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# RESIST

Newsletter #162

*A call to resist illegitimate authority*

January 1984

## Turmoil in the Middle East

JOSEPH GERSON

*The following is an edited combination of two articles written by Joseph Gerson, Peace Secretary of the A.F.S.C. in New England, that appeared in the Peacework. (Lebanon— Peacekeeping Becomes Intervention Oct., 1983, and Lebanon's Multiple Tragedies Begin to Permeate, Dec. 1983.) It provides an in-depth analysis of the current situation and the US role in the war-torn region of the Middle East and an historical look at the roots of conflict in Lebanon.*

**A**s both Lebanon and the Palestinian nationalist movement teetered on the brink of self-destruction, US Marines were killed in a suicide terrorist attack October 23. More American troops died on that day than on any day of the Indochina War, with the exception of the opening day of the Tet offensive. Thus the multiple tragedies of Lebanon began to penetrate the American conscience. Instead of moving to extricate American forces from Lebanon and pressing the Maronite leadership to accept a more democratic power-sharing formula, the Reagan Administration raised the red flag of the Soviet threat and lurched deeper into the Lebanese quagmire.

As television cameras recorded the grisly search for bodies, other seemingly incomprehensible developments in Lebanon demanded our attention. French barracks in Beirut were



Sabra 1982.

destroyed in a simultaneous terrorist bombing. An Israeli occupation headquarters in Tyre, Southern Lebanon, was similarly destroyed. The US assembled the largest armada since the Indochina war off the Lebanese coast and threatened retaliation on the scale of an invasion. Israeli and French jets attacked militia forces and civilians within Syrian-held territory. Lebanon's feuding warlords met in Geneva, Switzerland, in the company of Syrian, Saudi and US observers. Yasir Arafat, not unlike Maurice Bishop of Grenada, finally became a sympathetic moderate to the American

media as rebel Palestinian forces, backed by the Syrian army, devastated the PLO and laid waste to the Beddawi refugee camp and the city of Tripoli. And after a year of tense relations caused by American embarrassment over the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Reagan Administration moved to re-embrace Israel's ruling Likud coalition with a formal agreement for strategic cooperation "in and beyond the Middle East."

### The October 23 Bombing

The tragic Beirut bombing came as a  
*Continued on next page*



shock to most Americans because they believed that the Marines had been sent to serve as peacekeepers.

The public and Congressional debate that followed the bombing on the Marine headquarters, like the earlier struggle over the War Powers Act, failed to confront and challenge the brutal fact of US intervention in the Lebanese civil war. Responding to calls to explain why we are in Lebanon, the President and his supporters—many of whom vote from the Democratic side of the aisle—argued that we could not flee in the face of terrorism, that we were saving the Middle East from the Soviets, and most astonishingly that we were in Lebanon to defend Israel. The fact that the War Powers Act compromise negotiated in September between the President and Congress called for the President to work for the replacement of the Marines by neutral United Nations forces was completely forgotten.

The terrorist attack on US Marines dramatically points to how the Reagan Administration has moved from mistake to mistake in Lebanon. First it gave the green light for the Israeli invasion of that already wartorn country. Then, rather than introduce neutral United Nations peacekeeping forces to separate Israeli, Syrian, Palestinian and Lebanese forces, the Reagan Administration pressed for the introduction of US and other Western European forces as part of an effort to increase US influence in the oil-rich region. The Shultz shuttle, ostensibly designed to negotiate a mutual Israeli-Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon and salvage the Reagan Middle East "peace initiative," excluded the Syrians from the negotiating process until the last moment, thus guaranteeing its demise. Now the US, which has trained, armed and provided advisors to the Lebanese army (which is still dominated by the Maronite elite) is firing on Moslem positions in the mountains above Beirut and in the Bekka Valley. It has made a commitment to fight for the survival of the isolated and unrepresentative Gemeyal government.

As in Vietnam and El Salvador, our government has sided with the right-wing establishment, in this case against the predominantly Moslem majority which has been denied economic and political equality as a result of the constitution imposed on Lebanon by France when it surrendered its mandate in 1943.

### **Background to the Conflict in Lebanon**

While the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict is not terribly complicated, the same cannot be said for Lebanon. But the depth of the US role in that country, from the successful 1957 purchase of the parliamentary elections,<sup>1</sup> to the 1975 covert CIA role in fueling the civil war,<sup>2</sup> to our current bombardment and fighting in the Chouf mountains, requires us to come to terms with the dynamics of Lebanon unless we are willing to sit idly by as our government drives up Lebanon's death toll with its firepower and high-tech weaponry.

