

## The Nuclear Threat to Israel

Perhaps the one country in the world most vulnerable to nuclear attack is Israel and, as usual, the Israelis are habitually shortsighted in recognizing this. This is not to say that the Israelis can do anything about it; it is simply to say that one must take one's head out of the sand — one must open one's eyes — one must recognize the world for what it is and make the necessary preparations.

Survival is always the main question — survival at all costs, survival in the face of all odds — but, in order to ensure survival, certain problems must be recognized and dealt with before they become operative. One sounds here a bit like Winston Churchill in Battle of Britain days but that is really what the atmosphere is within a somewhat different time frame.

It is not a question of whether the threat becomes operative in another five years, in ten, or in twenty. The point is that the threat will become operative and quite rapidly if the present economic tilt in favor of the Arabs continues. At whatever time the threat does become operative, the situation vis-a-vis Israel's vulnerability will be the same so the Israelis must start preparing for this threat now, and leave the reckoning as to when it will occur to the security people. For all practical purposes, the threat must be considered as being already operative.

The Founding Fathers of the State of Israel, the original Zionists, had difficulty seeing that there would be a problem with the local populace of Palestine with the return of the Jewish People in any

sizable numbers. This was because most were European, their concerns were of European variety, and they had very little knowledge of the Middle East or of the Ottoman Empire – and certainly not of the Arab temperament and mentality. The last has only become more and more clear as the last one hundred years of History has unfolded.

In the wake of the triumphs of The Independence War and of The Sinai Campaign, the Israelis were really not very much interested in the persistent Arab threat around them and, therefore, the situation of 1967 took them somewhat by surprise. There is no doubt of the almost total surprise they were taken by at the outbreak of The *Yom Kippur* War too. Having lived in Israel myself for a long period of time, it was clear to me while living on the West Bank that the Israelis were not cognizant at all of rising and ebbing tides of opinion among the various segments of the population there and the significance of such shifts for future policy decisions.

On a larger scale, the Jewish People as a whole have never been particularly far-sighted. Masses of Jews persisted in the mistaken thought that what was materializing as "The Final Solution" during The Second World War years did not mean their inevitable end though it did. Jews at the time of the Emancipation and even much later in Europe were completely unaware of the hostility their assimilation into normal European life would cause and was causing.

Now we came to the situation of the atom bomb. Its use is too awful to contemplate. It is a phenomenon no one wants to face squarely or consider; yet, if it will be used against any Country in the wake of The Second World War and its use against the Japanese, it will be used against the Jews – and particularly in Israel. The Jewish People should

not deceive themselves on this point. This consideration should be a cardinal rule in the conduct of any future foreign policy.

It should dominate the thinking of any People that wishes to survive just as before The *Yom Kippur* War, had the proper security measures been taken in the Occupied Territories and along the Cease-fire Lines and had they been uppermost in the minds of those suffering from the euphoria of the quick and cheap victory of The Six-Day War, what could have been a cheap victory would have been achieved over the Egyptians and the Syrians. When the Lord has given you bountiful gifts, you should not wile them away in intra-fraternal quarreling and misgivings. But they were not and so we are where we are today.

Before any concessions are made in the present Kissinger Round of Negotiations in the Middle East – before any step backwards is taken – the significance of this step backwards in the light of the new Security Situation developing with the Arabs and other Peoples in the Middle East, rapidly arming themselves for atomic confrontation with Israel, should be weighed and carefully considered.

It should be remembered that any step backwards, any step towards reconciliation, any retreat towards the old Pre-1967 Borders – which is the nostalgic dream of many peace-loving Israelis (as perhaps it can be understood to be) – brings Israel even closer to the threat of nuclear annihilation. The smaller the Land-Mass occupied, the narrower the Borders, the more concentrated Israel's Armies and equipment – the less spread out in between pockets of Arab Population – the more easily singled out for nuclear *Holocaust* the whole enclave will be. It is terrible to speak about in such terms of foreboding but, in a very real sense for Israel, the Final Solution with a capital "F" is the Atom or

the Hydrogen Bomb.

