

> *Israel will never negotiate from, or return to, the lines of partition or to the 1967 borders.*
>
> Former Secretary Of State, George Schultz,
> Address to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy,
> Sept. 16, 1988

### The Authors of Resolution 242:

The former British Ambassador to the UN, Lord Caradon [the chief-author of 242], tabled a polished draft resolution in the Security Council and steadfastly resisted all suggestions for change... Kuznetsov of the USSR asked Caradon to specify "all" before the word "territories" and to drop the word "recognized". When Caradon refused, the USSR tabled its own draft resolution [calling for a withdrawal to the 1967 Lines] but it was not a viable alternative to the UK text... Members [of the UN Security Council] voted and adopted the [UK drafted] resolution unanimously... (UN Security Council Resolution 242, The Washington Institute For Near East Policy, 1993, pp. 27-28).

> ...The notable omissions in regard to withdrawal... are the words "all", "the" and "the June 5, 1967 lines"...There is lacking a declaration requiring Israel to withdraw from all of the territories occupied by it on, and after, June 5, 1967... On certain aspects, the Resolution is less ambiguous than its withdrawal language. Resolution 242 specifically calls for termination of all

claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty of every State in the area. The Resolution also specifically endorses free passage through international waterways...The efforts of the Arab States, strongly supported by the USSR, for a condemnation of Israel as the aggressor and for its withdrawal to the June 5, 1967 lines, failed to command the requisite support...

> Arthur Goldberg, former US Ambassador to the UN,
> a key author of 242,
> *Columbia Journal of International Law*,
> Vol. 12 no. 2, 1973.

UN SC 242 calls on Israel to withdraw only from territories occupied in the course of the Six Day War - that is, not from "all" the territories or even from "the" territories...Ingeniously drafted resolutions calling for withdrawal from "all" the territory were defeated in the Security Council and the General Assembly one after another. Speaker after speaker made it explicit that Israel was not to be forced back to the "fragile and vulnerable" [1949/1967] "Armistice Demarcation Lines..." (UNSC Resolution 242, 1993, p. 17). The USSR and the Arabs supported a draft demanding a withdrawal to the 1967 Lines. The US, Canada and most of West Europe and Latin America supported the draft, which was eventually approved by the UN Security Council.

> Prof. Eugene Rostow, Former Undersecretary of State, a key
> author of 242, international law authority, Yale University,
> American Society of International Law, 1970.

### What is the Stance of Syria and Other Arab States on 242?

Syria rejected UNSC Resolution 242 because it did not require Israel to withdraw to the 1949/1967 cease fire Lines. Syria was joined by the other Arab states, claiming that the 1949/1967 Lines were not final borders.

### Is the Evacuation of Sinai a Precedent for the Golan Heights?

...The Egyptian model fits neither the Jordanian nor the Syrian case...Former Secretary of Defense McNamara has said that if he were the Israel's Minister of Defense, he would never agree to giving up the Golan Heights...UNSC 242 authorizes the parties to make whatever territorial changes the situation requires - it does not require the Israelis to transfer o the Arabs all, most, or indeed any of the occupied territories. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty awards [to the Arabs] more than 90% of the territory Israel captured in the Six Day War...[242] permits a transfer [of all the territories] if the parties accept it, but it does not require it...

> Prof. Eugene Rostow, Former Undersecretary of State, UNSC
> Resolution 242, 1993, pp. 18-19.

### UNSC Resolution and Israel's Defensible Borders:

A few days before the UNSC vote on 242, President Johnson summoned UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and Undersecretary Eugene Rostow to formulate the US position on the issue of "secure boundaries" for Israel. They were presented with the Pentagon Map, which had been

prepared by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earle Wheeler. The map displayed the "minimum territory needed by Israel for defensive purposes", which included the entire Golan Heights and the mountain ridges of Judea and Samaria. The participants of the meeting agreed that the "Pentagon Map" fulfilled the requirements of 242 for "secure borders".

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Prof. Ezra Sohar, *A Concubine in the Middle East*, Gefen Publishers, p. 39; *Makor Rishon* weekly, March 10, 2000

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## The Essence of UNSC Resolution 242

- 242 does not refer at all the 1949/1967 Lines;

- 242 mandates negotiation - give and take, rather than give and give;

- 242 never refers to withdrawal from ALL the territories, which would negate the principle of negotiation;

- 242 calls for the introduction of a NEW reality of "secure and recognized borders", which indicates that the OLD reality of the 1949/1967 Lines is neither secure nor recognized.

## THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE FACTS
## No. 11

**Pre-Ad Reflections:**

1. Barak's chief negotiator with Syria, Uri Saguie, said on April 14th (Voice of Israel interview) that "Holding on to ethos has been the main hurdle on the road to peace." He added that "Israel - just like Syria - STILL (emphasis by Saguie!) possesses the ethos of the northeastern shores of the Lake of Galilee." The Barak-Clinton Spin Team is shaping the PR strategy to "cure" Israelis of their ethos!!!

2. Away from the limelight, in an attempt to instill a false sense of victory in the hearts of Golan Defenders, the Clinton-Barak Team persists in the attempt to conclude an Israeli-Syrian Accord, which would entail a Golan Giveaway. As it has happened with Israel-PLO negotiation, so will Israeli concessions (otherwise known as Confidence Building Measures) produce "progress" in the negotiation.