Like many other modern Third World nations created on colonial European drawing boards, today's Lebanon is an artificial creation which may become unstuck. During World War I, which was largely fought to determine who would inherit the spoils of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire, the French and British governments negotiated the secret Sykes-Picot agreement, which placed Greater Syria and "The Lebanon" within the French sphere. In 1920, after France had assumed the League of Nations mandate for this same territory, French authorities redrew the political maps. Mount Lebanon, with its predominantly Maronite and Druse populations, was fused to the predominantly Muslim Mediterranean Syrian coastal plain and Bekka Valley. Thus were created the Lebanese "confessional" pressure cooker and lingering Syrian claims to that country.

For years the unwritten National Pact, negotiated between the Lebanese Maronite and Sunni leadership in 1943 as the French were departing, sufficiently served the interests of Lebanon's confessional communities. Based on the 1932 census of Lebanon, it fixed a 6:5 ratio between Christians and Muslims in the national parliament, and provided that the Lebanese president would always be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister always a Sunni Muslim, the president of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim, etc. The leadership of the military was similarly arranged, guaranteeing the dominant role in Lebanon to the Maronite minority which was then concentrated in Beirut.

But nothing stays the same, and Lebanon was no exception. Demographic and cultural changes, and intervention by other nations who believed they had a stake in the outcome in the Lebanese struggle for power, made the National

Pact an oppressive bond. Between 1932 and 1975 Moslems became the majority in Lebanon. Shi'ites superceded the Sunnis as the largest Muslim community and the Maronites as the largest confessional group within the country. Beirut's dynamic economy, the bridge between the Arab world and Europe, drew thousands of Moslems from the countryside and small towns, as did Israeli forays into southern Lebanon. Once in Beirut these internal immigrants found shelter in slums adjoining Palestinian refugee camps or in the "belt of poverty" ringing the city. The ingredients for Lebanon's civil conflict were assembled.

The Palestinian role in recent Lebanese developments, like that of the Israelis, has not been insignificant. Approximately 100,000 of the nearly one million Palestinians forced to flee Israel/Palestine during the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli war were welcomed by Lebanon's Christian and Muslim communities. Following the 1970 defeat of the nationalist Palestinian forces in Jordan by the Hashemite Kingdom, an estimated 300,000 Palestinian refugees and their political leaders moved to Beirut and southern Lebanon. The lack of a strong central government provided the PLO the freedom to operate. The lessons of Jordan led the PLO to build an alliance with Lebanon's Muslim and progressive forces. In 1975 the Maronite elite, consumed by religious and racist fears of Lebanon's Muslim and Palestinian communities, launched the 1975-76 civil war by attacking Palestinian civilians.

There is no reason to summarize here the bloody vicissitudes of the Lebanese civil war. It was among the most absurd and gruesome of recent human conflicts. Kidnappings, torture, murder, mutilation, massacre and dismemberment became the order of the day and revealed a frightening human current that continues to flow just beneath the conscious surface of "civilized" society.

But it is important to know who was engaged in that period of the civil war, because they comprise the Lebanon into which the US has now so heavily intervened. The fighting did not break down neatly along Christian and Muslim lines then, nor does it today. While there is a religious dynamic, there are economic, political and social dimensions to the conflict. Some Orthodox

*Continued on next page*





Christians have allied themselves with the predominantly Muslim National Movement. Some Sunni feudal lords have cooperated with their Maronite counterparts. And most of Lebanon's 160,000 Armenian Christians (a sizable minority in a country of two million people) have attempted to sit out the war, favoring "positive neutrality" and a more democratic sharing of power in Lebanon.

The National Movement is a coalition of groups—largely, but not exclusively Muslim—including Communists, Nasserites, the Shi'ite Movement of the Disinherited and its Amal militia, the Syrian Socialist-nationalists, and various Lebanese organizations associated with the PLO and was led by Kamal Jumblatt, and after his assassination in 1977 by his son Walid. The Lebanese Front, currently known as the Lebanese Forces, was an uneasy alliance of Maronite factions and militias which has come to be dominated and controlled by the Phalange. Israel, Syria, Egypt, Libya and other Arab states provided weapons, funds and political support to factions which they thought would support their interests in Lebanon and in the wider Arab world.

