

May 1986

Volume 2, Number 4

The MONTHLY PLANET

Published by the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze

At The Threshold Of Armageddon:

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Mideast Conflict
Unfolds At
Superpower
Flashpoint

Nuclear Triggers
In The
Middle East

U.S. Bombing
Of Libya Stokes
Mideast Flames

Israelis Awaken
To The
Nuclear Threat



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c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze
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THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

"To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step towards lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals."

The Call to Halt the Arms Race
Randall Forsberg, August 1980

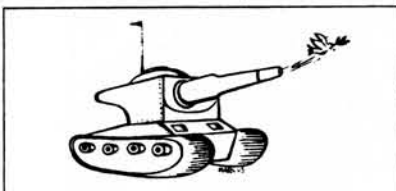


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The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign had its beginning in late 1979 when Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, drafted a paper — *The Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race* — and circulated it to a number of well-known arms control experts, directors of national organizations, and peace groups around the country. In less than a year, some thirty national organizations and hundreds of regional and local groups and individuals had endorsed the Freeze proposal and its goal of calling the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to stop the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This would be an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing nuclear arsenals.

Since March of 1981, when the national campaign began, support for the Freeze has broadened and deepened. The Freeze has been endorsed by 370 city councils, 71 county councils and 446 town meetings. One or both houses of the legislatures in 23 states have passed freeze resolutions. More than 150 national and international organizations support the Freeze. In the fall of 1982, more than 30% of the American electorate had a chance to vote on the freeze in 10 states, the District of Columbia and 38 cities and counties. As of June, 1983, there have been 58 state and local freeze referendums; overall, 60% of those voting favored the Freeze. On May 4, 1983, the House of Representatives passed a Freeze resolution by a vote of 278-149, almost a two-to-one victory.

The Freeze Campaign is now active in all 50 states. It is broad-based and it is non-partisan. It includes both conservatives and liberals, young and old, whites and non-whites. While it has found an enthusiastic response in the halls of Congress, the Campaign is rooted in town halls, union halls and parish halls in hundreds of communities all across America. American citizens are demanding that the nuclear arms race be stopped and then reversed.

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From The Grassroots



Letters to the Freeze must be **typed, double spaced**, and not more than two pages in length. We reserve the right to edit for brevity and clarity. Letters must be received by us no later than Friday, May 16 for inclusion in the June issue.

Making The Connections

Dear Freeze,

The "Making the Connections" forum which took place March 15th, was very successful, in part, due to your generous donations and support.

A sum of over \$500.00 was raised during the forum to be donated to material aid campaigns. Both Somos Hermanas & Amigas de Ampes have mounted material aid campaigns. Somos Hermanas uses their aid towards rebuilding child care centers destroyed by Contra attacks.

Amigas de Ampes concentrates its material aid program towards caring for orphans of war in El Salvador.

Another portion of the money will go to Project San Bruno, which provides support for refugees & children orphaned by the violence in Guatemala.

We are very proud of the forum and what we were able to accomplish. This was the first of an annual event, and we look forward to working with you again next year.

Thank you,
Sharon Flores
Santa Cruz

Angry About Bombing

Dear Freeze,

The constant drumbeat for retaliation and military action by our country against Libya/Khadafy for recent terrorist attacks, seems to make our country appear as one infected with the virus of "only our losses count, only our security matters" syndrome. Countries on whose territories and airports these acts were perpetrated are unwilling and/or unable to go that far, even though their nationals were killed and injured. Our administration and media barely mention this fact.

On this issue, as well as the ongoing demand for the accountability of our MIA's in Viet Nam, not a word has been said about the Vietnamese military MIA's or of the thousands of civilians "missing" by our military.

In reference to the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"), so beloved by President Reagan: not only is this a concept of colossal arrogance (after all, outer space covers more than just the U.S.A.), but consider the real possibility of deadly debris falling to the Earth when all those exotic lasers, x-rays, and lord-knows-what begin exploding, and cause great damage to the

atmosphere, weather patterns, and space in general. Could it be that the inventive geniuses all invented a way to stop the rotation of the planet in just the right position for the deadly stuff to fall only on the territory of the adversaries?

The virus of "only we count" syndrome has infected far too many Americans. It feeds the dislike and distrust of our country from people the world over. It is the great obstacle to reaching agreements, or at least to curtailing, if not stopping, the arms race.

Zena Druckman
Santa Cruz, CA

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Contra Aid Protest



photo: Melody Fill

Thirty-two Santa Cruzans committed civil disobedience on April 15 at the Internal Revenue Service office. Protesting both U.S. aid to the Contras and the bombing of Libya, over 250 people rallied on the steps of the County Court House before marching to the nearby IRS building.

Mayor Michael Rotkin addressed the crowd, stating, "Ronald Reagan thinks he can decide what's good for the world." These citizens thought otherwise.

Attention Artists

The Santa Cruz County Freeze is looking for an attractive new T-shirt design. Please submit your designs to our local office. If we use it, you get one free. Support the Freeze! Call Chris at 429-8455.



Special Thanks

Deena Hurwitz and R. Scott Kennedy of the Resource Center for Nonviolence provided the idea, inspiration, and hard work which resulted in this month's focus on the Middle East. *The Monthly Planet* thanks them for their support.

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Cancelling The Countdown

Report From The Nevada Test Site

by Peter Lumsdaine

On the morning of April 8, as the U.S. government made its final preparations for an underground nuclear blast that would shatter the nine month unilateral Soviet testing moratorium, six of us were approaching ground zero on the Nevada Test Site in a rented jeep.

Three and a half weeks before, talking with a friend from the Southern California Freeze, I had said that if ever there was a time for nonviolent obstruction of a nuclear bomb test in Nevada then surely it was the moratorium-breaking blast scheduled for April. Gorbachev had recently announced the third and final extension of the Soviet moratorium, which he said would continue indefinitely past the previous March 31 deadline, as long as the United States did not set off any more nuclear explosions. The White House/Pentagon reply was to publicly schedule a test for the following month. By the end of our conversation my friend and I had decided that we were willing to go to Nevada and try to stop the April test by occupying the inner blast security zone around ground zero, and that we would work to recruit more people for this action.

By the second week of April, this effort had grown to involve over two dozen people from the Southern California Freeze, the First Strike Prevention Project, the American Peace Test, Green-

peace, the Salt Lake Freeze, and the Great Peace March. For six days, rotating teams of nonviolent occupiers infiltrated high-security areas of the test site by hiking and by four-wheel drive vehicles, making their presence known to the government but avoiding apprehension by security forces for as long as possible, in one case for over three days of strenuous desert hiking.

After a night of bouncing over rutted jeep trails and rock-strewn sagebrush,

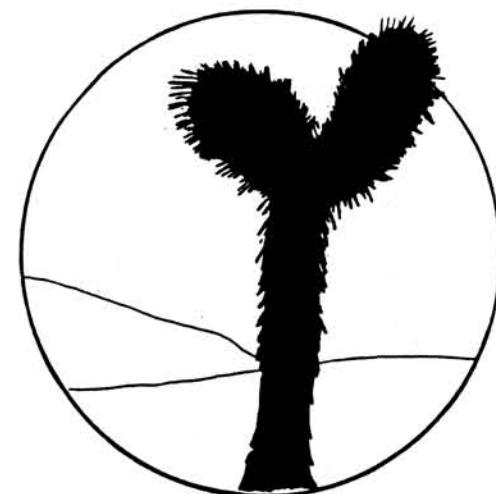
ter. One person in our group, however, eluded government choppers and ground patrols for two and a half hours, and even then the security forces were unsure whether still more individuals or small groups were at large in the rugged sage and juniper covered hills around ground zero. The April 8 test, as history now records, never went off.

Despite the government's predictable denials, we think that there are very strong reasons to believe that this action,

For six days, rotating teams of nonviolent occupiers infiltrated high security areas of the test site . . .

our team's vehicle was spotted by a government helicopter just an hour before detonation time on the morning of the scheduled test. By then we were climbing the northern flank of Rainier Mesa, into which a nuclear bomb had been placed at the bottom of a 1300 foot shaft, and were approximately three miles from ground zero. Proceeding on foot after our jeep had been spotted, five of us were apprehended with startling speed by helmeted, camouflage-clad security troops armed with M-16 automatic rifles, who had jumped out of the hovering helicop-

ter together with the similar ones that immediately preceded and followed it during that week, prevented U.S. nuclear weapons testing for at least two consecutive days. Although the bomb sadly did go off on Thursday April 10 (with no occupiers on site due to logistical difficulties that the fourth occupation team encountered), these actions drew a line of nonviolent resistance at a crucial time and place, throwing a monkeywrench into the machinery of the government's preparations for nuclear war for at least a short time, and setting a unique prece-



dent of hope for the future.

Peter Lumsdaine is the coordinator of the statewide First Strike Prevention Project.

A more complete inside report on the April 4-10 Nevada Test Site occupation, its implications for future peace movement strategy, and the prospects for an end to nuclear weapons testing will be included in the next issue of *The Monthly Planet*.

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Remember "When It Rains, It Pours?" The familiar little girl with the umbrella on the box of Morton Salt has taken on a slightly different image—now she's carrying not a box of salt, but a bomb—thanks to the Baltimore-based group Nuclear Free America (NFA). The altered logo, along with the words "Boycott Morton—maker of nuclear weapons" is a part of NFA's broader campaign against the 50 largest nuclear weapons contractors.

NFA chose Morton Thiokol, Inc. as the first target for boycott because, while the company is well known, few people are aware of its role in the arms race. As well as making salt, Morton Thiokol makes solid fuel rocket boosters for every strategic nuclear missile in the U.S. arsenal. Ninety percent of the rockets used to put military satellites in orbit are also made by Morton Thiokol. The company also produces conventional artillery shells and explosives, and holds contracts for Star Wars and the space shuttle.

NFA urges consumers to boycott all Morton Salt products and to put pressure on stores and restaurants to do the same. "The choice is clear," says NFA director Albert Donnay. "If you oppose nuclear weapons, why support the corporations that build them?"

For more information about the boycott and the other 49 top U.S. nuclear weapons manufacturers, write NFA at 325 East 25th Street, Baltimore MD 21218.

—DD

Extra Mile Taken

The suspense is over. President Reagan has decided to go the "extra mile" by complying with the unratified SALT II treaty of 1979, at least for now. A new Trident nuclear-armed submarine, ready for sea trials this month, would have pushed the number of U.S. multiple-warhead missiles over the limit of 1,200 set by the treaty. To keep within the limit, President Reagan will authorize the dismantling of two older Poseidon submarines.

Most of the president's senior advisors were opposed to this move, the notable exception being Secretary of State George Shultz and his arms control advisor, Paul Nitze. The official stance of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was to remain neutral, arguing that this was a political, and not a military, issue. Majorities of both the Senate and the House of Representatives have advocated compliance; U.S. allies have also favored it.

Allegations of Soviet treaty violations were of course an important factor during the months of deliberation. However, they were never as clear-cut as had been portrayed by the administration; militarily, none were considered of significant value anyway. It is said that the Soviets had actually more to gain at this time if President Reagan had decided not to comply with SALT II. Paul C. Warnke, past director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief United States negotiator in the SALT II talks in 1977-'78, considers this one of the most important decisions of Reagan's Presidency. He has said, "At the very least, he has narrowly avoided a long-lasting setback for nuclear sanity."

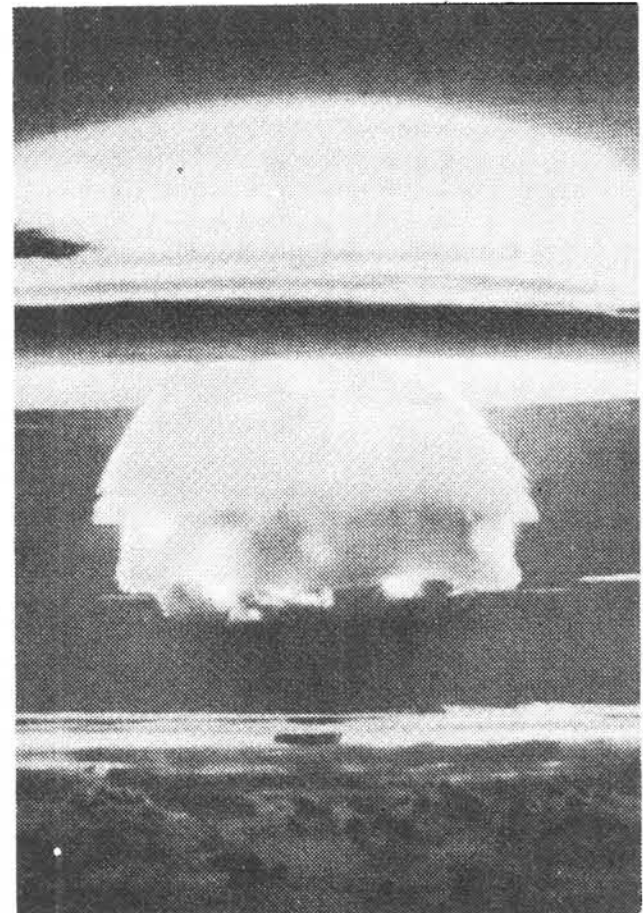
The issue of compliance, however, is not over completely. It comes up again in December when the limit on bombers will have to be faced next.

—RL



Political Reasoning

The Reagan administration has recently added a new, extraordinary reason to its list as to why it doesn't want to stop nuclear testing. For a long time the reasoning was that a comprehensive test ban (CTB) isn't easily verifiable. The scientific community has stated, however, that



Hot Flashes

by Ronald A. Lampi and Douglas Dirks

present methods for verification are adequate; the question is whether we wish to use them or not. Then the reasoning against a CTB was that testing was necessary to ensure the reliability of our existing nuclear arsenals. The argument went that without tests, we could not depend upon our weapons functioning properly. Again, this argument has strong scientific opinions against it. Reliability can be maintained by other methods; any disadvantage the lack of testing would entail would be shared by both the U.S. and the Soviets, under a CTB. Which now brings us to the Reagan administration's newest justification.

The Reagan administration now claims that a comprehensive test ban might encourage the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is a complete reversal of the wisdom of at least 20 years worth of thought concerning a CTB. The accepted view has always been the opposite: that a CTB would discourage proliferation. In fact, an important clause of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 states that the nuclear powers must be conscientiously working toward a CTB. For other non-nuclear nations to refrain from developing nuclear weapons, the nuclear powers had to uphold their end of the agreement. Not only is President Reagan defying a formal obligation, but he is now reversing the logic of it in an unabashed example of doublespeak.

What many observers note is this: The Reagan administration, for the sake of its military buildup, which includes the continued development of new weapons systems, simply wants to keep testing, and will draw out of the hat any justification for doing so.

—RL

Books Not Bombs

It seems hard to believe, but the famed Library of Congress has just cut back its hours by 30 percent. Numerous lovers of the library protested by staying past the new closing hour of 5:30 pm, and a daily sit-in resulted. Organized by the "Books Not Bombs Campaign to Save the Library of Congress," the sit-in transformed the reading room into a forum on President Reagan and his policies. People expressed their outrage that access to knowledge was being curtailed while billions were spent on an arms buildup. A few days later the arrests began.

The Librarian of Congress, Daniel V. Boorstin, testified before Congress and said, "Historians will not fail to note that a people who could spend \$300 billion on their defense would not spend \$18 million on their knowledge—and could not even keep their libraries open in the evenings."

