

Israel's Weapons of Mass Destruction

Cause for Concern

**Briefing Paper
for**

Parliamentary Lobby on July 13th 2005



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Chapter 1 Weapons of Mass Destruction in Israel

Weapons

At a press conference in Jordan in 1998, Shimon Peres publicly admitted that Israel possessed nuclear weapons capabilities.¹ However, since the sixties, weapons of mass destruction [WMD] have been held by Israel. Even the US Strategic Air Command regarded Israel as a de facto nuclear weapon state in 1991.² At present, most reputable authorities estimate from 100- 200 plus nuclear weapons, at least, are held. However, some think the figure is even higher than this. Harold Hough writing in Jane's Intelligence Review has put the figure at 400³; the latter figure may very well be correct because it is unlikely that an inflated figure would be published in that journal. Furthermore, the history of Israel's possession of nuclear weapons [see chapter 3] indicates that the true figure will not be readily available in the public domain and will probably be higher than that published by the US Strategic Command. The same journal stated that Israel's nuclear capability could include:-

*"intercontinental-range, fractional-orbit-delivered thermonuclear weapons; thermonuclear or boosted nuclear-armed two-stage, solid fuel, intermediate-range ballistic missiles with a range of 3,000 km; older, less accurate, nuclear armed, theatre range, solid-fuel ballistic missiles; air-deliverable, variable yield, boosted nuclear bombs; artillery-delivered, enhanced- radiation, tactical weapons and small nuclear demolition charges."*⁴

In other words, Israel's stocks appear to include a range of nuclear weapons that between them can theoretically threaten the majority of countries in the world. It is not a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Israel also is reported as possessing chemical weapons. Eitan Barak writes that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, during his membership of the special 1997 ministerial committee, when asked his opinion of ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention, stated he believed *"that joining unilaterally would endanger Israel"*.⁵ Barak is convinced that Israel has developed a Chemical weapons Programme:- *"It has reduced as much as it can its alleged offensive Chemical Weapons profile, while at the same time enhancing as much as it can Arab states' profile in the very field.Israel has intentionally created an ambiguity with regard to its capabilities in the field."*⁶

In 1998, an El Al Boeing 74 cargo plane crashed near Schiphol airport and Avner Cohen reports that it had a shipment of DMMP, used in the manufacture of sarin nerve gas.⁷ From the Israeli government's public reaction to this tragedy, it seems that the policy of ambiguity and opacity that surround Israel's use and deployment of nuclear weapons, developed by Israel as a strategy to contain and threaten the Arab states without the danger of alienating US support, is also being followed in dealing with the problem of Israel's refusal to ratify the Chemical Weapons treaty and join the Biological Weapons Treaty.⁸

Yet, Avner Cohen describes how Israel has developed a biological weapons programme since 1948. He reports that in May 1948, in Acre, during the ethnic cleansing, which drove out the Palestinians, the typhoid epidemic was probably the result of Israeli intervention. The scientists, in 1948, were located at a facility known then as HEMED BEIT at Ness Ziona on the outskirts of Tel Aviv. There its descendant IIBR can still be found and he also reports that the residents of the neighbourhood in 1998 want to stop any expansion *"on environmental and safety grounds"*. Knip, he reports, investigated the output of the institute and drew the following conclusions *"many hundreds of [academic] articles prove beyond doubt that the IIBR is Israel's main center for research into both chemical and biological weapons. ...a bizarre combination of activities that acquire significance within one specific context, that of chemical and biological warfare."*⁹

In spite of the US government's reluctance to include Israel in its public list of those with offensive BW [biological weapons] capacity, others, who should know assess the matter differently. *"Specifically Israeli research centers are cooperating closely with the American military laboratories, within the framework of a US Defense Department program for protection against biological weapons. As a whole, Israel possesses a strong civilian biotechnology base, which, if necessary could be redirected fairly easily to the production of biological weapons."*⁹

The Centre for Non-proliferation, Monterey in USA summarises the situation about WMD as follows: -¹⁰

Table 1

Nuclear

- Sophisticated nuclear weapons program with an estimated 100-200 weapons, which can be delivered by ballistic missiles or aircraft.
 - Nuclear arsenal may include thermonuclear weapons
 - 150MW heavy water reactor at Dimona, not under IAEA safeguards
 - Plutonium Processing Plant not under IAEA safeguards
-