The civil war ostensibly ended with the intervention of the Syrian Army at the request of the desperate Maronite leadership. The Maronite invitation and the Syrian intervention against progressive Arab nationalist forces and the PLO was not as unlikely as it first seemed. The Maronites were facing total defeat and were aware that Syria, which is dominated by members of the minority Alawite sect of Islam, has afforded protection and privileges to Syrian Christians at the expense of the majority Muslim population. Syria's motives were less than altruistic. The Assad government had not forgotten Syria's residual historical claims to Lebanon and had never recognized the existence of the Lebanese state. Syria feared the creation of a state on its western flank whose progressive Arab credentials would be more impressive than its own. And not forgetting that

Palestine was once called "Southern Syria," it was anxious to keep the Palestinian nationalist movement on a tight leash. The intervention of Syrian forces, which was later legitimized by the Arab League, tipped the balance in the civil war and temporarily halted it. One consequence of the intervention was the election of the "Syrian" candidate for the presidency under Syria's guns.

Israel has been anything but a minor player in the Lebanese drama. Preemptive and retaliatory attacks against the Palestinian and Muslim population of southern Lebanon drove many Shi'ites north to Sidon and Beirut and served as a wedge between the two peoples. In 1976 the Rabin government began Israel's long-term military support for the Phalange. In 1978, following a Palestinian guerilla attack on Israeli civilians in Tel Aviv, the Israeli army launched its first invasion of Lebanon. After devastating much of southern Lebanon the Israelis withdrew, only after leaving a six-mile-wide swath of the country under the control of Colonel Haddad's militia, a force Israel had helped to create. Many in Lebanon thought that the Habib negotiations, which led to the 1978 Israeli withdrawal, were the death knell for Lebanon, dividing it between Israeli and Syrian spheres. Others saw the invasion as part of a sophisticated effort to shatter Lebanon into tiny confessional states, with the hope that the dynamic would spin into Syria itself.

#### Enter the Americans

The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon set the stage for the current round of fighting. Sharon's war, as it was called in Israel, sought not only to destroy the Palestinian nationalist movement, but through the alliance with the Phalange, to create a Lebanese state which would act as a partner—if not a client—for Israel. For this reason the invasion was timed to precede the Lebanese presidential elections. Bashir Gemeyal, the leader of the Phalange's military wing and the son of the founder of this native Leba-

nese fascist movement—(The Phalange was inspired by and modeled after the fascist movements of Europe which deeply impressed Pierre Gemeyal when he visited them in the 1930's)—was literally elected under Israeli guns by a parliament which had been elected ten years earlier. When Bashir Gemeyal was assassinated before his installation as president, he was replaced by his brother, thought by many to be more moderate. Either this reading was wrong, or Amin Gemeyal was simply unable to bring the Phalange and its militia under his control, particularly in the Chouf where things began to unravel for him.

The Chouf mountains have long been home and refuge for Lebanese Druse and Maronites. It was the Druse who gave the Maronites shelter in the Chouf, and in 1860 when the Maronites began to dominate the region at the expense of the Druse, their conflicts began. In recent years the Druse have once again become the dominant group in the Chouf, and inter-communal conflict there was limited in earlier stages of the civil war.

The rules of the game were violated and the balance of forces changed when the Israeli occupying forces encouraged Phalange troops to take up positions in and around Druse communities in the Chouf after the 1982 invasion. Perceiving their communities and lives threatened, the Druse fought the Phalange and neighboring Maronites they thought were cooperating with the Phalange. The Israeli government, with a sizable Druse population of its own, which unlike its Palestinians has been offered the full privileges of citizenship, found they could not preside over the liquidation of the Druse. The Israelis were soon either arming the Druse in the Chouf or turning a blind eye as the Druse obtained weapons from the Syrians. The Begin government, seeking to limit the number of Israeli casualties in Lebanon, did not move to stop the fighting, and when the Israelis withdrew from the Chouf

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in early September, fighting for control of the region began in earnest.

Events have moved quickly since Israel indicated its commitment to withdraw from central Lebanon to safer positions south of the Alawi River. Facing calls from the Druse for the withdrawal of the Phalange from the Chouf and a reversion to the earlier *modus vivendi* under which Druse militia and not the Maronite-dominated army guaranteed order in the province, demands from both Druse and Shi'ite leaders for democratic reforms of the National Pact, and Syrian efforts to exploit these challenges to the Lebanese central government, President Gemeyal responded militarily.

He moved to cover his western flank and to test his newly reconstituted army by cracking down on what remained of the National Movement's militia in West Beirut. In response, Walid Jumblatt, the leader of the Druse, Nabih Berri of the Shi'ites and former Lebanese President Suleiman Franjihey (a Maronite leader from North Lebanon long at odds with the Gemeyal clan), all with Syrian support, formed the National Salvation Front, which appealed for dialogue with Gemeyal, but at the same time threatened the survival of his government.