—RL



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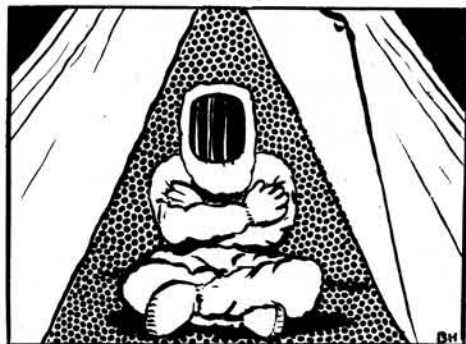
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CIA Changes Its Ways

The CIA stirred up debate in Washington recently on the issue of past Soviet cheating. William J. Casey, Director of the CIA, announced that his agency would begin using a new seismological procedure for estimating the yield of Soviet nuclear tests, as a result of geological studies of the Soviet Union's main underground test site. Past estimates of Soviet tests, he claimed, were undoubtedly too high; the new procedure is expected to lower them by 20 percent. This immediately threw into question past administration accusations that the Soviets had violated the Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974. Accusations of Soviet cheating have become a key point in arms talks and U.S.-Soviet relations. Though Mr. Casey's announcement may not clear the Soviets completely, it does undermine the assertions of gross Soviet violations. Lowering the nuclear yield estimates of past Soviet tests would indicate a pattern more in keeping with the threshold test ban.

The CIA has taken criticism for changing its estimating procedure, particularly from Defense Department officials and some strong conservatives. Why the Defense Department would oppose the change is not difficult to see: the case for new U.S. weapons might very well be weakened. The Reagan administration must still decide whether or not to accept these new estimates and what action to take either way.

—RL



A Political Coincidence

Five out of twelve proposed dump sites for nuclear waste happen to be on Native American land. The Menominee Indian reservation in Wisconsin is the location of one of the five, and the Menominee Indians are protesting. Apparently they and the four other tribes were not invited to the preliminary selection proceedings which had put their respective reservations on the list. A Menominee delegation met recently, however, with Ben C. Rusche, director of the Department of Energy's Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management; choosing a dump site is ultimately in his hands, by presidential appointment. Though no promises were made, his reception of the delegation was thought to be sympathetic.

There is an irony to all of this. Land that was considered good for nothing because of its high rock content was given to the Menominee in a treaty 132 years ago. Today, it is precisely this rock that was chosen as most suitable for the storage of nuclear waste. Mr. Rusche calls this and the four other cases a geological coincidence.

—RL



Titan Explodes

When the Titan 34-D rocket blew up on launch at Vandenberg Air Force Base here in California on April 18, the immediate concern of all in its vicinity was the huge, toxic, mushroom-like cloud that formed as a result. Though 58 people were treated at the base, no serious injuries were allegedly reported, and the cloud, composed mostly of highly poisonous rocket fuel, drifted relatively quickly out over the Pacific Ocean.

According to experts close to the U.S. space program and the Defense Department, the incident was a major setback to national security interests. The secret payload was first believed to have been a \$500 million KH-11 spy satellite meant for photographic reconnaissance; *Aviation Week and Space Technology* now claims that the payload was rather an Air Force "Big Bird" reconnaissance satellite. If the payload were a KH-11, experts say that it was the last remaining one in the U.S. inventory; it is considered the nation's most important spy-in-the-sky satellite. Sources say that only one is presently in orbit. The extremely accurate KH-11 satellites can be used for counting missiles, following military activities, and monitoring Soviet compliance with arms control treaties. They have an expected operational life of only two to three years; the one in orbit now was launched in December of 1984.

This was the second failure in a row for the Titan rocket carrying a secret payload; one had also failed last August. The latest failure has now postponed all further Titan launches until a full investigation has determined its cause. Since the space shuttles have also been grounded following the Challenger disaster, the United States' ability to send into orbit heavy spy-in-the-sky satellites has been temporarily put on hold. Actually, with the reliability of the Titan rocket now in question, what we will be seeing is more pressure again to get the space shuttles off the ground sooner than might have been expected. In the meantime, also, greater use will be made of SR-71 and U-2 spy planes.

—RL

Honesty About Lying

People have long suspected that the government often lies to the public. It's nothing new. But now, at least, the CIA and the Department of Defense (DOD) are being honest about it. In defensespeak this is called a "disinformation program," and it is supposedly aimed at the Soviet Union.

Aviation Week & Space Technology magazine reported on the program in its March 17, 1986 issue. According to the writer, David M. North, the officials who released the news were not opposed to the program, but wanted it out in the open to further confuse the Soviets. The decision to use disinformation to mask the workings of 15-20 government programs was apparently made more than two years ago, with the CIA acting as coordinator for the whole program. Six or seven DOD projects are covered, including the Air Force's new bomber and the Star Wars program, according to North's article.



Included in the program, apparently, are plans to make budget requests for programs that do not exist, with the money being spent elsewhere. Also in the works are plans to give false or misleading information to the press and Congress, inaccurate performance information on weapons systems, and altered technical information. According to the same DOD official, "Disinformation can be injected at every stage of a weapon program, from documentation and the test envelope, to the actual operation of the system."

The most startling thing about the CIA/DOD program is not that it exists, but the utter lack of contrition that accompanies its revelation. "After watching the Soviet Union practice this philosophy for years," commented one official, "the U.S. decided it would benefit by creating a similar program." Even a CIA agent, contacted by the *San Jose Mercury News* expressed misgivings about such an attitude, saying "You're talking about lying to Congress under oath, which is a crime. And even if not under oath you would be impeaching yourself."

—DD

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Congress Twists The Rules

SUMMARY

Rules.

That's the name of the game in Congress this month. How to make 'em, how to break 'em—and how to make your constituents believe the rules might force you into voting for Contra aid (when you really don't want to, of course). The House Rules Committee, you see, acts as a sort of legislative guideline, setting the parameters for debate, establishing time limits for debate, and allowing or disallowing amendments to the proposed legislation in question. This means that by the time a bill is released to the full House floor for debate and a vote, there are certain restrictions attached to the way in which Congress can handle it. For

example, on April 10, the Rules Committee approved a proposal to tie aid to the Nicaraguan Contras to a controversial \$1.7 billion supplemental appropriations bill, itself already targeted for a presidential veto. House Republicans cried foul, insisting that the Contra aid vote stand on its own. When it became clear that this was not to be, they surprised everyone by sabotaging the issue themselves by voting to support Rep. Lee Hamilton's proposal of no aid to the Contras on a vote of 361 to 66. It is clear that the House would have been willing to pass some modified form of Contra

would discharge Rep. Lott's proposed rule structure from the Rules Committee, making them the pertinent rules of the day. Contra aid supporters hope to schedule another vote on Contra aid in the House on May 12. Representative Leon Panetta has indicated that he may be "forced" to vote for some modified form of Contra aid (possibly the McCurdy bill) to prevent a House majority on the Senate version.

ACTION: *The Freeze urges all its supporters to contact Representative Panetta at once and tell him not to sign the discharge petition, and to continue to hold firm and vote against*

testing until January 1, 1987 or until the President certified that the Soviets had conducted a nuclear weapons test. It is not expected to survive the Rules Committee.

WAR POWERS ACT

A bill that would significantly weaken congressional control and strengthen presidential autonomy in taking military action against "foreign terrorism" was introduced in both the House and Senate on April 17. Prompted by the recent Libyan situation, the bill would give the President authority both to respond to foreign terrorist acts against American citizens and to use *pre-emptive* military strikes against governments that he thinks *might* be planning such acts, *without consultation with Congress*. Finally, the bill would authorize the President to *order the assassination* of any foreign head of state he deemed tied to the planning or execution of any specific act of terrorism against an American overseas. The War Powers Act was enacted by Congress in 1973 and requires the President to consult with Congress "before introducing American forces into hostilities." Furthermore, it requires the President to report to Congress within 48 hours of the military action. The current bill would consider response to terrorism as apart from the War Powers Act, and would require the President to report to Congress within 10 days after the military exercise.

ACTION: *Do I really have to tell you?! Get on the phone and call Reps. Leon Panetta and Ed Zschau and Senators Alan Cranston and Pete Wilson and tell them not to support any weakening of the War Powers Act, and not to support any provision that would allow the President to take military action without prior consent of Congress.*

Representative Leon Panetta has indicated that he may be "forced" to vote for some modified form of Contra aid . . .

aid had the bill been able to stand on its own. Since Rep. Hamilton's proposal stands no chance at all in the Senate, the House vote is merely a delaying tactic until Contra aid supporters can get their proposal(s) debated according to rules they would consider favorable. And they're working on it right now.

Representative Trent Lott, a Republican from Mississippi, has submitted a proposal to the Rules Committee which would effectively insure that the House passes a Contra aid package identical to the Senate version, which was passed last month. Rep. Lott's proposal would allow votes on three separate Contra aid bills. The first would be submitted again by Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), which would bar all aid to the Contras. The second would be submitted by Rep. McCurdy (D-OK), allowing for \$30 million in non-lethal aid to be released immediately and \$70 million in military assistance to be released after a second congressional vote on July 28. The third proposal, submitted by House Minority Leader Robert Michael (R-IL), is identical to the Senate package, and would call for \$25 million in nonlethal aid and \$75 million in military assistance to be released July 1 if the President certifies that the Sandinistas have not negotiated with the Contras in good faith. Each proposal would be debated and voted upon in order. However (and here is the clincher), according to Rep. Lott's rules, if Rep. Michael's proposal receives a majority vote, that will be the proposal to go to the President for his signature, regardless of whether the other two proposals receive majority votes, or even if there is a higher majority vote for one of the other proposals. It's called "King of the Mountain" rules—that is, the last proposal to be voted upon essentially wins, regardless of the outcome of the vote on the other proposals.

In order to accomplish this little maneuver, Contra aid supporters are scurrying around trying to garner 218 House signatures on a discharge petition, which

any form of aid to the Contra.

TEST BAN

An amendment to ban nuclear testing authored by Reps. Downey (D-NY), Schroeder (D-CO), and Markey (D-MA), was attached to the 1986 Supplemental Appropriations bill, which was attached to the aforementioned vote on Contra aid. The Supplemental Appropriations bill was sent back to the Rules Committee for reworking. If the Rules Committee permits the amendment to be added to the Appropriations bill, the full House will have the opportunity to vote on it. The Downey/Schroeder/Markey bill would cut funds for nuclear

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Senator Alan Cranston
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Washington, D.C. 20510
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Senator Pete Wilson
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3841

Congressmember Leon Panetta
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2861/local: 429-1976
(Sixteenth Congressional District)

Congressmember Ed Zschau
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5411/local: 1-730-8555
(Twelfth Congressional District)



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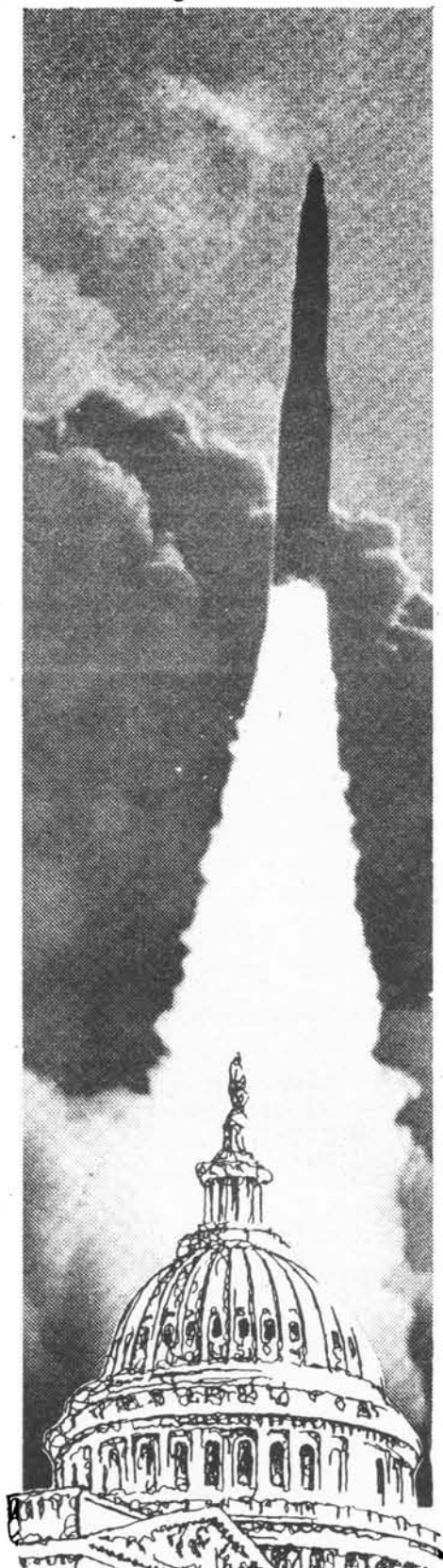
To keep you abreast of late-breaking events on peace and arms control issues, the following organizations run regularly-updated taped messages:

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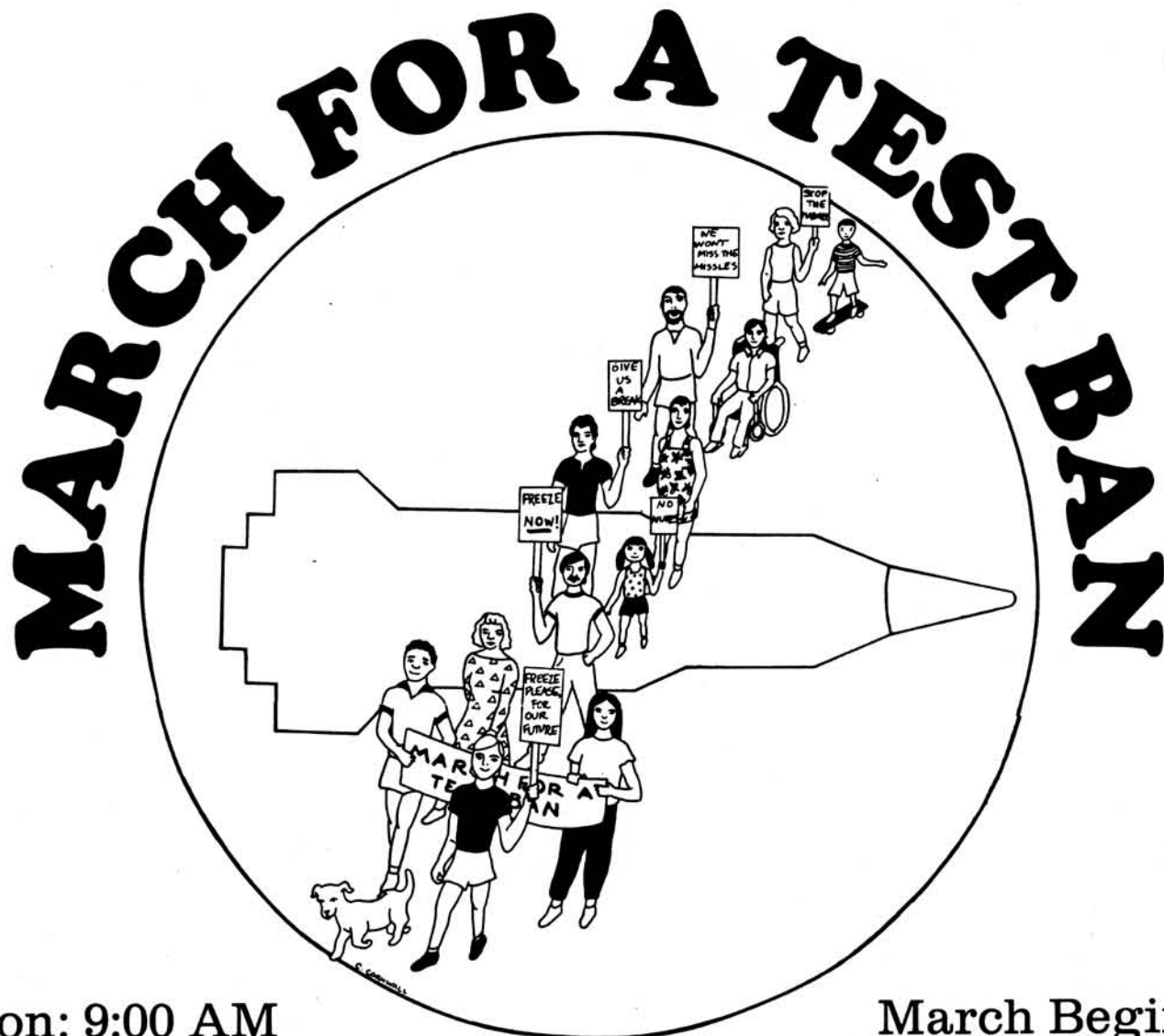
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Planet Watch

by Igal Dahari



World Out In Force

Worldwide mass protests and bomb threats followed last month's United States bombing raid on Libya. Demonstrations against the raid were held in London, Rome, West Berlin, Athens, Stockholm and several other European cities. Most of the demonstrations involved thousands of people, and a few had more than 10,000 people attending. There were also protests in Manila, Toronto, and Johannesburg, South Africa.