When considering what concessions to make and what pullbacks to acquiesce to, all the jargon and discussion of recent days in the press, among political circles – even among foreigners putting pressure on Israel – is always retrospective, that is, it is always made in terms of the conditions that pertained perhaps two years before or five years before or, in the case of Israel, it can even be in terms of twenty-five or thirty years ago. But it is never futuristic.

And perhaps in terms of the future, discussions as to whether Israel came by the Territories legitimately or aggressively, or defensively or offensively, or expansionistically, imperialistically, or even in terms of her own self-protection are academic. Perhaps the right or wrong of all of these questions is no longer even germane in view of the newest Armageddon dwelling on Israel's borders – the Apocalyptic Horseman of Nuclear Annihilation. In terms of such an apparition, surely it is academic how and why Israel came into possession of the Territories she now administers or uses for one purpose or the other and what the problems are of the relatively few Arabs inhabiting these areas. In terms of such a future vision, surely any present step must be undertaken with a proper understanding of the implications for the future.

The Arabs will obtain an atomic bomb and probably a hydrogen one as well. It is only a matter of time. All discussions as to whether they can produce one or whether they cannot, whether they have the technology or whether they do not, are beside the point. The Indians were not thought to have had the technology to produce an atom bomb and yet they surprised everyone and produced one. Even a country with the meager

physical resources of Israel is able to produce its own atomic bomb with a certain amount of effort and expenditure. There is even talk in the World's Press, with the continuing disappearance of fissionable material from American nuclear installations all over Europe and America, of certain terrorist groups being able to come by and produce their own nuclear weapons.

But when it comes down to the Arabs, it is not even a question of whether they will be able to manufacture their own or not. If they are unable to manufacture their own, then they will buy them. This is a relatively simple matter and with the worldwide success of the Arab Oil Boycotts and the massive financial reserves piling up in various Arab Banks and National Treasuries, who can doubt that this situation is already far-advanced?

As far as those Countries who would be willing to sell the Arabs a nuclear weapon, despite protestations to the contrary, it is quite easy to visualize circumstances under which not one, but perhaps several, would be willing to sell to the Arabs weapons of their choosing – including nuclear ones. Such transactions do not have to be carried out in any public manner and can easily be executed through third parties, much as gold transactions are handled today for central banks on the open market. Judging from the types of military equipment the Arabs already receive, it is not difficult to visualize similar weapons' suppliers in the future turning to transactions involving nuclear weapons either on a *quid pro quo* basis or under the enticement of certain energy benefits.

This is a reality concerning which the Israelis cannot afford to deceive themselves. They cannot afford to be short-sighted or even

retrospective concerning this fact for on this point alone might rest the future survival of their State. It is already clear that the Arabs possess the financial resources to buy in this World just about anything they might wish to and this must obviously be considered to include nuclear weapons, both of the atomic and the hydrogen variety.

The problem with the Arab is that in many cases his humanity and his mental sophistication have not kept pace with his economic development, to say nothing of his vivid Romanticism and the infantilism of his intellectual mindset – though charming under some circumstances, for instance, when negotiating in the *suk* or drinking coffee, or discussing the relative virtues of Arab Poetry, this personality complex is hardly charming when it comes to visualizing nuclear weapons freely available within its possession. It is an unfortunate comparison to have to make but it is like putting a revolver with a hair-line trigger in the hands of a child.

Already, along with other enticements, the American Secretary-of-State has gone to the Middle East and publically promised Egypt nuclear fissionable material and the reactors to go along with them. He even intimated that the same arrangements would be available to Syria – if only the latter country would step into line.

The United States Government has stressed repeatedly since that the gist of these agreements would be carried out – showing no signs of having any second thoughts. In order to quell protests, both in America and in Israel, this same Secretary-of-State then went to Israel and promised more or less the same thing explaining that, since the Arabs were going to get this material anyhow, it would be better it came from the United States rather than some other Country. At least, when the

United States was involved, there might be some restraint shown in the use of such materials and processes for non-peaceful ends.