Chemical

- Active Weapons program
 - Production capability for mustard and nerve agents.
-

Biological

- Production capability and extensive research, reportedly conducted at
 - Biological Research Institute in Ness Ziona but no publicly confirmed evidence of production
 - Not a signatory of the BTWC
-

from [://cns.mus.edu/research/wmdme/Israel.htm](http://cns.mus.edu/research/wmdme/Israel.htm)

Delivery Systems

WMD are not dangerous until they are matched with a delivery system which can realise their potential for mass destruction. Therefore, the fact that Israel has developed, or purchased highly sophisticated delivery systems, is a reason for disquiet, not only in the Arab states of the Middle East, but also in the whole world.

Aircraft

Israel initially purchased Skyhawks and Phantoms [see chapter3 on the History of Israeli WMD]. However, the F16 is probably one of the most important aircraft in its attack arsenal. In addition, in the late nineties, Israel announced that it would buy 50 F161s at a cost of about £2.5 billion. These should be delivered during a two year period from 2003 and the contract allows for Israel to purchase an additional 60. Some authorities believe that nuclear weapons may be kept dispersed throughout Israel at various air bases to service these systems.¹⁰

In addition, since 1998, Israel has invested in the Boeing F 151 E Strike Eagle, which in Israel is called F15I Ra'am [Thunder]. The plane has a take off weight of 36,750 kilograms and a range of 4,450 kilometres, which makes it superior to other F151 models. At this range it has the potential, for example, to fly to most of the population centres in Europe and therefore, could be used for a long-range strike role, as it can carry 11 tons of munitions. In the US forces, this plane has a nuclear role but its status in the Israeli air-force is unknown. However, the plane has been modified using a special radar facility and, therefore, has in place many of the computerised systems developed not only by the US but also the Israeli defence industry, such as terrain mapping.¹¹ The same source reports that bombs, for these planes, may possibly be stored at Tel Nof, a dispersal base, Nevatim, Ramon, Ramat-David and Hatzor.

Missiles

The first missile used by Israel was developed by the French in the sixties and installed in 1966.¹² The Jericho could be launched from fixed or mobile bases and fired at a rate of up to 8 missiles per hour. It had a limited range, of 235-500 kilometres, however, and moreover, after the 1967 war, the French government embargoed the delivery of any new military equipment. Therefore, Israel developed its own version. In 1974, the CIA judged that this Israeli Jericho was not suitable for conventional war and was "*designed to accommodate nuclear warheads.*"¹³ Later, Jericho II had a range of 1,450 kilometres, which is thought to have been increased to 1,800 kilometres, in a subsequent version, which could reach many of the population centres of Europe. This weapon is thought to be similar to the US Pershing II. According to an article in Jane in 1997, there are about 50 Jericho II

missiles at the Zakharyeh missile base, which appear to be stored in caves some 45 kilometres south east of Tel Aviv, as well as about 50 Jericho I missiles.¹⁴

However, that is not as great as the range of a modified Shavit. Launched from Tel Aviv, this missile now presents a challenge not only to Europe, Russia, the Middle East and parts of Africa but also to western China, as well as India and Pakistan. It has been developed from the Jericho II missile and has been used to carry satellites known as Ofek. These monitor activities in target localities and the latest version weighs about 300 kilograms. However, it is significant that, according to some authorities, the Shavit can be converted, to a long range ballistic missile, with a range of up to 7,000 kilometres, depending on the weight of the warhead.¹⁵

Sea-based missiles and submarines

Nuclear armed sea-based missiles, by their very nature, pose the biggest threat to countries outside the Middle East. They are recognised as being the most invulnerable to attack and, depending on the delivery system, the threat they present can be wide-ranging and difficult to monitor. The submarines, that Israel is using, are 57.3 metres long, displace 1,900 tons, have a crew of 35 men and can each reach a speed of 20 knots and are known as the Dolphin class. Each costs in the region of \$300 million.¹⁶ It is not known whether they have been adapted for nuclear use but in 2000 the US refused an Israeli request to supply 12 long-range BGM-109 Tomahawk cruise missiles, which exist in a nuclear tipped version. Whether the Israelis are developing their own system is unknown but should give all interested parties cause for concern, for in the past resistance of this kind has usually been overcome by various means and has acted as a stimulus to the Israeli military/industrial complex. [See chapter 3 on History of WMD]