In the Chouf the battle was soon engaged in earnest. To the surprise of many the Druse so destroyed the Phalange militia forces, which no longer had any Israeli backing, that the future of the Phalange is now in doubt. The inter-communal fighting led to heavy civilian casualties and reports of massacres on both sides. The Lebanese Army found itself incapable of challenging Druse control of the Chouf. While President Gemeyal continued to demand the ability to deploy his army there—and thus extend the sovereignty of what has become the Greater-Beirut city-state, his army found itself desperately holding on to the last major defensive outpost on the road to Beirut—Suk el Garb—against the Druse militia and remnants of the PLO which the Syrians had encouraged to enter the fray.

The Reagan Administration, which had envisioned a unified Lebanon under Gemeyal's leadership as a strategic resource in the Middle East, soon found itself presented with two crises in Lebanon. Another Middle East client was in jeopardy—not an encouraging development so soon after the fall of the Shah and the assassination of



Palestinian refugee camps after '82 Israeli invasion.

Anwar Sadat. And the Marines of the multinational force were taking casualties as the Druse shelled the Beirut airport in order to close it and cut the Gemeyal government's links to the outside world.

Caught in the Lebanese quagmire, like Syria and Israel before it, the Reagan Administration had three options. It could allow the world and the American electorate to watch the Marines continue to take casualties as it continued to struggle for a ceasefire and a compromise that favored the Gemeyal government. It could cut its losses, withdraw the Marines and let the Gemeyal government take its chances—not an appropriate posture for a superpower attempting to maintain its hegemony in the Middle East. Or it could respond to its military reflex, deepen the military commitment, and go on the offensive to protect both its forces and the Gemeyal government—a logic which inevitably leads to still deeper military involvement, more casualties, and a possible confrontation with the Syrians and their Soviet backers, as happened during the 1967 and 1973 Middle East wars.

The Reagan administration, not surprisingly, chose the escalation option. On August 31, Secretary of State Shultz signalled the change in policy saying the Marines would defend themselves "with vigor." On September 1, President Reagan ordered 2000 more Marines and more warships to take up positions off the Lebanese coast so that

"all necessary measures" could be taken. On September 8, US warships began shelling Druse and Syrian positions. On September 13, President Reagan formally extended the role of the US forces in Lebanon to the defense of the Lebanese army and the Gemeyal government. Advisors joined Lebanese army forces in Suk al Gharb and our artillery began firing on Druse and Syrian positions even when no threat was posed to the marines. And on September 20, the battleship New Jersey arrived off the Lebanese coast, fresh from testing sea-launch cruise missiles in the Pacific and from participating in "war games" off the Southeast Asian and Central American shores. In a move reminiscent of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, the leadership of the Congress, horribly ignorant of Lebanese and Middle Eastern dynamics, joined the Reagan Administration in authorizing the presence of US forces in Lebanon for another year and a half, despite the Reagan Administration's abominable Middle East and foreign policy track record.

#### Lebanese Negotiations

The warring Lebanese factions were able to strike a deal in Geneva a few days after the attack on the marines, but it is not certain that it will survive the disclaimers of the right-wing Maronite militia leaders who participated in the negotiations, US and Israeli opposition, or the deepening US-Syrian confrontation to determine



whose influence will be greatest in Lebanon.

In essence, the Syrians agreed to accept Amin Gemeyal as the legitimate leader of an independent and Arab Lebanon, provided he work to revise the May 17 accord with Israel. That accord provided for Israeli and Syrian withdrawal. Gemeyal also agreed in Geneva to make Syria's security interests central to any renegotiation of the May 17 pact with Israel. (Lebanon's Bekka Valley is the historic route of invasion between northern Israel and Damascus.) Not surprisingly, the Israeli government, which is the principal beneficiary of the May 17 agreement, and the Reagan Administration, which brokered it, have stated they will oppose any efforts to revise it.

Vague commitments, now denied by Pierre Gemeyal and Camille Chamoun, apparently also were made in Geneva to renegotiate the unequal power-sharing formula of the Lebanese National Pact. (Pierre Gemeyal is President Gemeyal's father, who founded the right-wing Phalange party and now appears to control its military wing. Chamoun is the former Lebanese President who prospered under CIA sponsorship and whose Tiger militia initiated the civil war in 1975.) That pact, which serves as Lebanon's constitution, provides among other things that the President shall always be a Maronite, the military shall always be controlled by the Maronites, and that the Christians—now a minority in Lebanon—shall always have a majority in the nation's parliament. This unequal political relationship has made economic and social progress impossible for the vast majority of Lebanon's people and has been the central issue in the civil war.

#### **Syria Attacks the PLO**

Americans, who tend to think all Arabs are alike, have not been able to comprehend the Syrian-backed assault on Yasir Arafat and the PLO forces loyal to him, the civilian populations of the Beddawi refugee camp and the city of Tripoli—if such violence can ever be comprehended.