Bomb threats against United States government offices and businesses were received in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Bangkok, Thailand. Several threats were also telephoned to the United Nations headquarters in New York, and a bomb exploded in front of the American consulate in San José, the capital of Costa Rica.



The reprocessing plant, the first of its kind in West Germany, is scheduled to be completed in 1995, the same year the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) will run out. The NPT prohibits West Germany from possessing its own nuclear weapons. When completed, the Wackersdorf plant will be able to produce five tons of plutonium a year. One ton of plutonium is sufficient for making 100 modern nuclear warheads.

Great Britain Nuclear By The Sea

The Sellafield nuclear installation, the world's largest discharger of radioactive wastes, is being expanded to include a giant reprocessing plant. Construction of the plant will be completed in 1992, and it will be able to reprocess 6,000 tons of irradiated fuel in its first 10 years. Also being constructed is a giant plant that will treat the copious amount of waste generated by the first plant. Most of the wastes and reprocessed fuel will probably be housed somewhere on Sellafield's 600 acres, already the site of Britain's, and possibly the world's, largest high level radioactive materials' storage facility.

Sellafield is located near Seascale, West Cumbria, practically overlooking the Irish Sea, which is described by many as "the most radioactive sea in the world." British Nuclear Fuels, the Government-owned company that runs Sellafield, insists that its dumping policies are safe. This comes despite widespread criticism, from both at home and abroad, charging British Nuclear Fuels with raising the level of radioactivity of the waters from the Irish Sea to the coast of Sweden.

Sellafield is important to the government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for two main reasons. First, it is one of the government's most profitable ventures, earning \$188 million in the last fiscal year from foreign contracts alone. Second, it is the government's largest single source of plutonium, which is used to build nuclear warheads for the Trident missiles Britain is buying from the United States.



Israel A Major Meeting

In a public meeting without precedent, Israeli peace activists and West Bank Palestinians talked on furthering the prospects for peaceful coexistence between Jews and Palestinians. The meeting was arranged by the Israeli group Peace Now, and took place April 14 in the West Bank city of Hebron.

A group of militant Jewish West Bank settlers attempted to prevent anyone from reaching the meeting by blockading the main road to Hebron, but were thwarted by the Israeli military. The military escorted three bus-loads of participants into the city by a different route.



Philippines

Unsafe, Unneeded, and Unwanted

The Philippines is considering a law suit against Westinghouse Electric Corporation to recover payments made on a recently completed nuclear power plant. Westinghouse won the contract for building the plant in 1976, when it was worth \$1.1 billion. Construction was completed in January of 1985, for a total cost of \$2.1 billion. The plant is located at Napot Point on the Bataan Peninsula, west of Manila.

Critics are charging Westinghouse with building an unsafe plant, saying that needed design changes will double the plant's cost. They point to the fact that the plant would provide only three to four percent of the country's energy needs, and that no safe place to store nuclear waste has yet been found.

There are also allegations that the original contract is tied to improper dealings by one of former dictator Ferdinand Marcos' cronies. Budget Minister Alberto Romulo referred to the plant as "a monument to the pillage and plunder that the Marcos administration has perpetuated upon our helpless people." He charged Westinghouse with selling the Philippines "badly damaged goods."

Two Base, Or Not Two Base

Filipinos may soon have the chance to vote on whether their country should continue to play host to two giant American military bases. President Corazon Aquino said recently she would hold a public referendum on the future of Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base, along with six smaller bases, but only after the negotiation of the renewal of a military treaty with the United States. Aquino also said she would honor the treaty allowing the bases to remain until 1991.

West Germany

Plutonium Plant Protest

As many as 100,000 German protestors recently demonstrated against a planned nuclear processing plant in Wackersdorf, West Germany. They were met by thousands of riot police, hundreds of police vehicles and dozens of water-cannon trucks. The protestors surrounded the plant's fenced-in construction site, near the border with Czechoslovakia.

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Japan

Weinberger Pushes Star Wars

On a recent visit to Japan, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger invoked "the clearly offensive arsenal" of the Soviet Union, urging the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to approve participation in Star Wars. "The Soviets have moved beyond what anyone might reasonably define as a defensive posture," Weinberger told the Japan National Press Club.

Some Japanese companies have expressed an interest in participation, mainly because they hope to commercially market any new technology that comes out of the project. But there is resistance to joining the Star Wars program in the Government—even within Nakasone's own cabinet—and no one is sure when a decision will come.

So far, only Britain and West Germany have formally agreed to participate in Star Wars. Italy was expected to become the third ally to join, but Prime Minister Bettino Craxi recently said that his country was not interested for the present. Australia also said it would not officially join Star Wars, but private Australian companies will be free to sign contracts with the Pentagon.



Australia

Neither Here Nor There

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke has indicated to the Reagan administration that his government will not support New Zealand's nuclear-free zone policy, but neither will it condemn it. Hawke spoke with Reagan and other administration officials on a recent visit to Washington. He did not refer to New Zealand specifically when speaking with reporters after meeting with Reagan.

Meanwhile, New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has thanked China for its support of his country's antinuclear stance. Lange met with Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang in China last month, and praised China for its recent decision to ban atmospheric nuclear tests.



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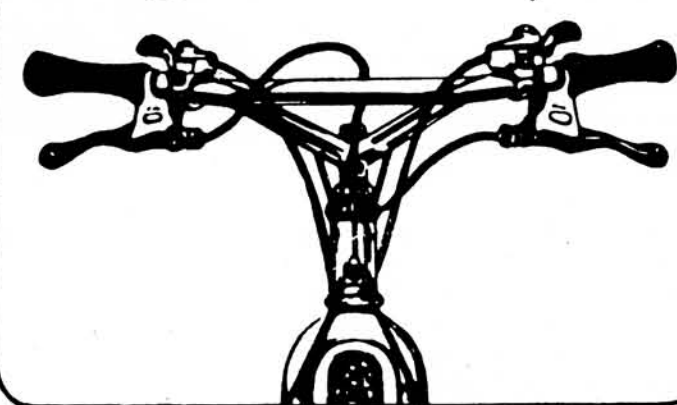
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A Trident Port In Palau?

by Robert C. Aldridge

The recently signed "Compact of Free Association" with Palau will give the U.S. military base rights in those Micronesian islands for fifty years. Contrary to Palau's nuclear-free constitution, U.S. ships may then enter port without confirming or denying the presence of nuclear weapons. In two previous general elections, Palauan people have rejected the compact. It appears they have done so again.

For almost a decade I have warned that the U.S. Navy wants Palau's Malakal Harbor as a forward base for Trident submarines. The overriding justification for the Trident system is its ability to hide in a larger ocean area. The planned fleet of twenty subs will proliferate around the globe. Logic dictates forward bases for crew rotation and routine maintenance.

Palau, 500 miles east of the Philippines and in line with the deep water Sunda and Lombok straits through which Tridents could pass submerged into the Indian Ocean, is geographically suited for a forward base. Guam and the Philippines are already saturated and would be poor choices. Malakal Harbor is the only existing or proposed naval facility in the Southwest Pacific which has rapid access to deep water and a choice of two exits. But most important, Palau is obscure with only 15,000 residents.

U.S. officials disclaim Trident base plans for Palau. State Department spokesperson Richard Teare said in 1981 that

he wants "to dispel any impression that the United States expects to station nuclear weapons on Palau. We have no such intentions at this time." (Emphasis added.)

Rear Admiral Bruce DeMars claimed the U.S. Navy "has no plans now or in the foreseeable future for building any submarine base in Palau." "Foreseeable future" is an abstraction used frequently in military jargon.

Admiral DeMars then said the "United States Navy . . . determined that even

Again, it is forward basing that is in question, not homeporting, and there are abundant deep water anchorages in Malakal Harbor for a tender ship.

Later, Admiral James D. Watkins, commander of the Pacific fleet, said that building such a base is a complicated and lengthy process and would cost several billion dollars: "They're so expensive the U.S. can't afford more than two," and pointed out that they were both on the mainland.

The admiral continues to confuse the

U.S. officials disclaim Trident base plans for Palau.

Guam's otherwise excellent submarine support facilities would not be sufficient . . . Palau, which has none of Guam's facilities, would require a prohibitively huge investment to construct the required logistic support installations." Forward basing requires no great support complex as do home ports, only anchoring a tender ship in Malakal Harbor.

Congressmember Robert J. Lagomarsino read into the Congressional Record that the 40 acres set aside for military use at Malakal Harbor are "hardly enough to accommodate a submarine base."

public. Homeporting Trident in Palau is not the issue—home base is at Bangor, Washington with a second under construction at Kings Bay, Georgia. Forward basing requires no facilities of that type.

Admiral DeMars said: "The . . . long range Trident 1 (C-4) missile has rendered it unnecessary for forward basing of U.S. Navy ballistic missile submarines. . . . a Trident equipped ballistic missile submarine does not have to operate far forward for it to be able to execute its strategic mission."

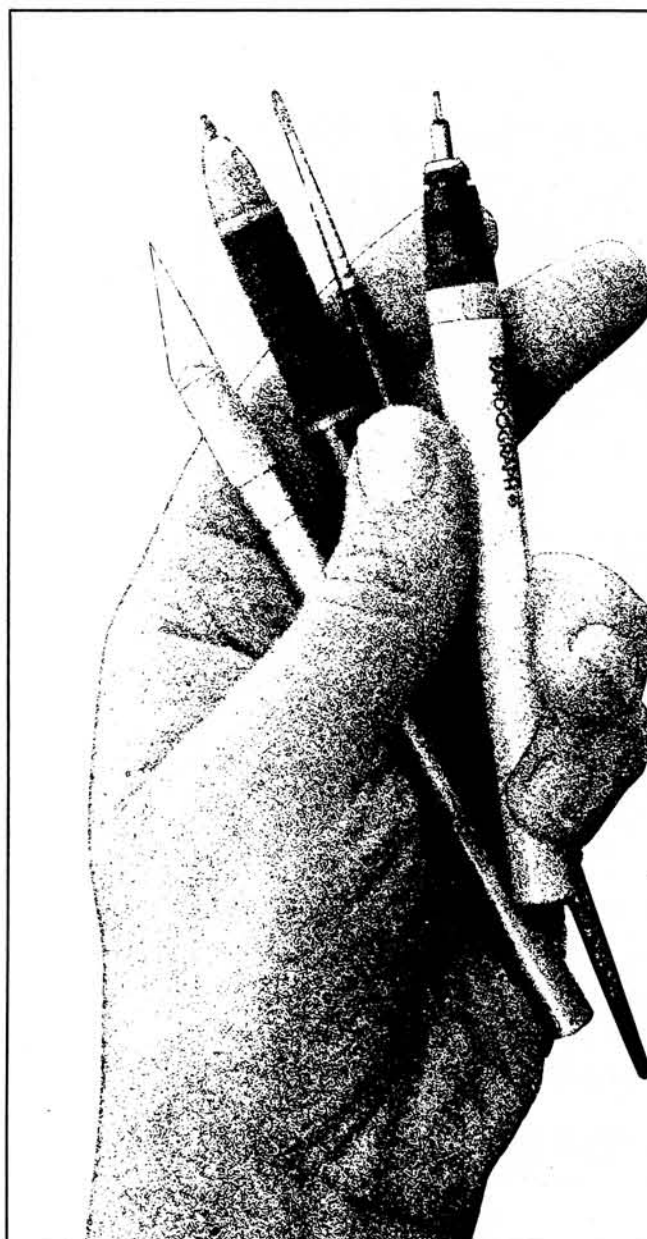
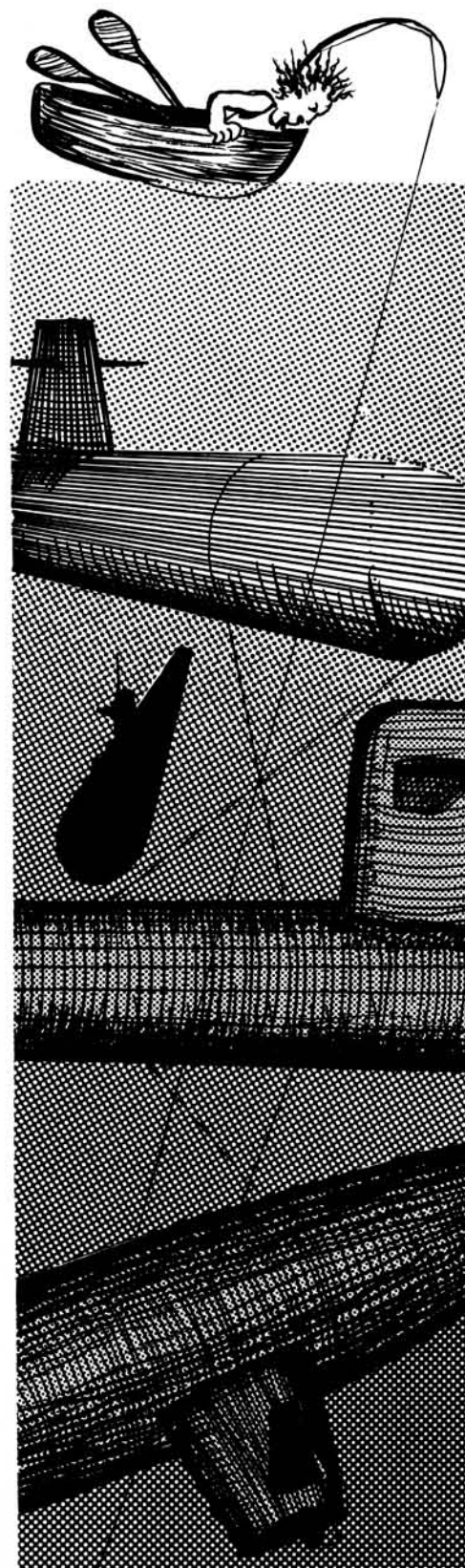
That is true in a narrow sense. But in the broader sense, Rear Admiral Lawrence Layman, Director of Naval Communications, testified in early 1985 that as "more Tridents come on line, the operating areas must increase to minimize the operating area [missile-launching submarine] density."

Referring to nuclear survivable TACAMO submarine communications aircraft, Admiral Layman said they "would be operated to allow full utilization of the Pacific operational area by Trident." (TACAMO is an acronym for Take Command And Move Out.) It is in testimony regarding replacement of TACAMO aircraft where contradictions regarding a Trident base in Palau arise. To downplay military proliferation into Palau, the Pentagon implies that the submarines remain close to home. But to justify modernization of the TACAMO aircraft fleet, and even to justify the Trident system itself, Navy spokespersons allude to operating all over the Pacific.