3. Some observers suggest that the expected July 2000 Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon may set the stage for the Israel-Syria Accord. Others point at Clinton's hourglass, which runs out in November. And then there is Barak's comment - to his cabinet - ridiculing the importance accorded to a few hundred meters along the Lake of Galilee!!!

4. This is not the time for complacency!!! The time to EDUCATE the Israeli public is NOW, when logic prevails over emotions. Resting on our laurels plays into the hands of the Golan "Giveawayers", who want us to withhold our activities until an accord is signed. Resuming activities while euphoric events are produced by the Clinton-Barak Spin Team will not accomplish The Mission.

*Yoram Ettinger*

## Has the Ballistic Era Undermined the Importance of the Golan Heights to Israel's Security?

**Lessons of the 1991 Gulf War**

Some 8,000 tons of missile and bombs per day couldn't defeat Saddam Hussein. He surrendered only when the US ground forces joined the war. The crucial role of the ground forces suggests the critical importance of ground features (geographical depth and topographical edge). About 70% of the missiles and bombs missed their targets. They couldn't destroy a single Scud launcher, despite the lack of an effective Iraqi air defense.

> ...Air Power [and missiles] alone could not have brought the war to so sharp and decisive a conclusion...The ground offensive option ensured that the Coalition would seize the initiative. A

protracted air siege alone would not have had the impact that the combination of air, maritime and ground offensives was able to achieve. Without the credible threat of ground and amphibious attacks, the Iraqi defenders might have dispersed, dug in more deeply, concentrated in civilian areas, or otherwise adopted a strategy of outlasting the bombing from the air...Such a strategy would have prolonged the conflict and might have strained the political cohesion of the Coalition. Given more time, Iraq might have achieved Scud attacks with chemical or other warheads capable of inflicting catastrophic casualties on Israeli or Saudi citizens or on Coalition troop concentrations...A failure to engage on the ground would have left Saddam Hussein able to claim that his army was still invincible...

<div align="right">
The Pentagon's Report to Congress,<br>
Conduct of the Persian Gulf War,<br>
Final report to Congress, April 2000.
</div>

## US Generals on Strategic Depth in the Age of Missiles:

...Even though missiles can fly over the highest terrain feature, including the Golan Heights, they do not negate the strategic significance of territorial depth...The principal threat to Israel's existence for the foreseeable future will remain the danger of a physical invasion and occupation by heavily armored forces...Achieving military success in a war requires more than lobbing a few score (or even a few hundred) missiles of limited accuracy at soft targets...To win a war against Israel, Syria must move armor, infantry and artillery forward and down into Israel proper, and then destroy Israeli forces on the ground. This was true in 1948, it was true in 1967 and 1973, and it remains true in today's Age of Missiles...

<div align="right">
"US Forces on the Golan Heights?", A special report by the Center for Security Policy in Washington, DC, October 25, 1994. <b>General (ret.) John Foss</b>, former Commanding General of Training and Doctrine Command; <b>General (ret.) Al Gray</b>, former Commandant, US Marine Corps; <b>Lt. General (ret.) John J. Pustay</b>, former Ass't to the Chmn, Joint Chiefs of Staff; <b>General (ret.) Bernard Schriever</b>, former Commander US Air Force Systems Command; <b>Admiral (ret.) Carl Trost</b>, former Chief of Naval Operations; <b>Admiral (deceased) Elmo R. Zumwalt</b>, Jr., former Chief of Naval Operations; <b>Douglas J. Feith</b>, former Ass't Secretary of Defense; <b>Frank J. Gaffney</b>, former Acting Ass't Secretary of Defense; <b>Richard Perle</b>, former Ass't Secretary of Defense; <b>Eugene V. Rostow</b>, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; <b>Henry S. Rowen</b>, former Ass't Secretary of Defense;
</div>

## Does it Make Sense to Increase Israel's Vulnerability to Conventional Threat, as a Result of a Golan Giveaway, at a Time when the Ballistic Threat is Growing?!

The US maintained its conventional edge - during the Cold War – while staying ahead of the USSR in the non-conventional and nuclear race.

## The US Recognizes the Importance of Territory in the Ballistic Era:

The US, the leading ballistic power in the world, controls some 100 overseas military bases and installations, situated at strategically vital locations. The US has recognized the fact that all wars have been conventional, focusing on ground features (India-Pakistan, US-Iraq, US-Panama, Russia-Chechnya, Britain-Argentina, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Serbia-Bosnia, etc.)

## The Crucial Value of Territory Has Increased During the Ballistic Era!

Israel's capabilities to fend off a surprise attack depend on its ability to rapidly deploy its reserve force, which amounts to 75% of its total military force. Until deployment is completed, invading Arab armored force (75% regular) could enjoy a 7:1 advantage! The more sophisticated the in-coming Arab missiles, the more vulnerable are the main road junctions, military depots and air force bases in Israel, which are critical for rapid deployment of reservists and for the containment of an armored Arab offensive. The more disrupted is the Israeli deployment process and the more vulnerable are Israel's air force bases to Arab missiles, the greater is the importance of ground barriers, which enable Israel's regulars to contain the invading armored forces. In 1973, it was the mountain ridge of the eastern Golan Heights overlooking Damascus- and not the slopes overlooking the Kinneret (Sea of Galilee) (!) - which enabled 177 Israeli tanks to hold off a surprise attack by 1,400 Syrian tanks, until the arrival of the reservists. Conceding the eastern mountain ridge - a most unique natural tank barrier - would enable a surprise Syrian tank offensive, assisted by a barrage of missiles, to reach the Galilee in 3 hours!