President Assad has long sought to bring the PLO under his control and is renowned for his practice of ruthless realpolitik. In 1976 he welcomed the Maronite invitation to intervene in Lebanon's civil war, and the American and Israeli approval of such an intervention. It allowed him to crush the Lebanese National Movement-PLO

alliance and thus prevent the establishment of an Arab state on his Eastern border which would challenge his credentials as a progressive Arab nationalist. It also enabled him to introduce Syrian troops into a land which Syria still claimed as its own. Finally, it provided an opportunity to challenge Yasir Arafat's leadership of the PLO and to put the Palestinian nationalist movement on a shorter leash, if not under his thumb.

This summer Assad followed up on the assault against the PLO begun with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. He seized upon the rebellion within the PLO—a result of corruption within the organization and Arafat's inability to obtain even a rump state for Palestinians through diplomatic negotiations and compromise—as a means to finally assert his full control over the Palestinian national movement. Remembering that historic Palestine, like Lebanon, was once a part of "Greater Syria," Assad is positioning himself to maximize Syrian influence in any future Palestinian homeland. He is also putting himself in a position in which he can negotiate with either Israel or the United States without having to worry that Palestinian interests be represented in such negotiations. His rejection of Soviet pressure to halt his assault and support efforts to unify the PLO illustrate Assad's beliefs that Syria is in a position to dictate the terms of its relationship to the Soviet Union. That he would pursue his ambitions at so great a civilian toll should come as no surprise. He is the same man who, in 1982, responded to the revolt in the Syrian city of Hama by laying siege and destroying vast portions of the city, and killing more than 5,000 innocent civilians as he crushed the localized rebellion.

The assault against PLO forces loyal to Yasir Arafat and the founders of the PLO and the siege of Tripoli are multiple tragedies caused in no small part by successive American and Israeli governments. Since 1974, when the Palestinian National Council indicated its willingness to reach a compromise with Israel and establish a West Bank-Gaza state coexisting with Israel, people committed to peace throughout Israel and the Arab world have understood the urgency and opportunity that offer presented. Peace was possible, but the opportunity would not remain indefinitely. The failures of Israeli and

American governments to reward the Palestinian "moderates" left them nothing to show for the risks they took. The pendulum of power swung back in the direction of embittered nationalists and the practitioners of realpolitik who believe their hopes and goals can only be met through military confrontation.

#### **The Current Crisis**

Pressures for a major Middle East war are building rapidly and may soon be beyond control. The resulting holocaust could be global and nuclear, not regional and conventional. In Lebanon both the 179th ceasefire and the tentative agreements made in Geneva are in jeopardy. The US role in Lebanon, now that the Gemeyal government has distanced itself from its American sponsor, is depressingly similar to what it was in the last years of the Vietnam war: "to avoid humiliation" and "to preserve our reputation."

According to Evans and Novick, columnists known for their Republican and Administration contacts, the Reagan Administration's aim is to use American forces to bludgeon the National Movement and Syria to accept the division of Lebanon into a "Beirut city-state... Israeli continuing occupation of southern Lebanon... and Syria's continuing occupation or control of the Bekka and Northern Lebanon"; and that is why we are in Lebanon.

There are other options. One option being discussed is to join with Israel to drive the Syrians from Lebanon, either through a war of attrition or a more direct full-scale attack. A better direction for our government would be to recognize the legitimate grievances of Lebanon's Druse and other Muslim communities. We could encourage all Lebanese factions to renegotiate a more democratic governmental framework—one which would protect them from Syrian and Israeli ambitions, as well as from one another. And an astute administration would turn to the United Nations for the establishment of a neutral peacekeeping force for Lebanon so that the American forces could be withdrawn and inter-communal negotiations could proceed without being tainted with charges of taking place under American guns.

Even before President Reagan decided to dispense with gestures of even-

*Continued on next page*



## Turmoil in the Middle East

*Continued from Page Five*

handedness in the Middle East and support Israeli occupations, settlements and all, Israel was seen as a US agent by all parties to the Lebanese conflict. The Israeli and French retaliatory strikes have not erased the threat of terrorist attacks, but they have reinforced the tragic cycle of indiscriminate and mass murder under the banners of revenge and retaliation. Even if the Reagan Administration settles for the invasion of Grenada as suitable retaliation for the attack on Beirut Marine headquarters, we should expect future attacks against the Marine contingent in Lebanon.

Following its devastation of the PLO, Syria is likely to attempt to establish its own puppet Palestinian organization. To dampen what temptations there may be for King Hussein of Jordan to negotiate with Israel now that no one is in a position to present himself as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," Jordanian diplomats are being mysteriously attacked around the globe, probably by Syrian agents.