In his prepared statement, Melvyn R. Paisley, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research, Engineering and Systems, stated: "To be able to take advantage of the expanded ocean area from which the Trident 2 missile can be launched, we are improving the TACAMO communications systems . . ." That doesn't sound like Tridents are going to stay close to Bangor.

Vice Admiral Albert Baciocco, Jr., Director of Naval Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, said that new TACAMO aircraft will allow expansion of the Trident operating area.

It is evident from these official statements that (a) the Navy has no intention of limiting the operating area of Trident submarines and (b) disclaimers of a sub-



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base in Palau are avoiding the issue and misleading the public. The deliberate obfuscation of this issue earmarks a forward Trident base as a highly sensitive issue.

The large majority of Palauans who recently voted in favor of the Compact of Free Association was not "the express approval of three-fourths of the votes cast," as specified in their constitution. It seems obvious that Palauan courts must rule that the Compact was again defeated. If they don't, Trident subs will multiply to fill the Pacific and spill over into the Indian Ocean. It will be infeasible to confine operations close to home port. Forward basing will be mandatory and the logical location is Palau.

Robert C. Aldridge is an aerospace engineer who worked for sixteen years on submarine-launched strategic missiles, including Trident. He is now engaged in private research aimed at better public understanding of military activities and is the author of *First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War* (Boston, South End Press; 1983).

Love Bomb

I feel much closer to all of you when we pretend we're all fighting real dangers together in order to stay alive. The telepathic links among us heat up when our bodies register the information that we may really die horribly together all at once.

The nuclear bomb is our group totem. It's the ultimately powerful and sacred taboo, the most terrible and the most valuable thing, the superhuman profanity on which all life depends and against which all values must be tested. Shadowing every one of our personal actions, the bomb is the god that won't listen, the fascinating blasphemy that won't shut up unless we're all very, very good.

We fall down before it, believing in it more fiercely than any other secret. We agree to be possessed by it, to be haunted by its image above all other images. Nothing else has more life.

We love this bomb because it's the most spiritual, most supernatural material object in the world, the only material object that's ever had the power to literally change all life on earth instantly and forever. It's the one most precious fetish, the obvious and hidden revelation that can by itself redefine the meaning of all history.

And yet how few of us have ever stood next to the magic body of the bomb, breathed in its smell, touched it, communed with its actual life. Its presence among us is rumour and mystery, like Christ and flying saucers. We hear stories.

At night our dreams turn the bomb into the philosopher's stone, the ark of the covenant, the alchemical gold, the magic body of the messiah, the potent drug from the beginning of the world, the ecstatic and shocking moment of religious conversion. In our deepest darkest juices we are alive to its divinity, as we are alive to any god that offers the brilliant and blinding flash of irreversible illumination. We believe in the bomb because it reveals what it is to become the dangerous light that's as pure as the sun.

Let's call the bomb a love that's too big for us to understand yet. Let's say it's the raging creative life of a cleansing disease that wants to cure us so it doesn't have to kill us. Let's say it's the last judgment that promises not to come true if we can figure out what it means.

It's our bomb. We've made it. We've loved this bomb so much we've imagined it to exist. We've created this bomb so hard that it's come alive and possessed us. We've turned the bomb into our bodies; we've given messages to chemicals in our brains to make dangerous images of the bomb, messages to nurture and worship and flash those images through our nerves.

Remember. The bomb is the most beloved thing to us because as we all together imagine it now our brains are burned with the true hallucination that we are all one body. When I fantasize the bomb vaporizing me into its own pure primeval heat and radiation, I remember that you and I are made of the same stuff. The bomb frees us to imagine that we all live and die together, that we are all born out of Adam, the indivisible hermaphrodite god of our species—and we can return now because we've never left.

We need the bomb.

We need the bomb because only the tease of the biggest, most original sin can heal us. The bomb is a blind, a fake, a trick memory we're sending ourselves from the future that shocks us better than all the Christs and cancers and UFO's. It makes us. It makes us remember. The bomb has been with us since the beginning of time because it's the imagination of the end of time.

We have supernatural powers and genetic potentials so undreamed of that they will feel like magic when they come. But they remain dormant in us until we're scared shitless not just of our individual deaths but also of the extinction of the human archetype.

Bless the fear. Praise the bomb. Oh God of Good and Evil Light, let the great ugly power fascinate us all now, hypnotize us and fix our terror so precisely that we become one potentially concentrated demonic imagination, a single guerrilla meditator casting an irreversible spell to bind the great satan bomb. There will be no nuclear war.

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At The Threshold Of Armageddon

by R. Scott Kennedy and Deena Hurwitz

Though it remains perhaps the most likely arena in which a nuclear war might break out, the Middle East receives scant attention from activists in the peace and disarmament movements, not to mention the general public. Yet the danger of nuclear war emanating from the Arab-Israeli conflict is great.

The fighting to this point has been contained within conventional means of warfare, even though six wars have interrupted the stalemate and ceasefire of the past four decades. Still, there is reason to fear that this persistent conflict will eventuate in the use of nuclear weapons. The increased lethality of means of warfare

the whole region if its own survival is threatened.

The Arabs, for their part, perceive Israel as an historical anachronism—a colonial-settler intrusion into their land and culture which enjoys the virtually unbridled patronage of the world's greatest power. To offset the lopsided alignment of forces in Israel's favor, possible access to weapons of mass destruction is viewed by many Arabs as a necessary counterweight to U.S. and Israeli hegemony in the region.

Thus the stage is set for the step across the nuclear threshold, and the precedents exist. We know that the first use of "the hot line" between the Soviet Premier and the American President was occasioned

... there is reason to fear that this persistent conflict will eventuate in the use of nuclear weapons.

utilized and the violation of traditional constraints in the use of deadly force (such as the bombing of civilian population centers, the intentional targeting of noncombatants, and the use of outlawed weapons) have been evidenced in the Israeli-Arab conflict as well as the Iran-Iraq War.

Escalation across the nuclear threshold could occur between the principals—the Israelis and Arabs. Or it could conceivably involve the superpowers, which have increasingly cast the regional conflict in terms of the dipolar conflict between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. There is an inexorable logic to the introduction of nuclear weaponry in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Israelis perceive themselves besieged by the unremitting hostility of an Arab population 30 times their number who even refuse them the right to exist within their own state. Israel has reserved for itself possible recourse to nuclear weapons as a last resort, anticipating a Samson-like act of desperation that would destroy

by the June 1967 Six-Day War. A half-dozen instances have been documented, dating back to the late 1940s, in which one or the other superpower considered or threatened the use of nuclear weaponry in the Middle East. Now, several countries in the region have crossed or are approaching the line at which they will, independent of their superpower backers, have access to such weapons.

The evidence is mounting:

- from Israel's theft of nuclear materials to expansion of commercial nuclear reactors in Egypt as part of the Camp David Agreements pay-off by the United States;
- from Libya's financial interest in Pakistan's development of "an Islamic bomb" to Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor;
- from the U.S. positioning "Euro-missiles" in Comiso, Sicily, which can strike many vital targets in the Mid East while being incapable of reaching Moscow, to granting Israel access to Ameri-

can technology by courting its participation in the Star Wars program;

- from the illegal transfer of American nuclear technology to Israel, such as triggers for nuclear devices, to the presence of nuclear-armed American naval and air forces in the Mediterranean, involved in provocative military operations in the Gulf of Sidra off the coast of Libya or launching attacks from the Mediterranean on Lebanon; and
- from Soviet technicians staffing missile batteries for Syria in the Baqaa Valley of Lebanon or on Libya's coast, to U.S. shelling and bombing of the same missiles, endangering Soviet personnel.

The conventional arms race in the Middle East and the growing threat of nuclearization of the conflict are largely functions of the failure to achieve a political settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. They are fueled by the dynamics of rejectionism, alternately exhibited by the Arabs and the Israelis, in which each party persists in refusing the minimal demands of their adversary while insisting on their maximalist aspirations. Until very recently, Palestinian self-determination has been viewed by the Arabs and their advocates as unattainable given the continued existence of the Jewish State. Israel and its partisans, in contrast, have



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Analysis

U.S. Bombing Of Libya Stokes Mideast Flames

by Deena Hurwitz and R. Scott Kennedy

The U.S. airstrike against Libya was called the "largest airborne strike since Vietnam" (*San Jose Mercury*, 4/15/86). Calculated some three weeks before the actual attack, the United States reportedly hoped to set the stage for a coup against Muammar Qaddafi. Instead, the strike has helped to consolidate Qaddafi's support, rouse anti-American sentiment in Libya and other Arab nations, and distance the United States from allies in Europe as well.

The United States has never demonstrated much concern for the consequences of its policies in the Arab world. This may be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

While cautious in reacting, our major Arab allies, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, are now caught between a rock and a hard place. With anti-Americanism on the rise, leaders such as Mubarak and Hussein must carefully balance their diplomatic pursuits against an extremist anti-Western consensus. In Jordan, where demonstrations are not permitted, Hussein warned that demonstrators would be arrested. Nevertheless, a small group of people did congregate in opposition to the U.S. strike. Jordanian press found its way around an official warning against editorializing by running stories and photographs of American and European demonstrations. And in Saudi Arabia, coverage of the attack followed closely on Bush's heels, in a thinly-veiled mockery. In general, though, the tone in the Arab press apparently was self-critical: that the strike against Libya reflected a weakened and cowed Arab world.

The immediate results, in the Middle East at least, of the U.S. strike appear to be threefold: to feed the flames of Arab nationalism, which in its extreme forms is religiously and politically opposed to the United States; to reinforce the increasing conviction in the Arab world

that the United States is simply not to be trusted; and last but not least, to hand the Soviet Union both an entree into Libya, and an uninitiated blow to the European NATO alliance. Given the American moral posturing about terrorism, it is difficult to imagine that our Arab allies would be anything short of embarrassed by the action.

We must ask ourselves: what is reasonable conduct for a government? Commenting on the Israeli skyjacking last January of a Libyan plane, the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar* offered a critical

ideological opponent—could provide a rationale for a Nicaraguan attack on the continental United States. Targets in Florida (airfields, training grounds), Washington D.C. (command and communication centers, origin of funds), among others, it could be argued, provide the structure for the U.S. war of terror against Nicaragua.

Are we prepared to elevate, to the level of international practice, standards which we as a country violate? How would the United States respond if Nicaragua were to attack U.S. targets,

... the enemy isn't a single man, or many men. It's a world order that upholds force as a means for solving conflict ...

editorial (2/5/86):

A sovereign state, which is a member of international organizations whose charters oblige it to abide by laws, treaties, and the rules of the game, cannot act like an airborne terrorist organization. A state cannot be a commando operation, however successful. A state isn't Rambo. A state may not do whatever it pleases; if it could, it would not be a political entity, but rather a lawless terrorist organization which removes itself, by its lawlessness, from membership in the international community.


The very same criteria by which the U.S. allegedly selected Libya as a target—and the specific targets, such as training bases, command and communications centers, port facilities, airfields used to airlift personnel and supplies, plus an

where the rationale is at least as strong as that for attacking Libya?

If tough worked against terror, then the war in Lebanon would have had a different outcome, and the Libyan threat would have been checked in the Gulf of Sidra. Of course, it wasn't.

American reaction to Reagan's airstrike was reportedly 77 percent favorable. Americans like to win, and second to that is their satisfaction in feeling righteous. Next is their need for action—any kind of action just to prove that we're not cowed. Reagan above all embodies these three traits.

Why was Libya chosen as the target for an attack against terrorism? Recent terrorist incidents (e.g. the Rome and Vienna airport attacks) were more clearly linked to Syria and Iran. Despite U.S. and European assertions of "irrefutable evidence" of a direct Libyan link in the

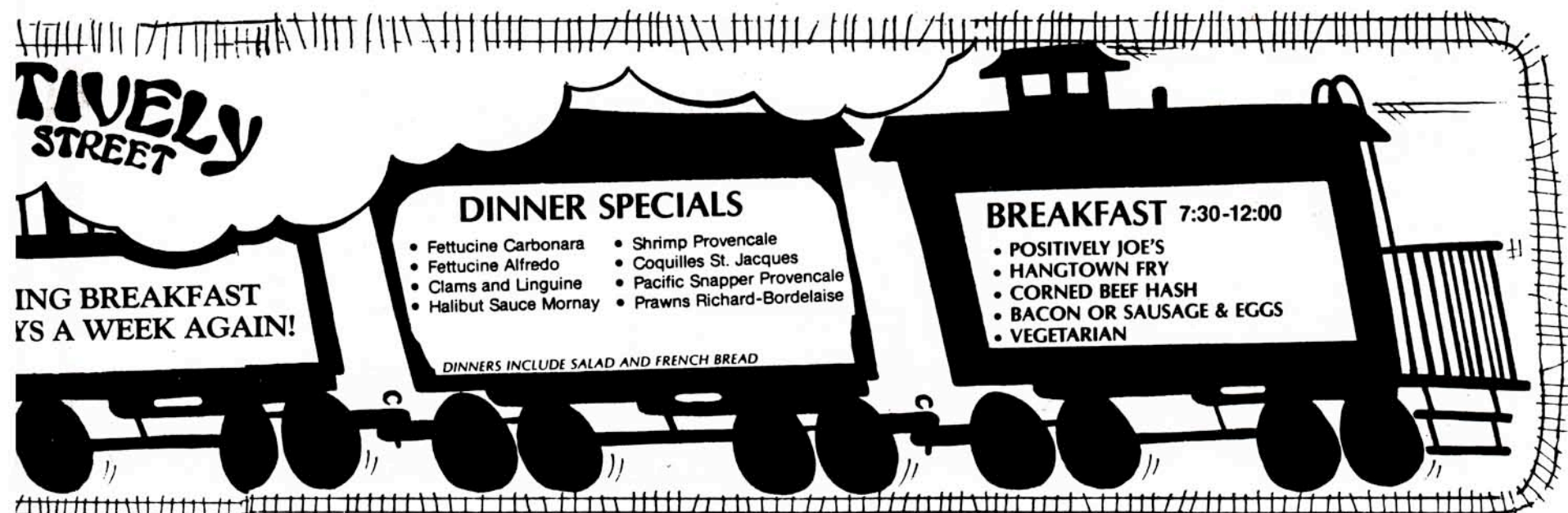


seen the continued security and existence of the State of Israel as dependent on denial or frustration of Palestinian cries for freedom. The result has been a spiraling arms race, escalating the number, type and destructive capacity of weapons used by both sides.

Each side has sought a solution imposed by force of arms on its adversary. Israel, in effect, has attained this goal since 1967. But one wonders whether Israel can endure for more than another decade, without more extreme actions

continued on page 24

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Arab-Israeli Conflict Unfolds At Superpower Flashpoint

by Rashid Khalidi

In discussing potential arenas of superpower confrontation, insufficient attention is paid to the Middle East in general and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular. There can be little question that the stake of both superpowers in Europe and East Asia is greater than in the Middle East. The United States is more concerned about Central America, and the Soviet Union more so about countries on its immediate periphery, such as Poland and Afghanistan, than either is about the Middle East.

Nevertheless, this region presents specific dangers which make it potentially the world's most explosive flashpoint. Here are the reasons:

1. It is an area in close proximity to Soviet frontiers which the United States simultaneously considers vital to its strategic and economic interests because of its pivotal geographic location and the presence of the majority of the world's proven underground petrochemical reserves. The Middle East lies at the juncture of the three main continents of the Eastern hemisphere. It is the locus of most important air and sea routes from East to West and vice versa, a reality which has been recognized for many centuries and has been the cause of innumerable wars.