These arguments seemed to placate the Israelis and supporters of Israel in America at least to the extent that concern for the problem dropped away from the pages of both the American and Israeli Press. No doubt, circles in Israel still concern themselves about the implications of such problems but on the whole the great mass have managed to lull themselves into the complacency so characteristic of the Jew in the Last Century, the present-day Israeli, and for that matter the World in general - "the *Yhiyei tov*"/"*Yhiyei beseder*" attitude: "Don't worry, it'll be all right. It'll be ok", one hears so frequently in Israel.

This quite clearly was not the case in relation to the Nazi aberration. It was almost not nearly the case in relation to the recent *Yom Kippur* War disaster and it will not be the case in relation to the future development of nuclear weapons. This is not to say that the Egyptians will necessarily benefit from having nuclear reactors or from the possession of fissionable material on their territory but surely this will enable them to build nuclear weapons if they are so inclined.

The argument runs that one shouldn't be concerned about such a prospect because the Israelis themselves are already far advanced over the Egyptians in nuclear potential and nuclear development. No doubt this is so and no one can deny it but this is to miss the point entirely.

Arab Existence, Egyptian Existence is not really threatened by the Israelis' possessing a few hundred atomic weapons. The reverse is not the case. Israeli Existence is threatened simply by the Arabs' possessing two or three hydrogen bombs at the maximum. It is possible to

imagine the Israelis literally throwing hundreds of nuclear weapons at the Arab Countries and hardly even denting their population reserves or their industrial infrastructure, since the latter hardly exists. It is not possible to imagine the reverse.

Cairo would be wiped out, Alexandria would be wiped out, Damascus would be wiped out but in what way would this threaten the Arab World? Hardly at all. To be cold-blooded about the problem and terribly cynical – in real human terms it would just have relieved them of the problem of a few extra slums and some excess population and given them the opportunity to begin to reconstruct their cities in a more egalitarian manner. This is obviously and most clearly not the case with Israel.

Therefore, in very real terms, the threat to the two sides is not equal. Anyone who argues in terms of such a balance of nuclear terror on both parts is manipulating peoples' minds and playing with words. Anyone who analyzes the Middle East Conflict in terms similar to the struggle between the World's two Great Super-Powers is obviously missing the point either intentionally or unintentionally. If intentionally, then there is a kind of cynical malice in such intention that should not be overlooked, for there is absolutely nothing in common between the balance of nuclear forces between the World's two Great Super-Powers and the balance of nuclear forces between the Arabs and Israel. One is a balance between equals – equals in relation to population and Land Mass; the other is an imbalance between absolute unequals.

Most recently in the World's Press we have heard about the rumor emanating out of Cairo that President Khaddafi of Libya tried to buy a nuclear bomb in the early Nineteen-Seventies for use against Israel. That was all we heard. We were not told if he was successful or not or

why the rumor suddenly materialized in the Arab Press. Was this an attempt to begin to let the world know what the Arabs could do if they wished to for clearly, if Khaddafi had actually bought a nuclear weapon or several nuclear weapons on the World Market, then it would most likely be the last thing that would be leaked to the Arab Press and probably the last thing that Khaddafi or the parties that sold it to him would wish to become public. But if Khaddafi had actually tried to purchase a nuclear weapon or nuclear weapons from some unmentioned Third Parties – the implication of which Third Parties could be involved in such a transaction does not tax the human imagination overly much – then the present writer has no illusions that he could have done it.

Khaddafi – the despot of even only one of the smallest similar countries among many including Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Iraq, and Algeria – could very likely have bought one or many nuclear weapons if he was actually seeking to do so; and who knows if he has not already done so? Whatever he has or has not done, in any event, cannot be left to chance and this is where the Israeli reaction to such a contingency comes into question and becomes crucial.

What should be the Israeli response? Clearly, when speaking about the nuclear threat to Israel, we are not speaking about a pre-emptive strike as one is when speaking in terms of conventional warfare. A pre-emptive strike would solve nothing for what would one pre-empt? Nuclear weapons are not like armies. They cannot be located exactly, nor pinpointed as to their whereabouts unless we are talking about the stationary missile silos one hears about in discussions between the two Cold-War Giants. But these two Countries, as has already been explained, are on a par geographically and population-wise. It would literally take hundreds or

thousands of missiles to cripple or render the other impotent. There is an equality of sorts here – a balance of terror.