Less than a hundred miles from the Lebanese sideshow, repression on the West Bank is deepening as moves to integrate it into Greater Israel quicken. Universities and high schools have been closed; efforts are being made to expel all foreign faculty. Arrests and censorship have increased. Simultaneously plans are proceeding to increase the Israeli-Jewish population in the settlements on the West Bank by 35,000 over the next six weeks. Against the background of events in Lebanon and the West Bank, a new wave of terrorist attacks would not be surprising.

In the background, an increasingly desperate Iraq is threatening to conclude its four-year war with Iran by destroying Iran's still-functioning oil facilities. Ayatollah Khomeini's government has vowed to close the Strait of Hormuz in retaliation for such attacks. The Rapid Deployment Force, which has been concentrated off the Lebanese coast and near the Persian Gulf, was created to project American force into this strategically important zone. When the Reagan Administration came to power it underlined its commitment to risk nuclear war, if necessary, to maintain US control over the Strait and the Persian Gulf.

The American armada off the Lebanese coast is deeply disturbing. Any major American or Israeli attack within Syrian borders, where 7,000 Soviet soldiers are manning surface-to-air missiles which they have pledged to use in defense of Syria, risks a US-Soviet confrontation. Not only would a major US attack against Syria jeopardize every US-backed regime in the Arab world, it would probably lead to a full nuclear alert...or worse. □

1. *Ropes of Sand*, Wilbur Crane Eveland.
2. *Uncertain Greatness*, Roger Morris.
3. *Boston Globe*, Sept. 21, 1983.

## Grants

*Continued from Page Eight*

War Resisters League, SE  
(Durham, NC)  
2nd International Tribunal on  
Reparations for Black People  
(NYC)  
Black and Proud Liberation  
Elementary School (Jackson, MS)  
Help Us Make a Nation  
(Yellow Springs, CO)  
Massachusetts 10th Anniversary  
Mobilization (Boston, MA)  
African Research and Publications  
Project (Trenton, NJ)

### Other

Bread and Puppet Theater  
(Montpelier, VT)  
Conference on Social Justice and  
Criminal Justice (Boston, MA)  
Gray Panthers of Greater Boston  
(MA)  
George Wiley Community Center  
(Pawtucket, RI)  
Philadelphia Affirmative Action (PA)  
Midwest Youth Coalition  
(Cleveland, OH)  
Back of the Hill (Mission Hill, MA)  
Citizens' Clearinghouse for Hazardous  
Wastes (Arlington, VA)  
Committee to Abolish Prison Slavery  
(Washington, DC)

**Corrections:** Dick Ohmann did not appear in the photo on page seven of newsletter #161 (November/December 1983). The group referred to as "Supportive Action" on page 5 of Louis Kampf's article in the newsletter #161 should read "Support in Action."

## DOD Jargon

*Continued from Page Seven*

talks. Some of the United States' and the Soviets' intermediate weapons in Europe are under negotiation. French and British nuclear weapons are excluded from the negotiations.

**Zero Option:** Reagan's INF proposal. The Soviets are to remove all of their intermediate range SS-20 and SS-4 missiles in exchange for NATO cancelling placement of new cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe.

**Ratiocination:** Process of logical reasoning. Antithesis of the nuclear arms race.

**Psychosis:** Severe mental disorder, a partial or complete withdrawal from reality. Synonym for the nuclear arms race.

**Freeze:** Proposal for stopping the nuclear arms race, a first step toward disarmament. Bilateral halt on testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons and on missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. □

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# DOD Nuclear Jargon

NETA CRAWFORD

## Nuclear Weapons

Special Weapons: Nuclear weapons.

Warhead: The bomb.

Yield: Measure of the destructive power of a nuclear warhead.

Dial-a-yield Weapons: Weapons whose yield is variable—the yield may be selected according to the intended target of the warhead.

Neutron Weapons: 1. Enhanced radiation warheads (erw), which increase the radiation effect of a nuclear explosion while creating a relatively small blast. 2. More “useable” nuclear warheads designed for tactical nuclear weapons.

Throw Weight: Mass of an entire missile.

Payload: The mass of the missile warhead section or the type of weapon, i.e. nuclear or conventional (high explosive).

Missile: Guided rocket used to deliver nuclear warheads.

MIRV: 1. Multiple independently-targeted reentry vehicle. A MIRVed missile has more than one warhead. 2. The “bus” that drops the warheads off to their various destinations.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Short range (ca. 10-600 mi.), mobile nuclear weapons designed for use on a battlefield. Neutron warheads will equip tactical nuclear weapons. Not currently under negotiation.