2. There are no rules for superpower behavior in the region. Unlike Europe and East Asia, where there are elaborate, long-standing alliance systems, and a history in some cases of hot war followed by explicit agreements, armistices or peace treaties, the Middle East is a region where little has been established between the superpowers in terms of ground rules.

overreaction in case of a flare-up involving one or the other superpower initiated by a third party client or ally, or by another actor.

3. There is a history of serious international crises involving the superpowers growing out of Middle East wars, especially those involving Israel and the Arabs. This was less so at the outset of this series

as Soviet forces were apparently on point of intervening to come to the aid of Egypt after Israeli forces failed to observe the U.N.-mandated ceasefire. During the 1982 war in Lebanon, both sides made precautionary moves with their military forces, and there was a high level exchange of messages regarding the Israeli invasion, although in the end no major crisis ensued.

4. This history is so disquieting because since the 1960s the two superpowers have been aligned with opposing sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict, thus superimposing an East-West polarization on the existing regional one. The extent to which this increases the gravity of the crises can be seen from comparison with the Iran-Iraq war, where there is no such alignment of the superpowers with the conflicting sides. The Iran-Iraq war is far less dangerous and far less salient as an international issue as a result, although it has been a considerably bigger and bloodier conflict than the Arab-Israeli one for the last few years, and has important implications for regional stability and world oil supplies.

5. Another important cause for concern regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict as a possible trigger for superpower confrontation is that it has the potential for becoming a nuclear conflict, with all the dangers this poses for drawing in the

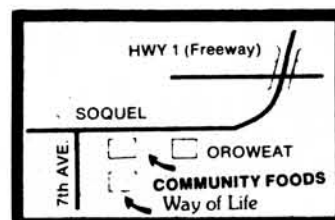
... during the June 1967 war the U.S.-Soviet hot line had to be used for the first time.

At sea, in the air at the peripheries of the extended air space of the two powers, in Antarctica, and elsewhere, there are now tacit or formal rules for behavior of forces of the two sides, rules which are rarely violated. In the Middle East this is not the case. In 1982-84, U.S. forces were ashore in Lebanon and at sea offshore, while only a few dozen miles away Soviet combat forces staffed Syrian air defenses. In this situation there were no lines of communication, no clear limits or rules which might have prevented an

of wars, for during the first of them, in 1948 and 1956, the United States and U.S.S.R. were on the same side, in 1948 both supporting Israel, and in 1956 opposing Britain, France and Israel.

However, during the June 1967 war the U.S.-Soviet hot line had to be used for the first time. In 1970, during the so-called "war of attrition," Soviet planes were shot down by Israel over the Suez Canal Zone as Soviet forces staffed Egyptian air defenses. During the October 1973 war there was a U.S. nuclear alert

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major nuclear powers. It is accepted by most experts that Israel has nuclear weapons, most probably developed secretly in coordination with South Africa, and through illegal transfers of technology, hardware and possibly fissionable materials from the United States.

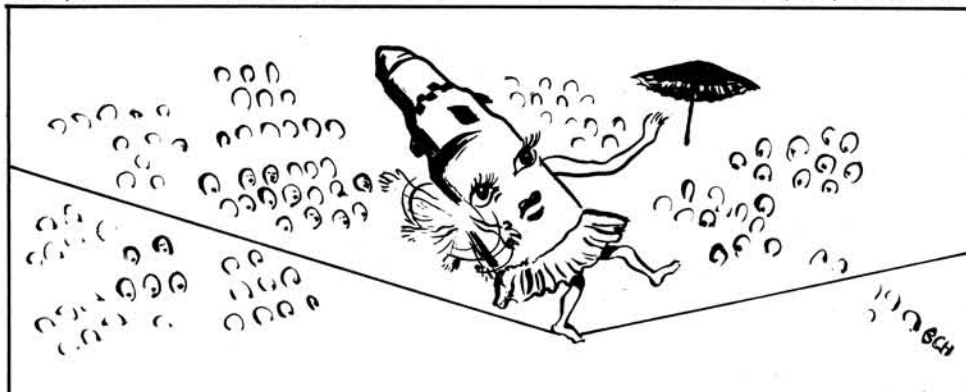
It is probable that sooner or later the Arab states will seek to acquire matching capabilities, which Israel has already indicated it believes they have started to do, as evidenced by its 1981 bombing attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Should there be renewed large-scale conflict between the Arab states and Israel, there are disquieting implications in terms of superpower involvement, whether the current nuclear imbalance in the region continues, or a nuclear balance of terror emerges there.

6. The final reason for the danger of the entire Middle East region is the intractable nature of conflicts there. This is most notably true of the Arab-Israeli one, in which Israel, the closest and most

tation, should it develop once again into open warfare on a large scale, as has already happened six times in 38 years.

Perhaps the reticence of some to address this issue arises from the extreme sensitivity of the Arab-Israeli dispute in American domestic discourse. However, this is such a critical area in terms of world peace that such sensitivities should not be allowed to get in the way. In the last analysis, it is as much in the interest of the peoples of the region, whether Israelis or Arabs, as of Americans, Soviets, and others, that this issue receive the attention it deserves, and finally achieve resolution.

While many would prefer to ignore this reality, the danger of a nuclear confrontation growing out of the Arab-Israeli dispute can only be avoided by solving the core dispute in the region, that between Israel and the Palestinians, at the same time as problems between Israel and the Arab states are resolved. Since the conflict began, hardly any attention



intimate ally of the United States, is involved. For a variety of historical, ideological, emotional and strategic reasons the United States treats Israel differently from any of its other closest friends—whether in terms of the sophistication of the weaponry and technology it receives from the United States, the level of intelligence and strategic collaboration between the two countries, or the lion's share of the American foreign aid budget which is devoted to Israel.

At the same time, in the Middle East the Soviet Union has made major investments of prestige and resources for 30 years—for a longer period, and on a larger scale, than in any other region or any other conflict. The perceived danger to the U.S.S.R. of unchallenged American strategic hegemony in such close proximity to the Soviet borders makes it impossible for Soviet strategists to take a detached view of developments there. Given the three-decade-long Soviet involvement in supplying arms to the Arab states, combined with the close alliance between Israel and the United States, the U.S.S.R. undoubtedly perceives that it has little choice but to continue backing the Arab states in their dispute with Israel.

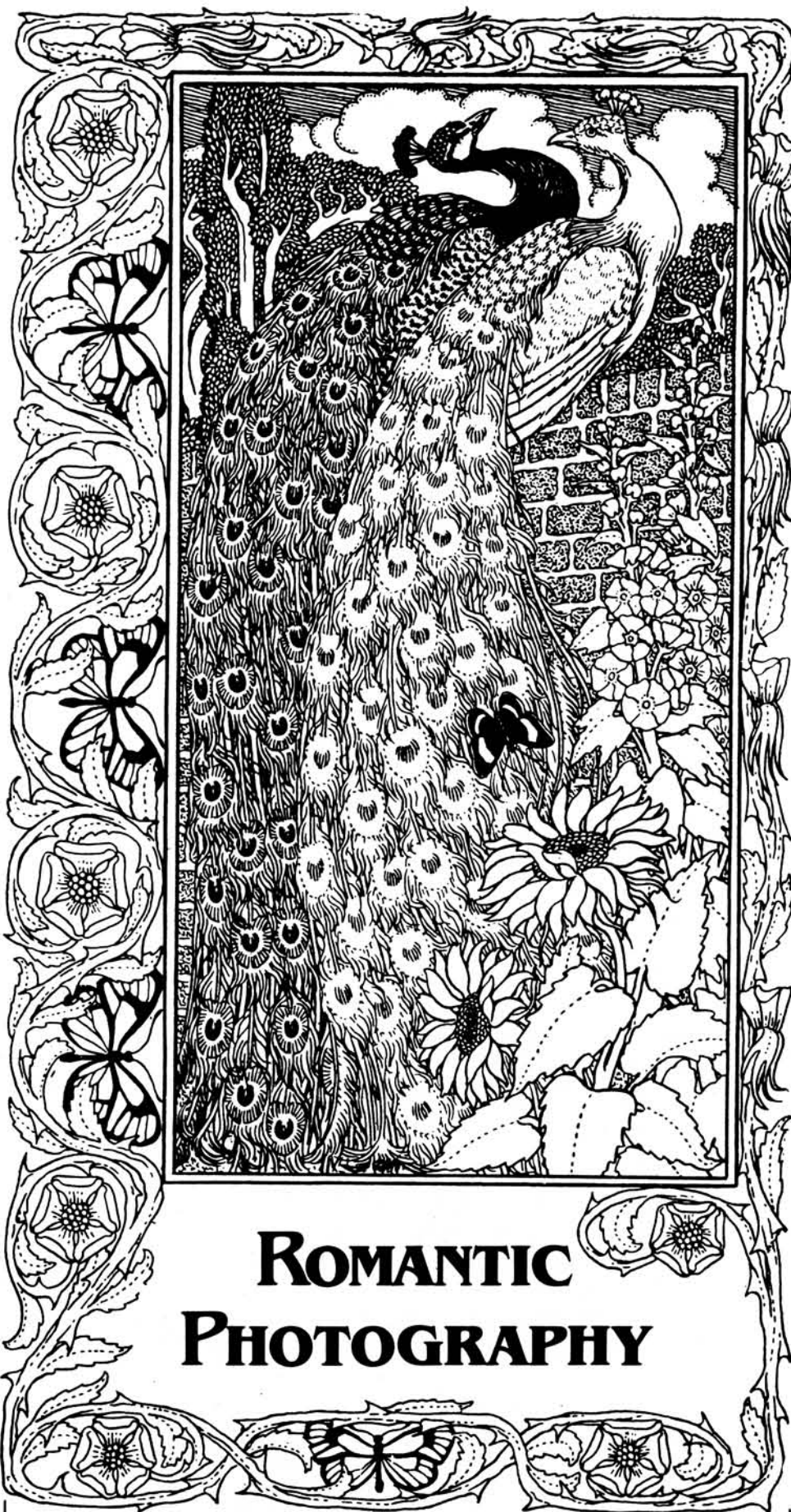
In view of all of this, it would seem that this is a matter which deserves much more attention from those concerned with East-West tension in this country. Compared to South Africa, South East Asia, and even Central America and Afghanistan, there seems to be little informed concern regarding the Middle East on the part of those Americans worried about the dangers of nuclear confrontations between the superpowers. This is particularly unfortunate in view of the greater potential of the Arab-Israeli conflict than any of those just mentioned for escalating into an East-West confron-

tion, should it develop once again into open warfare on a large scale, as has already happened six times in 38 years.

has been devoted by American policy-makers to the Palestinian dimension, even as considerable effort was being exerted to defuse tensions between Israel and the neighboring Arab states. Not coincidentally, peace is still far off. The linkages between the Palestinian issue, the possibility of renewed war between the Arab states and Israel, and the potential for superpower confrontation as a result are subtle ones. Understanding them, and doing something about the problem, requires a far better informed public opinion than currently exists. Aside from understanding these linkages, people must be willing to fault policy-makers who see gaining advantage over the Soviet Union in the Middle East as more important than the achievement of peace.

Just as the nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers is too precarious to allow attempts by either side to achieve unilateral superiority, so is the Middle East too dangerous for the politics of superpower confrontation. Given the complexity of this issue, and the factors outlined above, peace in the Middle East will undoubtedly require the efforts of both superpowers. Pushing this country in such a direction should be a central focus of all of those concerned about the danger of nuclear war.

*Rashid Khalidi is a professor and fellow of Columbia University's Middle East Institute, where he teaches courses on the politics of the region. An expert on Soviet-Middle Eastern relations, he has taught at Georgetown University and the American University of Beirut. Prior to the war in Lebanon, Khalidi was also director of the Palestine News Agency, Wafa, in Beirut. He has authored a book recently published by Columbia University Press entitled **The War in Lebanon: The PLO Under Siege.***



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The Rising Threat of Escalation

Middle East Wired For Nuclear War

by Joseph Gerson

Hanna Siniora is the editor of the Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr* and one of two Palestinians who the PLO, the Israeli and U.S. governments agree could negotiate on behalf of Palestinians. Uri Avnery is the editor of *Haolam Hazeh*, a former Israeli Knesset Member and chairperson of the Progressive List for Peace. Recently Siniora and Avnery completed a U.S. speaking tour which took them to Washington, D.C., New York and Boston. By touring together they sought to demonstrate that there remains a way to peace in the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict: a two-state solution providing for Israeli independence and security within its pre-war 1967 boundaries and a similarly independent and secure Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

While speaking in Boston Siniora and Avnery found they had another dubious area of agreement. In Siniora's words, if the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict is not soon resolved, "the area may go nuclear in a few years." Avnery was equally direct. "The conflict started with sticks and stones, then went to guns, rifles, machine guns, tanks and jets. We are well on the way to nuclear bombs."

Nuclear bombs have, however, long been a major factor in the Middle East equation. The CIA long ago estimated that Israel had between 20 and 200 nuclear warheads. Iraq and Libya have long sought nuclear capability, and there has been deep suspicion that Saudi Arabia has supported Pakistan's effort to join the "nuclear club" with the expectation that "the Islamic bomb" would be shared. For those who have little knowledge of, or identity with, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the prospect of regional tensions escalating to nuclear confrontations is more than a little sobering.

A SECRET HISTORY

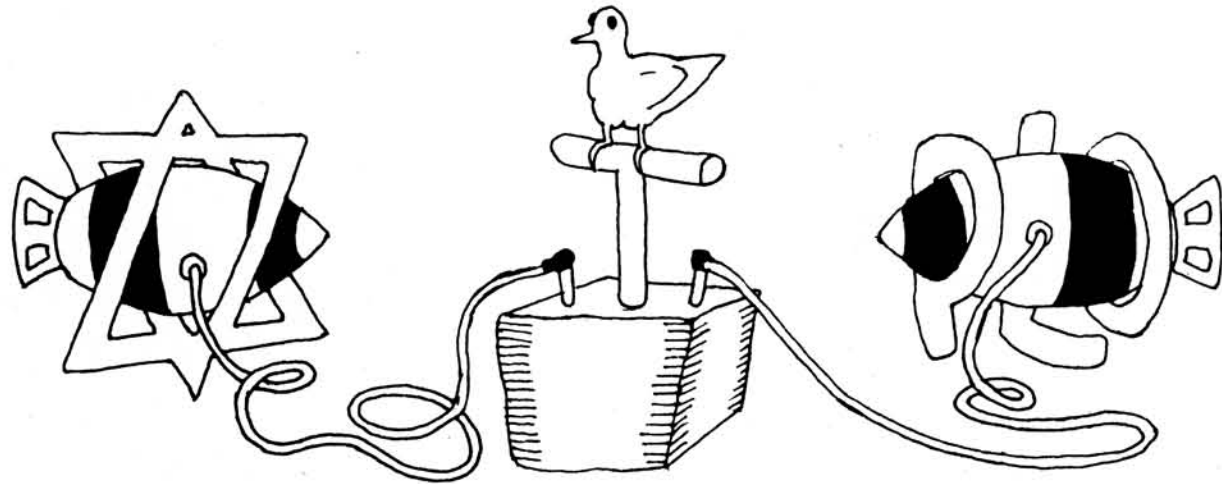
The exercise of nuclear blackmail in the Middle East precedes the post "Iran crisis" deployments of U.S. cruise, MX, Trident and Pershing 2 missiles which Daniel Ellsberg has described as "wiring the region to a Doomsday Machine." If we take President Truman at his word, the United States threatened nuclear war

to preserve its hegemony over the Middle East in 1946, less than a year after the bombing of Nagasaki. During the Iran crisis of that year, when the Soviets were slow to withdraw from two provinces in Northern Iran which they had occupied with U.S. and British approval during World War II, the Soviet Ambassador

effort to restore the Suez Canal to colonial control, he countered Soviet nuclear threats against U.S. allies in Europe with a potent nuclear threat to the Soviets. During the 1970 "Jordanian civil war," when the PLO was attacked by the Hashemite Kingdom's army, President Nixon again threatened to attack the

the United States plays it in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is not the only potential U.S. target. When nationalists toppled the British imposed monarchy in Iraq in 1958, President Eisenhower ordered the Joint Chiefs of Staff to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, to prevent the revolution from spilling over into neighboring and oil rich Kuwait. More recently, Richard Nixon told a reporter for "The Middle East" magazine that those who fear that cruise missiles based in Comiso, Italy are targetted against the Middle East and North Africa are "one hundred percent correct." These strategically armed missiles can destroy Tripoli, Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo. They cannot, however, reach Moscow.