This is not the case when discussing Land Masses and population sizes and vulnerability of Israel and the Arabs. Therefore missile silos are not the question. What the Arabs would need when dealing with Israel would be one, two, or three well-placed hydrogen bombs or maybe five or ten conventional atomic bombs. These do not have to be stored in any underground missile silos. They can be moved around the Arab World at will and placed at conventional airports in any number of locations and Countries without the slightest difficulty except perhaps for a security lapse here or there which might pinpoint one or two of them but, in no way the whole horde – if such a horde existed. As stated at the beginning of this article, this is probably what makes Israel the most vulnerable of all countries in the world, except perhaps for Luxembourg or Monaco, to nuclear attack.

On a more serious note, Israel has three large population centers in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem. The last two mentioned are probably not even worth the expenditure of a hydrogen bomb and very likely a simple well-placed atom bomb would suffice to render them almost totally non-existent. As for the dense population Mass spread out in and around Tel Aviv, the life pulse and heart of the country, one simple hydrogen bomb – not very accurately placed – would no doubt take care of the whole affair from Netanya to Ashkelon, from the Sea Coast to Ramie. What else is there? What else would there be?

It is within such a context that Ben Gurion's pleas to decentralize, to spread out, to settle the Negev and other unpopulated areas become particularly cogent. The answer is very obvious. Within the next twenty

to fifty years, all factors remaining the same, Israel must decentralize and decentralize very quickly; for it is only in adequate decentralization that real safety can finally be achieved and a real deterrent can be erected. It is only when dropping a bomb on Tel Aviv would be as futile as, let us say, dropping a bomb on Eilat or Safed that Israel will find real safety. But, clearly, the last-mentioned possibility is only an ideal – an ideal to be worked for – not something that will probably ever be achieved in actuality or practice. This should be the long-range goal.

But what of the meantime? Are we completely to give up hope or resign ourselves in futility or throw up our hands and hope that, not being able to do anything about the problem, the problem will not materialize or will somehow resolve itself – as has often been the approach to certain economic problems and other defense dilemmas? Certainly, one follows such a course at one's own peril and to the Jewish People, who have already known too much tragedy and disaster – only to be resurrected again in so short a time and in such surprising form in our own time. The risk is too great to ignore or refuse to contemplate.

What then is the answer? One hesitates to give as an example a Country not usually looked upon with much affection in pro-Israel circles but that Country is China. If the reports can be believed – and this writer believes them – China has been preparing for nuclear confrontation with Russia ever since the split between the two Great Nations became manifest over a decade ago. She already has in facing up to the Russians a decade's head start on Israel, whose confrontation with the Arabs is of much longer duration.

The comparison with China is not altogether analogous for, in this

case, China has quite a substantial population reservoir to absorb such a blow and, in addition, a fairly substantial Land Mass; but – and this “but” should not be overlooked – she is facing a Nation with a hopelessly overwhelming nuclear potential. In this respect, China's situation is analogous to Israel's – not that the Arabs possess overwhelming nuclear superiority but that only a few blows from the Arabs under present circumstances would be the equivalent of a knockout capability.

China can never seriously hope to overtake the Russians either in nuclear potential, nuclear stockpiling, or even ballistic strength. Though she might hope to develop her own nuclear potential, she will never keep abreast of her powerful neighbor in any other conceivable category. The situation is Israel's precisely. But what is China doing? Is she deterred by this threat? It would not seem so. On the contrary, it would seem to be the Russians who to a certain extent are running scared.

In the first place China recognizes the problem for what it is and assesses it realistically. She does not just let her economy run away with itself in a bourgeois orgy of self-centered buying both as regards consumer goods and population clustering. A nuclear attack can be survived if the will is there to survive it. China is banking on this.