According to the Center for Non-Proliferation Studies at Monterey, Israel also possesses all three versions of the US-made Harpoon Cruise missile, which can be launched from ships and submarines, as well as aircraft, and has the Delilah/Star Cruise Missile with a range of 400 kilometres and the Gabriel-4 anti-ship cruise missile with a range of 200 kilometres, as well as the Harpy lethal unmanned aerial vehicle [UAV] with a 500 kilometre range.¹⁷

Tactical Weapons

There are reports that these WMD may exist in the form of nuclear artillery shells and mines. However, it is difficult to imagine how these could be used in the lands bordering Israel, without threatening her own integrity. How they could be used elsewhere is also not at all clear, for it would depend which military doctrine governed the use of Israel's weapons of mass destruction.¹⁸

Israeli Military Doctrine covering the use of WMD

The doctrine governing the use of weapons of mass destruction varies substantially between countries. For example, the US, NATO and later Russia, as agreed by President Yeltsin, follow a **First Use Doctrine**, which means that conventional forces could be met with nuclear retaliation, without the enemy using such weapons themselves. Theoretically a country could use weapons of mass destruction in a pre-emptive strike known as **First Strike**. This doctrine envisages a pre-emptive strike against a perceived enemy, even when the enemy is not using any forces, either conventional or nuclear. A Second Strike Doctrine is one governed by the concept of nuclear deterrence, or mutually assured destruction and was adopted by the USSR and latterly China¹⁹ in which nuclear weapons will only be used in retaliation to nuclear attack. The key difference, between a First Use Doctrine and a Second Strike one, is that nuclear weapons are used in retaliation, even when others have not resorted to the nuclear option.

Military Doctrines used in the Cold War

Throughout the Cold War, the US and the USSR argued about the morality and complexity of adopting a specific military doctrine. Arguments that recommended a 'no First Use policy' were made by eminent Americans such as George Kennan and Robert McNamara. However, these were rejected by the US government and its allies within NATO.²⁰ Instead, NATO committed itself to a strategy of flexible response, which envisaged the possible First Use of nuclear weapons²¹ and Forward Defence, which used tactical nuclear weapons to defend the West German border even though this was shown to produce a scenario in which millions of civilians could have become casualties.²²

Furthermore, the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons is not compatible with a Second Strike doctrine, as these are usually designed to be used against specific military targets.²³ NATO employed a strategy of

'counterforce' as opposed to 'counter-value'; the latter targets civilian populations and is a deterrent position associated with a Second Strike Doctrine. A doctrine of First Use may be combined with weapons which are designed for First Strike. For example, developments of Pershing during the Cold War were regarded by some as an ideal First strike weapon.²⁴

Counterforce is often associated with support for the notion of a 'limited nuclear war'. This position was held by Kissinger, President Nixon's Security Adviser in the US, until he recognised that keeping such a war limited would be very difficult.²⁵ However, as early as 1984, 'a limited war' was envisioned in the Middle East: - *'satellite-guided cruise missiles thus seem to be recommended as the ideal weapons for the high- tech elite countries to use in wars for the control of Gulf oil resources'*²⁶ Whether any nation would be willing to use WMD in this scenario is uncertain but cannot arbitrarily be dismissed.

Various Views in Israel about Military Doctrines and WMD

A review of the literature indicates that various key personnel in Israel have, at different times, considered applying all three different military doctrines. Indeed, information from the reaction of Israel in the past indicates that the authorities, when faced with large conventional forces, adopted a First Use doctrine. Cohen reports that during the wars in 1967, 1970 and 1973, the Israel military had adapted conventional systems to deliver nuclear weapons, as a reaction to inroads made by conventional forces.²⁷

However, several weeks before the Shimon Peres' speech in Jordan, in late June 1998, various Israeli government departments under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, including his office and the Defence and Foreign Ministries, all stated they were participating in a review of nuclear policy. The head of this review is David Ivry, a former commander of the Israeli Air Force and a Director General of the Ministry of Defence, who has stated that Israel needs a deterrent force based on a "*second strike capability*" and asserted that mutual assured destruction was "*a model for Israel's Nuclear posture.*"²⁸ This, as described, is a different position to that described in the 1960/70s by Cohen and is not the military doctrine which governs NATO.