President Reagan's recent and carefully choreographed confrontation of the Sixth Fleet and Colonel Qaddafi's pitiful military force in the Gulf of Sidra illustrates the nuclear dimension of modern gunboat diplomacy. Each of the thirty ships of the three aircraft carrier fleet was armed with nuclear weapons. Moreover, because the Libyan military is so poorly trained, its anti-aircraft missiles based on the Libyan coast are staffed by Soviet technicians, who also serve as nuclear tripwires. One must ask how many Russians must be killed in such incidents before the Kremlin finds it necessary to



... if the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict is not soon resolved, "the area may go nuclear in a few years."

was told that if Soviet withdrawal did not begin within 48 hours Truman would drop "the superbomb" on the Soviet Union. According to Truman, who recounted the story on a number of occasions, the withdrawal began within 24 hours.

Whether Truman was boasting, as some claim, is of little importance. Truman's scenario has since served as the model for U.S. presidents. Though President Eisenhower ordered the French, British and Israelis to withdraw from Egypt in the wake of their ill-conceived

Soviets should their Syrian allies come to the aid of the Palestinians in Jordan. In Nixon's words, "It was like a ghastly game of dominoes, with a nuclear war waiting at the end." Again, in the closing days of the 1973 October War, when Israel was denying food and water to the defeated and encircled Egyptian Third Army in the Sinai Desert, President Nixon countered Soviet threats to come to the aid of the Egyptians by publicly placing U.S. forces on a Defcon 3 nuclear alert.

In the game of nuclear blackmail, as

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There are obviously many ways in which a conflict in the Middle East could escalate to a nuclear confrontation and war. The Soviets might not back down as they did in 1970, 1973, and again during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Or, the Israelis may find themselves in more desperate straits than they did in the opening days of the 1973 war, when, according to Moshe Dayan, nuclear weapons were loaded onto Israeli aircraft.

Nuclear war in the Middle East could also develop out of the collapse of the "firebreak" between nuclear and conventional war. During the "Iran crisis" in 1979 and 1980, when Pentagon planners feared the Soviets would fill the "power vacuum" that came with the fall of the Shah, Pentagon strategists found they could not dispatch sufficient numbers of U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf quickly enough to block a Soviet invasion, and resorted again to threats of nuclear blackmail. In the wake of the crisis President Carter signed Presidential Directive #59 committing the United States to a first strike policy. He also created the "dual capable" Rapid Deployment Force, which became the Central Command under Ronald Reagan.



The Central Command is another nuclear tripwire. In addition to its highly sophisticated and terribly destructive "conventional" weapons, its forces are armed and trained to fight "tactical" nuclear war in the Middle East—using neutron bombs and nuclear armed anti-tank, anti-ship and anti-aircraft weapons. In the words of Ronald Reagan, the underlying thesis of this U.S. strategy is "You don't just plant a flag in the ground and walk away. . . . It's based on the assumption . . . the Soviet Union is not ready yet to take on that confrontation which could become World War III." With Star Wars and the strategic weapons deployed since the "Iran crisis" the United States has sought to regain a first strike capability. But there is a difference between nuclear confrontations in the Middle East in the foreseeable future and those of earlier years. The Soviets have now spent more than a trillion dollars to build a nuclear arsenal to assure that they will not be forced to back down in the next confrontation.

GEOPOLITICS AND NUCLEAR WAR

There is a reason why the United States has resorted to nuclear planning and blackmail more frequently in relation to the Middle East than other parts of the Third World. In the words of political



scientist Eqbal Ahmad, the Middle East, particularly the nations bordering the Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz, are "the geopolitical center of the struggle for world power." Despite the current glut of the international oil market, half the world's known oil reserves are to be found there and half of the oil of the region must be shipped through the Strait of Hormuz. These facts led the State Department to conclude in 1944 that the region which the United States would inherit as a result of World War II was "one of the greatest prizes in the history of warfare."

The ability to exercise control over the Middle East, as the United States has done since the end of World War II, provides additional levers of power over Western Europe, Japan and the surging economics of the Pacific Rim. It has provided important markets for goods manufactured in the United States, particularly weapons. Since the days of the Baghdad Pact it has given the United States a base for military operations on the Russians' southern and southwestern flanks—a disturbing phenomenon for a nation that has been invaded by the West three times in this century.

While nuclear war could result from an accident, it is most likely to occur when the superpowers are struggling to maintain what they consider their vital interests. It is for this reason that the Middle East, which former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair Maxwell Taylor called "the jugular vein of Western Capitalism," is the most likely nuclear trigger. Because regional conflicts in the Middle East, foreign intervention and nuclear war are linked it is essential that disarmament and arms control activists work to disarm the nuclear hair trigger that will remain cocked even if we should be so fortunate as to win a nuclear weapons freeze or cut nuclear arsenals by fifty percent.

Joseph Gerson, formerly Middle East program director for the American Friends Service Committee's New England Office, is currently AFSC's regional Peace Secretary in Boston. He has studied and travelled extensively in the Middle East, and edited *The Deadly Connection: Nuclear War and U.S. Intervention*, published by New Society Publishers.

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Israelis Awaken To Nuclear Threat

by Hillel Schenker

Carl Sagan recently gave a moving talk in Jerusalem entitled "The Final Solution of the Human Problem: Adolf Hitler and Nuclear War." In it, he warned that while nearly fifty million people were killed during the six years of World War II, "in the few minutes of a global thermonuclear war, more than a billion people may be killed, and from lingering radioactivity and the world climatic catastrophe known as nuclear winter, perhaps everyone on earth." He concluded that "if we take seriously our obligation to the tens of millions who perished in World War II, we must rid the planet of the blight of nuclear weapons."

He was immediately followed on the platform by Israeli Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, who said—"Don't worry, according to the Bible, we have a pact with the Almighty which will protect us from such a dire end." Navon is generally a liberal, enlightened man, who speaks out against Kahanist racism, encourages Jewish-Arab encounters, and takes dovish positions on questions of peace and security. Yet his "joke" about the Almighty and nuclear weapons is a typical example of the difficulties facing those in Israel who are trying to raise an anti-nuclear consciousness in the Israeli public.

What is the Middle Eastern "nuclear picture" that Israelis are facing today? The official Israeli position, which has been reiterated by all Israeli prime minis-

ters, including Begin, Shamir and Peres, is that "Israel will not be the first country to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East." Israel also supports the Egyptian U.N. proposal for a Middle Eastern nuclear-free zone, provided that such an agreement be arrived at via direct negotiations between all parties concerned, something which the Arab countries (other than Egypt) are unwilling to do until the Palestinian question and all other outstanding problems between Is-

27 nuclear warheads (The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) to 200 warheads (according to the Israeli authors of *Two Minutes Over Baghdad*, Amos Perlmutter, Michael Hendel and Uri Bar-Yosef).

On the Arab-Islamic side of the fence, it is known that Pakistan is well on its way towards realizing its nuclear potential (partially to counteract India which tested a nuclear weapon in 1974). Syrian Defense Minister Mustapha Tlass has

prime ministership in 1964 and his replacement by Eshkol, who preferred to devote Israel's nuclear research to civilian priorities, the Committee felt that its goals had been achieved. After Israel's overwhelming military victory in 1967, Committee members assumed that there would no longer be a need even to consider a nuclear option, and the Committee was disbanded.

This proved to be a mistake. Around 1968-1969, the Israeli government apparently decided to go nuclear. The reasons for this change in approach were: 1) the perception that the Arabs would want revenge for their defeat. Egyptian President Nasser said that "what was taken by force will be returned by force," and therefore an Israeli nuclear deterrent would be needed to counteract this threat; 2) the post-67 national unity government, with Begin, Dayan and Peres as ministers, changed the balance of forces within the Israeli cabinet; 3) the Nixon-Kissinger administration in the U.S. had a different approach to the question of nuclear proliferation from Kennedy and Johnson, and they began to consider Israel's military strength to be a strategic asset; and 4) perhaps there were those, like Begin, who already began to support the idea of Greater Israel and were unwilling to give back the newly conquered territories. They realized that this would put Israel on a long-term collision course with the Arab world, a situation which would require a strong military (nuclear) deterrent.

A second attempt to organize anti-nuclear activity took place in 1981-1982. In May, 1981, the Pugwash Conference of international scientists (who had been working since 1955 for nuclear disarmament) met at Rehovot in Israel. In June, 1981, Prime Minister Menachem Begin ordered the Israeli air force to bomb the Osirak nuclear reactor in Baghdad, Iraq

The challenge facing Israeli antinuclear activists today is first and foremost to place the issue on the public's agenda.

rael and the Arab world are resolved. Israel has nuclear reactors at Soreq and Dimona, and major nuclear research centers at the Haifa Technion, the Hebrew University (Jerusalem), Tel Aviv University and the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot. It is assumed that Israel has the ability to go nuclear today at a very short notice, a situation which is known as "the bomb in the basement." While there has been no official confirmation that Israel has nuclear weapons, recent reports have estimated Israel's nuclear weapons potential to range from

declared that "Syria is considering the possibility of purchasing nuclear weapons to offset Israel's nuclear strength." The Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission has completed the first stage of a study to establish a new (less vulnerable) location for an atomic reactor, and Egyptian Electricity and Energy Minister Maher Abaza declared that Egypt will use a \$250 million loan granted by the U.S. Export-Import Bank to build a nuclear power station near Alexandria. (Notice that two of the traditional Middle Eastern "devils," Libya and Iran, aren't even mentioned in this survey.)

Despite these ominous facts and estimations, Israelis have very little awareness of the nuclear dangers lurking over the horizon. Other political, economic and social problems occupy their attention. The challenge facing Israeli antinuclear activists today is first and foremost to place the issue on the public's agenda.



There have been at least two previous attempts to do this. In 1961, a "Committee for the Denuclearization of the Israeli-Arab Conflict" was founded by a group of intellectuals, scientists and political figures. The committee was backed by the *Mapam Party*, *New Outlook* magazine, Prof. Martin Buber, Prof. Gershom Sholem, Prof. Efraim Auerbach, and even some members of the dominant *Mapai Party* (the forerunner of today's Labor Party). At the time, a battle was raging within Israeli political and security circles. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, Deputy Defense Minister Peres, and Agricultural Minister Dayan favored "going nuclear," i.e. developing a nuclear option as a deterrent against the Arabs. Finance Minister Eshkol, Foreign Minister Meir, U.N. Ambassador Eban and others preferred to rely on conventional deterrents. The Committee acted as a lobby to influence cabinet officials, members of Knesset and scientists against the nuclear option. After Ben-Gurion's resignation from the

(an act condemned by opposition leader Shimon Peres). In the wake of these two events, and in conjunction with worldwide preparation for the Second Special Disarmament Session of the United Nations General Assembly scheduled to be held in June-July 1982, *New Outlook* magazine published a special issue devoted to "The Dangers of Nuclear Proliferation and Confrontation in the Middle East," and decided to organize public antinuclear activities in conjunction with the publication of the issue.

The issue and the activities were timed for May-June 1982. But Prime Minister Begin, Defense Minister Sharon, and Chief-of-Staff Eitan had other plans. On June 5, 1982, they began the invasion of Lebanon. The special issue was published but the public activities had to be cancelled. The conventional conflict clearly took precedence in people's minds over the theoretical nuclear danger. However, due to the dedicated efforts of Jerusalem architect Yohanan Meir, a broad cross-

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section of 50 Israeli public figures signed a pro-disarmament, anti-nuclear petition that was part of an international campaign held in conjunction with the Special U.N. Disarmament Assembly.

In November, 1984, a delegation from the American Nuclear Freeze movement visited Israel and neighboring Arab countries, but they came mainly to learn rather than to teach. In July 1984, the third annual European Nuclear Disarmament (E.N.D.) Conference held in Perugia, Italy, decided to put the Middle East on the agenda of the European antinuclear movement because the Israeli-Arab conflict was considered to be one of the major potential sources of nuclear instability in the world. Three Israelis (including the author of this article) and three Palestinians were invited to participate in the

committee isn't concerning itself directly with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The approach which has guided Israeli anti-nuclear activists since the period of the first committee in the early sixties is to create as broad a coalition as possible. Thus, without limiting itself to the traditional moderate-leftwing spectrum concerned with Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict, the committee's focus can be on nuclear issues.

The challenge confronting Israeli anti-nuclear activists today is to develop an effective strategy to raise Israeli public awareness of the dangers inherent in the potential nuclearization of the Israeli-Arab conflict, and to try to have an impact on Israeli opinion and decision-makers. To do this, the new committee will have to overcome a number of prob-



fourth annual E.N.D. conference held in Amsterdam in July, 1985. When asked by an Italian participant whether Israeli-Arab antinuclear cooperation was possible, one of the Israeli participants said that "when you're suffering from a toothache, it's hard to pay attention to cancer."

Renewed efforts to raise Israeli anti-nuclear consciousness began again in 1984, when a group of physicians came together to form an Israeli Association of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. When the International Association of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War won the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize, the Israeli branch, which now numbered over 200 Israeli physicians headed by Dr. Ernesto Kahan, the Deputy Director of Beilinson Hospital, gained a fair amount of media and public attention. A number of Israeli antinuclear activists decided to take advantage of this publicity to establish a general Israeli Public Committee for the Prevention of Nuclear War. It was felt that Israel is too small a country to build separate antinuclear groups along professional lines, and that all human resources should be pooled together in one centralized public committee that will reach outwards towards the various professions, the political establishment, and the general public.

A corresponding development is the beginning of a public debate around the official American invitation to the Israeli government to join Star Wars. While Prime Minister Peres and many people in the scientific and military establishment are tempted by the scientific and financial benefits that Israel could gain from joining the project, a minority of political, military and scientific figures such as physicists Prof. Uri Maor (Tel Aviv U.) and Dr. Arnon Dar (Haifa Technion) have spoken out against Israeli participation in Star Wars.

At this point, the Israeli antinuclear

lems:

- Many Israelis feel that the Holocaust, coupled with ongoing Arab enmity, give Israel the moral right to maintain a nuclear option to defend itself.

- Minister of Commerce and Industry Ariel Sharon and Prof. Yuval Ne'eman (a former minister and internationally renowned nuclear physicist) say that Israel has the right and the ability to preempt the possibility of any Arab state achieving a nuclear potential. The 1981 Osirak raid is supposed to have demonstrated the credibility of this thesis.

- There are doves, such as Dr. Shai Feldman and Prof. Shlomo Ahronson, who say that a nuclear option will provide Israel with an alternative means of strategic depth that will enable it to consider giving up the Occupied Territories.

- The fact that Israelis are preoccupied with past scars and present economic, social, and conventional security problems makes it very difficult for them to take seriously the gravity of the "theoretical" nuclear danger.

Despite all of these problems, the members of the new committee are determined to make a serious effort to establish a viable and potent movement. As E.P. Thompson said in a message to the special issue of *New Outlook* in 1982: "There is surely no question whatsoever that if Europe deeply needs a European Nuclear Weapons Free Zone to start pushing the Cold War back into memory, the Middle East needs a nuclear free zone quite desperately and urgently for self-preservation."