Israel, a Country in similar threatened circumstances, which no doubt has lived under and will live under such threat for an even longer period of time than China, would do well to take a page out of the Chinese fold if survival is truly her aim. She should assume, rightly or wrongly, that someday in the near future she will be the victim of such an assault. She has been the victim of every other kind of assault – why not this one?

Sometimes the serious observer of the Israel scene wonders if the Israelis really have any intention of surviving at all when one regards the folly and inequalities of her social arrangements and the more or less shoddy and short-sighted steps that are taken by way of National defense. The results of such complacency and second-rate planning were clearly evident in the disaster which overtook Israel during the *Yom Kippur* War in 1973. This same system, barring a drastic overhaul, will clearly not be a system that will distinguish itself with any credit when future arrangements have to be taken into consideration.

It has often been said, with some justification, that fortunate was Israel she was only dealing with the Arabs – at least upon until now. Woe would it have been for her, had she been dealing with any more capable combination of adversaries. But just because the Arabs were not capable in the past does not mean that they will not be capable in the future especially, when the buying of a few nuclear weapons is not a matter of capability, but simply one of having the necessary financial reserves to do so. The unleashing of such weapons too has nothing to do with capability but simply a kind of mad bravado – a quantity also the Arabs never seemed to be in short supply of.

The leaf one is advocating that one take from the Chinese Book is to recognize the problem for what it is and to go about in a business-like way as best as possible dealing with it not avoiding it. The Chinese for almost a decade by all reports have been busily at work building air-raid shelters. These air-raid shelters are not of the conventional variety but in many cases seem specially designed to withstand the brunt of nuclear attack.

The North Vietnamese showed in the wake of the overwhelming American

bombing in the latter stages of the Vietnamese Conflict just how futile conventional bombing that verged in its scope almost on a nuclear attack could be in the face of a determined opposition and the proper defense measures. Germany, to take another perhaps less sympathetic example, showed something of the same miraculous powers of recovery during The Second World War – much to the chagrin of the allies and much to the detriment of the Jews.

The point was that here the necessary measures were taken to build adequate air-raid shelters and to stock them accordingly. This should be the first step now undertaken in present-day Israel and the undertaking of it should be done almost at the level of a National Emergency. The present writer has seen how such steps are usually carried out in Israel and the kind of bureaucratic tangle that emerges. He has also – through the experience of living in Israel for five years – seen the sorts of air-raid structures that are presently being constructed. These might be adequate for artillery shelling or some forms of air attack, but are almost totally inadequate when the prospect of nuclear attack is considered. This is the unmentioned taboo in Israel. It should and must be mentioned – and coped with.

Short of the first alternative of decentralization, which in present circumstances is a patent impossibility, a National Crash Program should be organized, very much along what hears is going on in China, to construct large and massive, underground, nuclear-proof, defense shelters. The Nation should go underground as quickly and as soon as possible. This might seem absurd to the casual bystander when speaking about a Country that is already hard-pressed to meet its balance of payments deficits and defense requirements; but in these days of growing

economic recession, both in Israel and abroad, such a massive program of public works would only stimulate the country not further enfeeble it. Plus, it would require no skilled labor, just the digging of pits – very deep. The Arabs in the Occupied Territories, always the first to feel the pangs of any National Recession – being the last hired, they are quite naturally the first fired – would probably be the first to join in such a campaign and this in overwhelming numbers.

When presented in the manner the present writer is attempting to sketch, such a Program would catch on as almost a Sacred Duty, a matter of National Honor, much the same as the campaign recently to enlist people in the formerly moribund Haganah Corps (Home Guards ) in the wake of the apartment bombings and terrorist activities launched by the Arabs in the year following The *Yom Kippur* War – now abated somewhat. Government Ministers were almost the first to sign up for the newly beefed-up and re-spirited *Haganah* Detachments, a sure-fire sign that public sympathy must have been deeply involved in the enthusiasm which followed the initial shock of the apartment bombings.