Intermediate Nuclear Weapons: Medium range weapons designed for use in “theaters” of warfare, i.e., Europe.

Strategic Nuclear Weapons: Intercontinental weapons or weapons which directly threaten the adversary's homeland.

ICBM: Land-based, intercontinental ballistic missile.

SLBM: Submarine-launched (intercontinental) ballistic missile.

Bombers: Long-range or medium-range aircraft which deliver free fall bombs, short range missiles or longer range cruise missiles.

Triad: Describes the spectrum of strategic forces which deliver the weapons. The “legs” of the triad are ICBMs, SLBMs, and bombers.

Cruise Missiles: Air-breathing, low-flying, terrain following missiles which may be air-launched (ALCM), sea-launched (SLCM), or ground-launched (GLCM).

Modernization: Replacement of less able weapons with more able or sophisticated weapons.

Star Wars: 1. Plan/idea for the militarization of space. 2. Possibly the next step in the nuclear arms race, but probably a purposeful distraction of the public and the peace movement.

Rapid Deployment Force: The United States 222,000 person Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps force specifically designed to quickly “project power” or a US military presence anywhere in the world. The RDF is equipped with nuclear weapons on aircraft and short range self-propelled artillery.

## Policy and Strategy

Defense: 1. Protecting or procuring the “vital interests” of the United States. 2. Protecting the territory of the United States from invasion. There is no defense against nuclear weapons.

Deterrence: 1. Preventing the Soviet Union from using nuclear weapons by the threat of certain obliteration in the event of nuclear war. 2. System of constant confrontation.

Vital Interests: Oil, uranium, titanium, cobalt, gold, sea lines of communication, political stability, silver, strontium, aluminum, manganese, platinum, tungsten, and other mineral resources found in Third World regions.

Intervention: 1. Moving military forces to locations remote from the United States to ensure outcomes favorable to United States vital interests. 2. Meddling.

Mutual Assured Destruction: 1. The method of deterrence. 2. The promise of nuclear weapons.

Countervalue Targeting: Targeting the cities and populations of the enemy.

Counterforce Targeting: Targeting the nuclear and conventional forces of the enemy.

Firebreak: The threshold between nuclear and conventional war, the gap

in technology and strategy/policy which exists between nuclear and conventional uses of force.

Flexible Response: 1. Strategy of meeting any situation with a variety of contingency plans and weapon systems. 2. Based on a “worst case” analysis, a weapon for every possible scenario.

Escalation Ladder: The various stages a conflict can go through as the level of force used increases. The last rung in the escalation ladder is all-out global nuclear war.

Escalation Dominance: 1. Raising the level of military force used in a conflict to ensure a favorable outcome. 2. Push comes to shove.

Limited Nuclear War: 1. Nuclear war contained to a theater or battle area, or a war which does not involve the use of all nuclear forces. In other words, 20,000,000 dead in the United States and 20,000,000 dead in the Soviet Union. 2. Limited nuclear war seems more likely against a non-nuclear state, against which the United States could dominate with its superior forces.

First Use: 1. The option to use nuclear weapons first in a conventional conflict to prevent an “undesirable” outcome. The Soviets have pledged a no first use policy. The United States considers first use a policy option. 2. The beginning of the end.

## Negotiations

Disarmament: Reduction and elimination of weapons and armed forces.

Arms Control: 1. Measures to decrease the risk of nuclear war and to control the level of increase and the quality of nuclear arms. 2. Management and legitimation of the nuclear arms race through treaties.

START: Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. Strategic weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union are under negotiation.

Build-Down: 1. Reagan's recent START proposal for a reduction of two warheads for every warhead to the US and Soviet arsenals. Also proposes a reduction in missile throw weight. 2. Quantitative ceiling which allows the continuation of a qualitative arms race.

INF: Intermediate Nuclear Forces

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# GRANTS

*The following list of 110 organizations constitutes the recipients of an assortment of grants, loans and donor directed funds that Resist has dispersed during 1983.*

## Information and Support

*El Pueblo* Newspaper (San Antonio, TX)  
*WIN Magazine* (Brooklyn, NY)  
 Concerned Citizens of Louisa Co. (Mineral, VA)  
 People's Switchboard (NYC)  
*River Valley Voice* (NY, VT, CT, MA)  
 Social Action Center (Albany, NY)  
 Educators United (Milwaukee, WI)  
*Somerville Community News* (MA)  
 Women's International Resource Exchange (NYC)  
*Radical America* (Somerville, MA)  
*Nuclear Resister* (Tempe, AZ)  
 New England Energy Slide Show Project (Somerville, MA)  
 Community Press Features (Boston, MA)  
 NY Circus (NYC)  
*RI Voice* (Warwick, RI)