Hillel Schenker, *New Outlook* Associate Editor, was the editor of the magazine's special issue devoted to the "The Dangers of Nuclear Proliferation and Confrontation in the Middle East" (May, 1982). He is the spokesperson for the new Israeli Public Committee Against Nuclear War.



Fifth Middle East Peace Delegation & Study Tour

The Resource Center for Nonviolence is pleased to announce its fifth peace delegation and study tour to the Middle East this August 1-19. The itinerary includes visits to Jordan, Israel, the occupied territories (the West Bank and Gaza Strip), and Egypt. The tour will be co-lead by Deena Hurwitz and Scott Kennedy of the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Together they headed similar delegations in 1981, '83, '84 and '85.

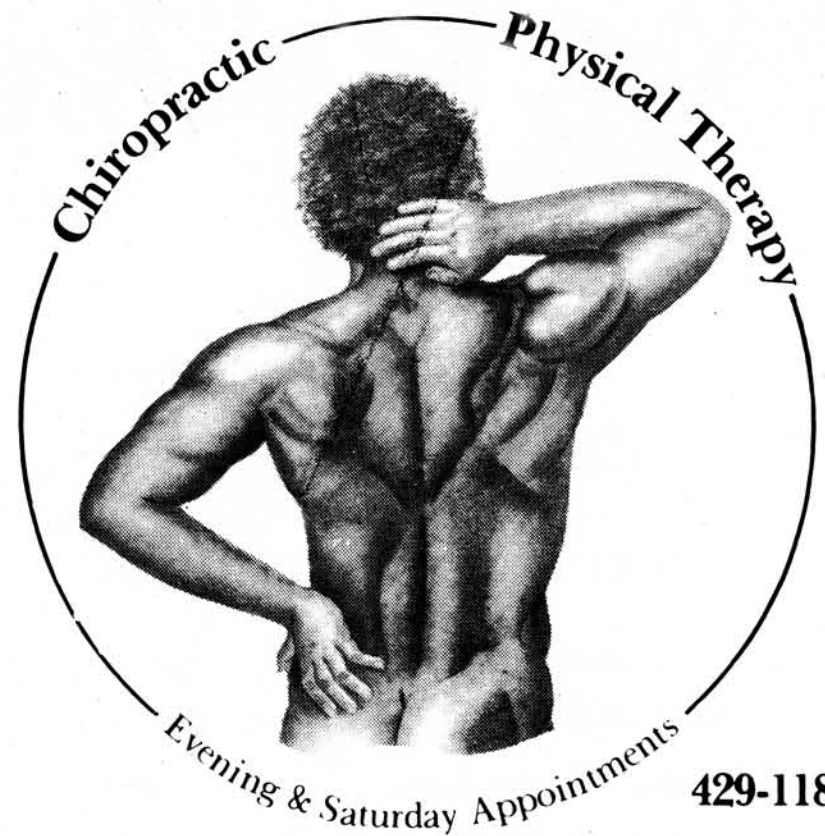
This tour is for people who do not want to simply re-enforce partisanship for one side or the other, but who are prepared to see the Israelis, the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples face-to-face rather than as political abstractions. The tour is for those who want to understand the conflict and its roots, and to examine the prospects for peace obscured by the mainstream media. The tour allows time for participants to determine priorities for contacts, and to

reflect together on the meaning and interpretation of what has been seen or heard.

The specific objective of the tour is to explore the possibilities of a negotiated settlement of the Arab/Israeli conflict, based on mutual recognition and guaranteed security of both the Israeli and the Palestinian people. It will further strengthen communication between Americans and people in the Mideast who favor such a settlement. While the emphasis is on contemporary political events, attention will also be paid to the historical and cultural dimension of the region, with some group time and individual free time set aside for visits to tourist sites and personal touring.

For more information contact the Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 or phone (408) 423-1626.

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A Strategy For Activists

by Melinda Fine

It was a busy week for the White House. On March 22, the United States conducted its first nuclear test of the year, an act in complete defiance of the unilateral, twice extended, testing moratorium of the Soviet Union. On March 25 and 26, the United States initiated five attacks on Libyan patrol ships and two attacks on Libyan radar sites, acts the administration defined as "in response to" Libyan-fired Soviet missiles aimed at U.S. aircraft in the contested Gulf of Sidra.

These events, just days after the House of Representatives voted against the President's \$100 million aid package to the Nicaraguan Contras, coincided with the administration sending emergency arms aid to Honduras to counter an alleged Sandinista incursion against Contra bases within Honduras. On March 28, *The Washington Post* reported that the United States would conduct its second nuclear test of 1986 within the next few days.

What have any of these incidents to do with each other? What possible lessons do they draw for activists concerned, primarily, with halting the nuclear arms race?

According to high-ranking administration officials, President Reagan "believes he has succeeded in bringing about a more favorable Soviet-American balance of power, thus enabling him to act with

greater freedom and decisiveness around the world. . . . The United States is relatively stronger overall and the Soviet Union relatively weaker overall than five or eight years ago." (*NYT*, 3/27).

Given that within the last five years the nuclear arms race has continued unabated; that new, highly provocative technologies, such as Star Wars, have been introduced; that domestic programs have been severely eroded; and that more rather than fewer nations have devoted

national security as interdependent with the common security of all nations—including that of the Soviet Union and those nations in the Middle East.

Such an understanding requires that Freeze activists pay increasing attention to regional conflicts. These conflicts could ultimately lead to nuclear war, but they are fueled, in part, by the same cold war which serves to legitimate an ongoing race in nuclear arms.

While many disarmament organiza-

. . . to achieve the first step of a Freeze, it has become increasingly apparent that calling for a halt to nuclear hardware is not enough.

their finite resources to military programs at the expense of their own development, opportunities for military clashes which could ultimately lead to nuclear war, have been heightened rather than reduced. In this context, interpretations of U.S. "strength" and Soviet "weakness" become almost meaningless. A vision more consonant with the potential of the nuclear age would recognize U.S.

tions have paid increasing attention to the "deadly connection" between nuclear strategies and interventionist policies, this attention has largely overlooked the Middle East. Yet the Middle East region poses one of the most painful and provocative examples of how a deeply-rooted indigenous conflict can be used, intensified, and perpetuated by the U.S.-Soviet cold war. Superpower attempts to gain influence in the region spur on massive Middle East arms sales and the stationing of dual-capable and nuclear forces in nearby waters. These weapons provide an opening for involvement by both superpowers and serve as vehicles through which to broker power in the region. In addition, the transfer of nuclear technology to opposing forces in the region ensures that escalation from conventional to nuclear war is more possible in the Middle East than anywhere else in the world.

Thus, it is critical for Freeze activists to examine the Middle East conflict, and call for policy alternatives which would defuse tensions in the region.

Such policies could include:

1. A halt to technology transfers which encourage nuclear proliferation (e.g., U.S. promotion of Israel's participation in Star Wars research should be curtailed).
2. The establishment of a Middle East Nuclear Free Zone.
3. A halt to technological developments which narrow the firebreak between nuclear and conventional systems.
4. A U.S.-U.S.S.R. bilateral agreement of non-intervention and non-interference, beginning with an immediate halt to the presence of military troops in the region and followed by a gradual halt to military aid and advisors.
5. Active support for efforts toward international, diplomatic resolutions to conflict in the region, such as that witnessed in the Five Continent Peace Initiative to resolve tensions in Central America. Specifically, the Freeze Campaign could call for the involvement of both superpowers in an all-parties negotiation



conference, an initiative called for by many actors in the region.

These policies are not so far afield from current strategy of the Freeze Campaign. In fact, achievement of a Freeze could significantly contribute to lessening Middle East tensions. It would maintain parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, thus making nuclear threats less likely; halt the development of new sophisticated weapons which could carry nuclear or conventional bombs, helping to control levels of conflict; strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty; and represent a first step toward defusing the cold war and decreasing world tension.

But in order to achieve the first step of a Freeze, it has become increasingly apparent that calling for a halt to nuclear hardware is not enough. What is required is nothing less than a new vision of national security, one in which our current foreign policy is transformed not only in the Middle East, but in U.S.-Soviet relations, altogether.

As our Campaign embarks on a process to determine a long-term vision beyond the Freeze, we must begin to advocate policies which rely neither on nuclear nor conventional weapons, nor license the propensity of both superpowers to view the regions of the world as arenas through which their political or economic aims can be achieved. Instead, our challenge must be to recognize our interdependency, developing a code of common security which benefits all the worlds' nations.

Melinda Fine is the International Coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. In 1984, she toured the Middle East with a group of U.S. disarmament activists. Parts of this article have been drawn from three previously published articles: "Transforming Superpower Policies," in *New Outlook Magazine*, 3/85; "The Freeze and Non-Intervention—Fact Sheet #9"; and "The Future in Our Hands: A Call to Common Security," by Melinda Fine, Jennifer Leaning, Everett Mendelsohn, and Pam Solo, in *The Deadly Connection: Nuclear War and US Intervention*, New Society Publishers, 1986.

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The Middle East and Nuclear Issues

Resources For More Information

The Resource Center for Nonviolence, at 515 Broadway near Ocean in Santa Cruz, has many books and other written materials on the Arab-Israeli conflict and on nuclear disarmament issues. The Center has published a number of booklets, including:

Looking at the Middle East Puzzle, edited by Jim Wake, Deena Hurwitz and R. Scott Kennedy, \$1.00.

For Those Who Share a Will to Live: Perspectives on a Just Peace in the Middle East, by Rami G. Khouri, \$1.50.

Nonviolent Struggle and the Middle East, from New Society Press, including "The Druze of the Golan: A Case of Nonviolent Resistance," by Kennedy and "Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy for the Occupied Territories," by Mubarak Awad, \$2.95.

Also highly recommended and available from the Resource Center:

"Dangers of Nuclear Proliferation and Confrontation," Special Issue of *New Outlook Magazine*, \$4.00.

Samed, Journal of a West Bank Palestinian, by Raja Shehadeh, \$9.95.

"Lectures on Possession and Use of Nuclear Weapons in the Light of Torah, Gospel, and Shari'a," from Tanture Ecumenical Institute, Jerusalem, \$1.50.

Voices for a Middle East Confederation, by the Society for a Middle East Confederation, \$1.00.

Facing the PLO Question, with three essays by prominent American and Israeli Jews arguing for negotiations with the PLO, \$3.00.

Violence and the Value of Life in Jewish Tradition, an Oz ve Shalom (Strength and Peace) publication, Jerusalem, \$5.00.

A Compassionate Peace: A Future for the Middle East, by the American Friends Service Committee, \$7.25.

Prescription for Conflict: Israel's West Bank Settlement Policy, edited by Merle Thorpe, \$5.50.

The Gun and the Olive Branch, by David Hirst, \$3.50.

Please add 15% tax and handling to all orders and send to the Resource Center for Nonviolence, PO Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063. Or phone, (408) 423-1626.

In addition to written resources, Deena Hurwitz and Scott Kennedy co-lead annual peace delegations and study tours to the region, and are available for public speaking, workshops, study-groups, etc.

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At The Threshold

continued from page 15

against the indigenous Palestinian population that will compromise humane and democratic values upon which the Jewish State was founded—actions which would prove intolerable domestically and quite possibly jeopardize its support in the U.S.A.

Despite protestations against the injustice of Israel enforcing its own solution by brute force, Arabs have too often made it clear that they would do likewise had they the power and the opportunity.

Arafat and Begin were the perfect partners to a non-dialogue. Extremism in one camp fuels rejectionism in the other. The situation fosters illusory hopes, whether of a Mideast without Israel, or of an Israel without Arabs. It spawns futile means, such as a military occupation against the will of a numerically predominant population, pretenses on Israel's part of being a superpower able to dictate terms throughout the region, and redundant and self-defeating "armed struggle" against civilians by the Palestinians. It gives birth to an indigenous arms industry and the export of arms due to economic necessity and desire for less dependence on outside powers. Yet it also increases the influence and domination of the superpowers for whom the various parties to the conflict serve as surrogates.

For the average U.S. citizen, the Mideast arms race and its nuclearization represent a massive transfer of resources from the taxpayer to American military

contractors and the arms industry in this country. This dynamic has its own momentum unrelated to enhancing the security of the people in the Mideast or furthering the possibility of a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

For those concerned with the prospect of nuclear war, with the security of Israel or freedom and national self-determination for the Palestinians, with Israeli arms sales to oppressive regimes in South Africa and Central America, with Arab terrorism and "armed struggle," with guaranteeing democracy and social justice in any or all of the countries of the Middle East, and with improving relationships between the Soviet Union and the United States—a negotiated settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict is imperative.



This issue of *The Monthly Planet* describes the stakes—the likely danger of nuclear war arising from or occasioned by the Arab-Israeli conflict. It gives background to the nuclear dimension of the conflict. It describes efforts to break the stalemate by Israeli peace activists and the American disarmament movement and the need for a concerted effort to

create a nuclear-free Middle East.

By focusing exclusively on the nuclear dimension to the Middle East conflict, this forum perhaps neglects the absolute prerequisite for denuclearization—the necessity of a broader political settlement to the Arab-Israeli war.

The outlines of such a settlement are becoming more clear, and the need for its achievement more widely accepted by Israelis, Palestinians and Americans. It is predicated on the growing realization that, rather than being mutually exclusive, Israeli security and Palestinian self-determination are interdependent.

To the extent that Israel is able to accommodate some measure of satisfaction of Palestinian aspirations to national self-determination, its own security will be further ensured. To the extent that Palestinians are able to convince Israel of their preparedness to live side-by-side with the State of Israel, their own aspirations to self-determination are more likely to be realized.

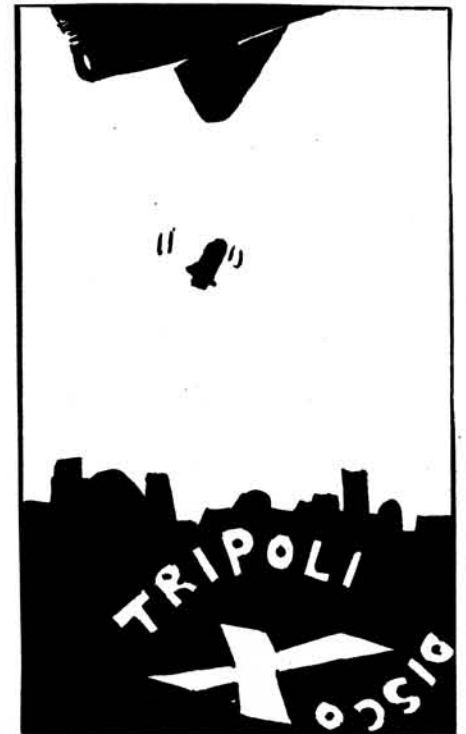
A two-state solution, with peaceful coexistence akin to Soviet-American détente, if not a complete change of heart with full-blown peace with justice, is the most viable political alternative to a worsening conflict, continued arms race and eventual use of nuclear weapons. Such a conflict would, in addition, address the self-interest and compelling needs of the people of the region, making it possible to transform the overarching dynamics in the region:

- enabling a disengagement from active war-footing and redirecting resources from preparation for war to the greatly needed economic development;
- translating the energy wasted in struggle across national boundaries to efforts to achieve for greater social and economic justice within the various countries;
- diminishing dependence on various outside forces and helping to remove superpower manipulation and intervention from the conflict; and
- with the eventual possibility of a Nuclear Free Zone being created in the Mideast.

This is a heady agenda, and one obviously not soon to be realized. However, it is one which is urgently needed by the people of the Middle East. And it is an agenda whose very possibility is greatly affected by the United States.