In the Chinese manner a huge propaganda campaign could be launched, with marches, songs, and the whole paraphernalia very often presently dissipated among today's Israeli youth in futile truck trips around the Country or absurd hikes from Ramat Gan to Jerusalem in commemoration of it is difficult to say what. Such shelters could be constructed by children, teenagers, even women and the lame, as well as able-bodied adults; and such a communal effort would have the effect of welding the country together in a common enterprise. The actual morale-building effect of such a common endeavor, painted in the proper terms and appealed to on the proper level of Patriotism, would be inestimable.

Such massive, underground, nuclear-proof, air-raid shelters could be constructed with very little expenditure of capital and with almost no resources – natural or manufactured. The people on the streets of Hanoi achieved similar feats of National Resistance under the very explosions of American bombs perhaps within a period of several months. It is the present writer's estimate that – given the proper incentive, support, and backing by the organs of the Nation's Propaganda – the whole endeavor could very likely be carried out within the space of a year or, at the very most, two.

If the building of underground, nuclear, air-raid shelters in every substantial Urban Community in the Country were made a point of National Honor and Communal Endeavor and not just left to the appointment of a few miserably-equipped cellars in a few concrete apartment buildings which are begrudgingly given up by a populace already short of space anyhow and begrudgingly stocked, the whole action could be accomplished almost overnight.

As it is, there is tremendous resentment in every Apartment Building Committee at the designation of much-needed storage space or recreational areas as Bomb Shelters by the present lackadaisical Israeli Authorities. These shelters should be constructed independently of any presently existing building and for the express purpose of survival under the threat of nuclear *Holocaust* and they should be dug deep, very deep, for it is nothing less than a matter of National Survival, a National Survival that will one day provide one of the most effective deterrents to any future war Israel could possibly muster. This is the example of present-day China and it is not lost on the Russians. It will not be lost on the Arabs and it should not be lost on the Israelis.

But what else can be done to prepare for the impending menace of nuclear attack? Aside from the steps outlined above, which can be undertaken in the context of a great National effort, the only other positive step Israel can take is to weigh the pros and cons very carefully before withdrawing from any more Territory, before taking any further backward step. She is clearly doing this at the moment – but perhaps not for the right reasons.

Such an assessment must be undertaken in a very cold-blooded manner regardless of the pleasantries of the political rights or the just demands of the Palestinian People. It is Territory and Territory alone in the nuclear age and in the age of missiles that can provide even the semblance of security which Israel so desperately claims to need. Areas like the Sinai Desert, the Golan Heights are virtually uninhabited except for the occasional Beduin and the few new settlements the Israelis have been constructing since The Six-Day War. It would be very nice to be able to give these Territories back to the Arabs or Palestinian People within the framework of a Peace Settlement on both sides. It would also be the enlightened, progressive thing to do. It would, in addition, satisfy many of Israel's internal and external critics who suspect some Imperialist/Expansionist tendency in Israel's basic make-up.

It would be nice to be able to satisfy the moral and Utopian idealism exemplified in any or all of these demands. It would be a fine gesture to be able to give up the West Bank to the incipient development of a Palestinian Movement or a Palestinian State, but before any or all of these things are undertaken even in part, the question of the nuclear vulnerability and the nuclear viability of Israel must be taken into

account.

It will, of course, be contended and is contended by many of the opponents of Israel's present policy that it is just this Peace Settlement that can provide the guarantee necessary for Israel's future survival – that it is this and only this that can give the security that Israel so desperately yearns for. To a certain extent, this is the line of the U.S. State Department. It is the line of many European Countries for one reason or another. It is the line to a certain extent of someone like Arye Eliav as it is Nahum Goldmann's.

The present writer remains unconvinced – for, dealing with a People and Civilization as fickle as the Arabs and Islam, a Peace Settlement is really no guarantee at all. It might possibly provide a respite. It might even work for several decades but there is no assurance that in the course of time a new wave of hysteria will not sweep across the Arab World for whatever reason and fanned by whatever discontent. The upshot will be to catch Israel in a position of vastly-reduced Territory and greatly-increased vulnerability, especially in the face of the inevitable resort to nuclear weapons.