## Central America

Anthropology Resource Center (Boston, MA)  
 CASA (Cambridge, MA)  
 Honduras Information Center (Cambridge, MA)  
 Bangor Area Central America Solidarity Committee (Bangor, ME)  
 Latin America Resource Center and Clearing House (NYC)  
 Central America Solidarity Association (NYC)  
*Akwesasne Notes* (Mohawk Nation, Roseveltown, NY)  
 Religious Task Force on Central America (Chicago, IL)  
 US-El Salvador Research and Information Committee (Berkeley, CA)  
 Detroit Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (MI)  
 National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People (Washington, DC)  
 July 2nd Committee (Providence, RI)  
 Indigenous People's Network (Washington, DC)  
 November 12th Coalition (Washington, DC)

## 3rd World

Grenada Action Network (Roxbury, MA)  
 Middle East Task Force (Cambridge, MA)

Committee Against Registration and the Draft—3rd World Caucus (Brooklyn, NY)  
 Asian American Resource Center (Boston, MA)  
 Eritrean Relief Committee (NYC)  
 SE Asia Resource Center (NYC)  
 June 6th Coalition (Cambridge, MA)  
 Committee to Defend the Mexican Political Prisoner (Alamosa, CO)

## Women and Feminist

Women's Alliance for Boston Elections (MA)  
 Grassroots Group of 2nd Class Citizens (Champagne, IL)  
 Reproductive Rights National Network (NYC)  
 Boston Women's Pentagon Action (MA)  
 Coalition for Reproductive Freedom (Jamaica Plain, MA)  
 International Women's Day (Cambridge, MA)  
 Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice (Romulus, NY)  
 Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (Chicago, IL)  
 NYC Women's Pentagon Action (NYC)  
 Women and Civil Disobedience Videotape (Brooklyn, NY)  
 Finex House (Boston Area, MA)  
 Women's Video Collective (Somerville, MA)  
 Alliance Against Sexual Coercion (Boston, MA)

## Native American

City of Refuge Farm (NY)  
 International Indian Treaty Council (San Francisco)  
 Leonard Peltier Support Group (Mashpee, MA)

## Labor

Workers' Rights Project (Seattle, WA)  
 Coalition to Stop Plant Closures (Oakland, CA)  
 Los Angeles Coalition Against Plant Shutdowns (CA)  
 El Centro Campesino (Winter Haven, FL)  
 Household Workers' Rights (San Francisco, CA)  
 Massachusetts Solidarity Coalition (Boston, MA)

## Disarmament and Anti-Draft

National Mobilization for Survival (NYC)

Brandywine Peace Community (Swarthmore, PA)  
 Nebraskans for Peace (Lincoln, NE)  
 Draft and Military Education Project (Cleveland, OH)  
 Rocky Flats Disarmament/Conversion Project (Denver, CO)  
 San Jose Peace Center (CA)  
 Red River Valley Peace Workers (E. Grand Forks, MN)  
 Northeast Draft Counseling Center (Portland, OR)  
 Syracuse Peace Council (NY)  
 Clergy and Laity Concerned (St. Louis, MO)  
 Vietnam Vets Against the War (Athens, GA)  
 Somerville Speak-Out (Somerville, MA)  
 Adhoc Committee for Disarmament (Portland, OR)  
 The Nerve Center (New Haven, CT)  
 Trident Nein/Plowshares #4 Support Committee (New Haven, CT)  
 Coalition for Safe Power (Portland, OR)  
 Cruise Conversion Alert (Tucson, AZ)  
 Peace Education Network (Harbor Springs, MI)  
 Jamaica Plain Speakout (MA)  
 Vietnam Veteran Artists (Ipswich, MA)  
 Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NYC)  
 Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft (MA)  
 Nuclear Free Cambridge (MA)  
 Adhoc Coalition for a Safe Boston Harbor (MA)  
 Artists for Action on Disarmament (Pomfret Ctr, CT)  
 Texas Grassroots Coalition (Austin, TX)  
 South Shore Conversion Committee (Hingham, MA)  
 Central Florida Nuclear Freeze (Winter Haven, FL)  
 Committee for a Non-Nuclear Future (Tucson, AZ)  
 National CARD (Washington, DC)

## Lesbian and Gay

*Gay Community News* (Boston, MA)  
 Gay and Lesbian Speakers Bureau (Boston, MA)  
 Kinheart, Inc. (Evanston, IL)  
 Citizen Soldier (NYC)  
 Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (Boston, MA)

## Anti-Racism

United League of Holmes Co. (Lexington, MS)

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