The time is long overdue when an informed public debate takes place about our country's role in the region, and the possible American contribution to a more viable political solution than continued enmity and war. In helping to edit this issue of *The Monthly Planet*, we provide a resource which may contribute to this public discussion. It offers some background perspectives on the urgent need for disarmament activists to more fully address the Arab-Israeli conflict.

R. Scott Kennedy and Deena Hurwitz are staff members of the Resource Center for Nonviolence (PO Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063). Deena is co-chair of the National Middle East Task Force of New Jewish Agenda, and Scott serves on the Board of the American-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. Both have travelled extensively in the Middle East, spoken at many different schools, colleges and groups, and published materials on the Israeli-Arab conflict. Scott is the author of *The Golani Druze: A Case Study of Nonviolence Resistance*.



Libya Bombing

continued from page 15

Berlin disco bombing, recent news stories have asserted that individuals involved were Jordanian (not Libyan or Palestinian), with ties to Syria and Iraq.

Why such vehemence against Libya? We venture the opinion that it is not as much to attack the source of terrorism (if there is one), as it is geared for domestic consumption—for effect within the United States on American public opinion to demonstrate Reagan's resolve and U.S. control and power.

Qaddafi himself has elicited from our government personality diagnoses such as "unstable," "manic-depressive," "cowardly," and "flakey." What is the point of character assassination except to make it easier for the public to accept the actual elimination of the individual?

Consider the racial caricatures at Qaddafi's and Libya's expense: the Arab-terrorist incarnate, irrational, ideologically anti-Western, beyond approach. Persistent use of imagery and words in U.S. cartoons and press accounts which foment racial stereotyping effectively dehumanize Arabs as a people, whether they are Libyan, Moslem, or other. As one response, we recommend that people join the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee to align themselves against such forces (contact the ADC, 1731 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington D.C. 20009).

If Qaddafi himself were killed, if a new government came to power in Libya, it would not end terrorism in the Middle East, in Europe, or against Americans. Because the enemy isn't a single man, or many men. It's a world order that upholds force as a means for solving conflict and perpetuates inequities which breed frustration, despair and hatred. The United States is grossly implicated in that world order, and in the Middle East, like in Central America, those byproducts of inequity have been breeding for too long.

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Lockheed's Lobby

Lockheed Corporation is taking a stand on President Reagan's military budget request—and asking its 87,000 employees to do the same. The company has mailed its workers a package containing three sample letters, each supporting an increase in military spending, and a letter from chairperson Larry Kitchen detailing the "international threat." Workers are asked to mail the sample letters, which already have their names printed at the bottom, to their representatives. They are also provided with a postcard, to be returned to the company with an explanation of what they did with the package. The packages were mailed directly to the

employees' homes.

Lockheed's move has drawn many negative reactions, some from its own employees. One twelve year employee said he "just threw the whole thing away." He added that he felt his "privacy was invaded." Ann Lencioni, another Lockheed worker, disagreed with her employer's position on the military budget. In a recent letter to the *San Jose Mercury News*, Lencioni said that the budget "represents an unwillingness to consider the only alternative that will assure our survival—an honest and relentless pursuit of peaceful coexistence."

The package did not supply employees with envelopes or stamps for the sample letters.



Over Qualified

Colonel James Burton is doing his job so well that the Pentagon has decided to transfer him to an assignment he would rather resign from than accept. Last year, Burton blew the whistle on the Army's Bradley Fighting Vehicle, designed to carry weapons and a squad of infantry into battle. In a report made available to Congress, Burton said that the Bradley is unsafe for the men inside it because its aluminum armor could too easily burn when hit. But the clincher in the report was Burton's allegation that the Army had fudged the tests on the vehicle, making it seem less vulnerable than it really was. For this, he was ordered to transfer to Alaska, which, by coincidence, is the state closest to Siberia. The Pentagon took back the order after some loud complaints from concerned congressmembers, and it even promised to let Burton keep his post until after the next set of tests on the Bradley.

Now the Pentagon has changed its position, and wants to move Burton before he has a chance to analyze these tests. This has elicited a chorus of opposition from congressmembers involved in some way with overseeing the armed services. So far, four groups of congressmembers have sent the Pentagon letters full of complaints, objections, and even threats. One letter, addressed to Deputy Secretary of Defense William Howard Taft IV, said: "If you are not serious about eliminating the hazards to American servicemen, we can hardly get serious about funding the Bradley."



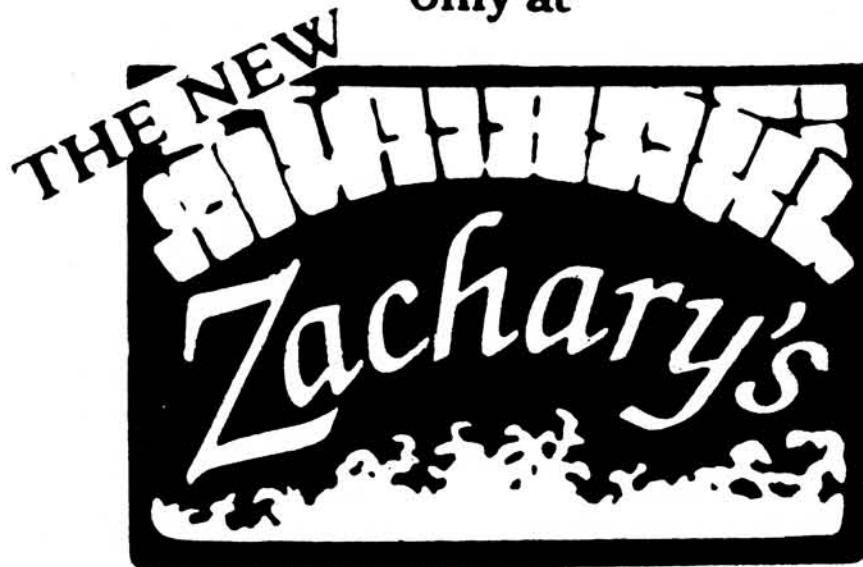
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Lax Tax

There are plans in both the House and Senate to change the way in which military contractors are taxed. Currently, as in the past, companies can delay paying taxes they owe on a government contract until it is completed. The underlying reason for this is that the price of a contract often changes in the course of its completion. Since a large amount of military contracts take years to complete, companies usually wait that long before sending Uncle Sam his cut.

The Senate and House plans, while having some differences, share the basic concept of requiring military contractors to estimate their income each year, and pay the required taxes at that time. The Senate plan is considered to be somewhat weaker, and has won the preference of the Reagan administration.

Peace & Justice Calendar

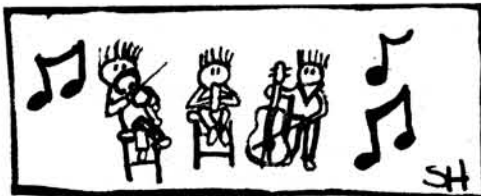
Calendar items must be typed, double spaced, and received by us no later than Monday, May 19 for inclusion in the June issue (publication date Thursday, May 29).

FRIDAY, MAY 2

Peace Child. Gala Champagne Opening. 8 pm. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz. \$15 general, \$10 children. Sponsored by Theatre of All Possibilities to finance West Coast tour. Info: 475-9244.

(Note: Performances of Peace Child will take place Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays at 8 pm from May 2 to June 4, excepting May 4. Matinees at 2 pm Sundays, May 11 and 18, June 1. Tickets for regular performances: \$7, \$6 seniors, \$4.50 children, at Loudon Nelson Center and Capitola Book Cafe.)

May Day Celebration. 6-10pm. Loudon Nelson Center. Sponsored by People's World.



SATURDAY, MAY 3

World Fusion Music Concert: Around the World in 80 Minutes by The Ancient Future Group, sponsored by Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility. Tickets \$7, Cymbaline Records or at the door. Children, seniors, low income \$5 at door only. 8 pm. Moraga Concert Hall, Broadway & Seabright, Santa Cruz. Info: 425-7031.

"Women in the Nuclear Age." A West Coast Conference sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility and League of Women Voters. Speakers include Betty Bumpers, John Vasconcellos, Sheila Tobias, Benjamin Spock. 9-5:30 Memorial Auditorium, Stanford University. \$10-\$20 scholarships. Info: (415) 725-5675.

Peace Child. See May 2.



WEDNESDAY, MAY 7

Friends Meeting Vigil. 4:30-5:30 pm. Town Clock, Santa Cruz. Info: 423-2605.

Nicaragua Slide Program. Ruth Hunter & Lois Muhly presenting faces and feelings of Nicaraguan women. 7-9 pm. Sponsored by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Trinity United Presbyterian Church Social Hall, Poplar & Melrose Sts., Santa Cruz. Info: 438-6094.

Draft Registration: An Update from the Home Front. Brian Kimber, from Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, San Francisco. Bring questions and concerns for a full evening of discussion and counseling. 7:30 pm. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Sponsored by American Civil Liberties Union, Santa Cruz Friends Meeting and RCNV. Info: 423-1626.

FRIDAY, MAY 9

Peace Child. See May 2.

SATURDAY, MAY 10

An Evening of Jewish and Latin American Music. Rita Falbel and Rafael Manriquez. Songs and classical guitar pieces from 12th century Spain to worldwide contemporary. Tickets: \$6 advance, \$8 at door; at Bookshop Santa Cruz, Resource Center for Nonviolence, and Blue Rhythm Records, Capitola. Sponsored by Kolaynu, S.C. New Jewish Agenda and Santa Cruz Chile Support Group. Info: 423-5223, 462-1344.

Peace Child. See May 2.

SUNDAY, MAY 11

Benefit Dinner for Watsonville Strikers. 2-9 pm. Poet and Patriot Pub, 320 Cedar St., Santa Cruz. Minimum donation \$5. Info: 426-8620.

Freedom Song Network. Business Meeting and Sing-along. 1-5 pm. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Info: Mark Levy, 425-5211.

Peace Child. See May 2.

TUESDAY, MAY 13

Conversations in Nonviolence: Religion & Politics. John Alexander, editor of The Other Side Magazine; Donald Nicole, professor of Middle Eastern Studies. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, 7:30 pm. Info: 423-1626.

War Tax Resistance Fund. General Meeting. 7:30 pm. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Info: 423-8924.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14

Nuclear Testing and Nonviolent Resistance. Eyewitness report from inside the Nevada Test Site, with slide show and information about the American Peace Test's May 31-June 2 protest. Learn more about why nuclear testing is so important, and how direct action can end it. Sponsored by the First Strike Prevention Project. 7:30 pm, Loudon Nelson Center, Room 2, Laurel and Center St. Info: 458-9975.

Vigil. See May 7.

THURSDAY, MAY 15

Conversations in Nonviolence: Religion & Politics. UCSC, time TBA. Info: Darrell Yeaney, 427-1524.

Study Tour of Middle East applications deadline. Info: 423-1626.

Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peacemaking. General Meeting. 8 am. 443 California St., Watsonville. Info: 722-5691.

Is the Nuclear Regulatory Commission Doing Enough to Prevent Severe Reactor Accidents and Nuclear Weapons Proliferation? James K. Asselstine, Nuclear Regulatory Commissioner. Third Annual Adlai E. Stevenson Distinguished Lecture on Nuclear Policy. 7:30 pm, Classroom Unit One, UCSC. Free. Info: Peter Tyler, 429-9268.



FRIDAY, MAY 16

Discovering Our Common Ground. Photo Exhibit opens at County Building, 701 Ocean Street, Santa Cruz. Sponsored by Peace Day Committee and Santa Cruz Sentinel. On view until June 30. Info: 423-3517.

Peace Child. See May 2.

SATURDAY, MAY 17

Peace Child. See May 2.

SUNDAY, MAY 18

Peace Child. See May 2.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21

Vigil. See May 7.

THURSDAY, MAY 22

Dealing with Terrorists, Gary Carlson, Instructor in Social Science, Cabrillo College. Sponsored by Women's Democratic Club. 7:30 pm, Sesnon House, Cabrillo College. Info: 688-4235.

FRIDAY, MAY 23

How Then Shall We Live? Workshop beginning 7 pm Friday and going through Saturday (9-5). Includes preparatory reading, group work, personal reflection, writing re Gandhian nonviolence, Martin Luther King, Jr., Feminism, Latin American Liberation Theology. Info: 423-1626.

Peace Child. See May 2.

Peace Day Is May 25

by Colin Henderson, Karen Henderson, and Andy Carmen

Peace Day: Discovering Our Common Ground on May 25, 1986, is offering everyone an opportunity to actively build peace in our community in a tangible and exciting way. It is a day for our community to explore possibilities for global peace by experiencing this possibility in our personal lives and in our community. By bringing together individuals, families and groups from diverse cultural and social backgrounds, the day offers us an opportunity to celebrate our similarities and differences in the context of our desire for a safe and healthy world. In the words of Santa Cruz County Supervisor Gary Patton, "Peace Day provides us an opportunity to set aside our political and other differences that divide us and to feel emotionally and intellectually how much we depend on each other; and to learn and truly know that we are really in life together."

Activities on Peace Day will include workshops, videos, New Games, music, children's art activities, international food booths, and speeches by community

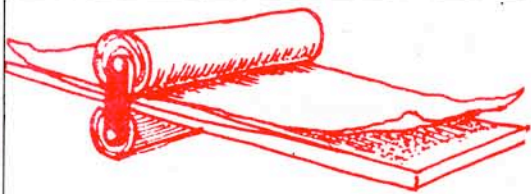
leaders. One of the highlights of the day will be the Project Victory Workshop scheduled for Sunday morning in Parish Hall next to Holy Cross Church (time to be announced). This workshop is designed to catalyze effective communication between people with differing political points of view.

Several events are also planned for the weeks leading up to Peace Day, including: a juried photographic exhibition at the Santa Cruz County Government Building from May 16 to June 30; a week of related activities at Cabrillo College (including a talk by Dr. Tomasawa, a survivor of the Hiroshima bombing) and a wonderful creative writing and arts project is being coordinated in the Santa Cruz County schools.

Another activity preceding Peace Day will be a community project planned at La Familia Center in the Beach Flats area. The Center is moving to a new location on Raymond Street and renovation is needed. A team of Santa Cruzans who live in the homeless shelter network are organizing to join local business people and Beach Flats residents in a productive,

fun work day. This will allow those of different backgrounds and walks of life to work together on a common project. Building partnership in this way brings about greater communication and understanding.

Two mediated dialogues are being organized to facilitate communication between groups in our community which find themselves in adversarial positions. People with differing points of view on how to respond to the issues of the homeless will have an opportunity to specify their perspectives and identify common concerns and objectives. There will also be a dialogue between a proponent for conversion to a non-military economy and a representative of a nuclear military contractor. These dialogues will be mediated by Craig Schindler, J.D., Ph.D., a former professor at UCSC and Harvard who is presently working with Project Victory. They will be filmed by KRUZ and aired on Channel 5 prior to May 25. Your participation in producing and/or attending the day will be welcome and rewarding. For more information call Karen or Colin at 423-3517.

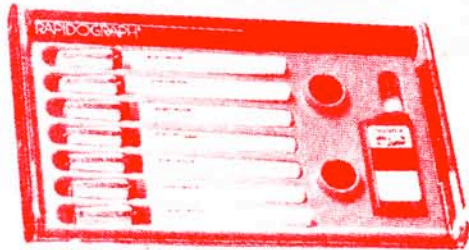


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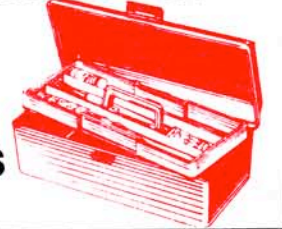
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