With regard to the instability and emotional suggestiveness of the Arab Character as it has revealed itself over the years, a Peace Treaty or any written guarantee is worth no more in the course of time than all the written agreements like The Sykes-Picot Treaty, The Balfour Declaration, The Mandate, etc., etc., the Jews have experienced. Even less. It is Israel's nuclear vulnerability which will remain constant and grow in the course of time not a Peace Treaty. This cannot be proved. There is not way of convincing the unconvinced just as there is no way of proving the opposite point-of-view. One either feels it or one

doesn't.

Some say, "Give Peace a chance." The present writer seems to be saying, "Israel cannot afford to give Peace a chance if the conditions attached to that Peace are what they seem to be." There is no surety on either side of this debate but, given the chanciness of the situation from whatever angle it is looked at, it would appear that the only and best guarantee for Peace is Preparedness. This alone can provide the staying power and defense which Israel so desperately seeks.

It is a terribly 'Hawkish' line to cleave to but, in the present configuration of circumstances, can anyone honestly opt for a different one? Unfortunately it is only to be found in self-reliance – auto-Emancipation Twentieth Century-style. The Chinese do not depend on any written guarantees the Russians might give them or any verbal assurances and, even if they had them, they would not depend on them. They go on preparing for the worst. They go on organizing their Population, training their youth, and building their bomb shelters capable of withstanding nuclear attack. They dare not have any illusions. The North Vietnamese had none either for thirty years and, in not having any, persevered. Dare we do less?

Before any future concession are made, before any further withdrawals are undertaken however moral, however humane – and there are certainly these considerations attached to any decision to withdraw from the West Bank or even from El-Arish – the Israeli Government must realize the new constellation of forces it is facing. Whatever the desire to compromise, whatever the desire to appear conciliatory, the Israeli Government must first realize that it must answer to future generations for any present slackening of fortitude. There is one

chance and one chance only – there will not be two.

No decision to bow to pressure however extreme, whether within the framework of a Geneva Convention or within the context of further personal diplomacy on the part of the U.S. Secretary-of-State or the U.S. President, should be entered into without comprehending the dire consequences such a decision will have, not only for the Strategic Situation of Israel's Border in terms of conventional warfare which may be reckoned with, but in relation to the extreme vulnerability a circumscribed Israel presents to nuclear attack.

Unfortunately, if any Country was made for destruction by hydrogen or nuclear attack, Israel was. It is a terrible fact to have to contemplate, but the atom bomb is the anti-Israel weapon *par excellence*. The Jewish people has already gone through the fiendish cruelty of the Gas Chambers – let us not leave ourselves open to this next, even more terrifying, twist-of-fate.

It may be contended that just this Arab population on the West Bank is the deterrent that Israel needs from future assault under such weaponry. There may be the thinnest thread of Truth to such a contention but this alone would be no justification for holding on to the Territories. Besides, the day any or all Arab Leaders chose to resort to such a recourse, they would do so owing to deep Religious Convictions and fanatic fervor. The loss of a few hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arab Population on the West Bank – many of whom are considered almost collaborators in case – would be reckoned a small price to pay to be rid once and for all of the Israeli Menace, the bone in the throat of Islam.

In some twisted, distorted manner these People would even, no

doubt, be reckoned as "Martyrs" of such a *Holocaust* having given their lives for the faith, if you like - "Heroes" who died in *Jihad* - Holy War. More and more the rumblings of such terminology emanate out of Arab Countries from Egypt to Algeria, from Libya to Kuwait.

The only possible justification for holding on to these vast uninhabited Territories - and it is an extremely strong one in the light of present circumstances - is that they alone provide the only conceivable cushion between Israel and nuclear annihilation. Not only do they allow the barely minimal early aircraft-warning time, but also they provide the future *Lebensraum* - the spread into which alone will provide Israel with the wherewithal to survive the Next Century of nuclear blackmail and confrontation.

There is no stronger justification for holding on to them at all costs just as there can be no possible contention strong enough - however Humanitarian, however Morally justified - for giving them up under present circumstances, for whatever guarantees, for whatever Peace Treaties, for whatever Statements of Non-Belligerence.