Not surprisingly there have been alternative views floated. Major General Yitzhak Ben Yisrael, head of the Armaments Research and Development Administration of the Israeli Ministry of Defence and, therefore, a key figure in Israel's Military /Industrial Complex has called on Israel to adopt a pre-emptive strike capability. A First Strike Doctrine, if adopted by Israel would be an aggressive challenge to most of the world's powers. Nevertheless, he has stated, "*As a small country, we cannot go into battle for lengthy periods of time and the option of a pre-emptive strike is in line with this.*"²⁹ The reader should note that this is not the First Use position, which was adopted during the Arab/Israeli wars, but a First Strike one.

Some of this debate in Israel has been engendered by fears about an alleged nuclear capability in Iran. Israeli authorities refuse to believe Russian assessments that Iran is developing energy solely for peaceful purposes. The irony is that, if not, Iran's position is almost certainly a result of Israel's defence policy and the perceived threat from Israeli WMD. The reported adoption of a First Use Policy by the Israeli government, in the Arab/Israeli wars, must have prompted those states which judged that they were threatened, to try to develop their own nuclear capability. The recent acquisition of advanced delivery systems must have given this objective an even higher priority.

If so, Ephraim Sneh, chairman of the Knesset subcommittee of Defence has not allayed their fears. He has stated "*deterrence caused by traditional ambiguity does not work anymore.*" And argued that Israel "*must invest several billion dollars in developing an assured second-strike, or pre-emptive strike capacity.*"³⁰ His own ambiguity about which military doctrine should be used will probably cause as much confusion as the traditional posture. That a man in his position seems unclear as to whether Israel has a First Strike, or Second -Strike policy, does not augur well for the existence of an informed, or even less, a wise choice.

In a 1998 survey of Israeli public opinion, 92% agreed with the development of nuclear weapons and about two thirds wanted their existence to be kept secret. Over four fifths [86%] would support their use in the event of a chemical or biological weapons attack and just under half [45%] supported a First-Use policy, while just over a fifth [21%] would support their use if the Golan's heights were retaken by Syria, and 12% supported the use of nuclear weapons, instead of the Israeli army.³¹ The majority of Israelis, therefore, are in favour of a Second-Strike option. However, it would be unwise to conclude that this finding reflected the views of the Israeli political and military elite and probably helps to explain the contradictions in their publicly stated positions.

Israel's WMD and Delivery Systems indicate the adoption of a specific military doctrine.

What do Israeli delivery systems tell us about the military doctrine, which governs Israel's WMD? Land based missiles, which are the backbone of Israel's systems, do give some clues. For example, Jericho II is regarded as being similar to Pershing II, which employs terminal guidance systems. Such weapons are designed to be used against military targets rather than population centres and indeed Rumble regards Pershing II as "*an ideal first-strike weapon.*"³² This indicates that the Israeli WMD, especially nuclear weapons, are not governed by a Second-Strike doctrine but either a First-Use, or a First-Strike one. The estimated range of 4,450 kilometres of the aircraft F-15I Ra'am, whose status is unknown but is similar to the F-15E US Strike Eagle with a nuclear capability, as a result, presents a challenge not only to most countries in the Middle East but also to countries in Europe, Central Asia and in the Russian sphere of influence because it could carry nuclear gravity bombs.

Israel is rumoured to hold tactical nuclear weapons, though this is not yet confirmed.³³ These should not have any major role in a Second-Strike option because they are designed to target specific military systems. They can only be used effectively if they are controlled by a First Use, or a First-Strike doctrine. However, the acquisition of sea-based missiles from submarines, of the Dolphin class, creates a possible Second-Strike Force aimed at countries, which are not located in the Middle East. Nevertheless, if Israel is allowed to develop, or use nuclear sea-based missiles, with an accuracy similar to Pershing, the doctrine in use would evolve into a choice between First Use, or First-Strike.

The history of the Cold War demonstrates that improved accuracy favours the adoption of a First-Use, or even First-Strike and for example it was argued in 1954, by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Study Group that the US should consider "*precipitating war with the USSR in the near future*", before Soviet thermonuclear capabilities became a "*real menace*".³⁴ But this First-Strike policy was rejected by the then US President. In 1960, US strategy targeted both military installations and civilian centres, a policy criticised by the US Navy chiefs for not clearly following a doctrine of either First or Second –Strike. In reality, the plan covered all options. Perhaps Israeli policy is now following a similar path.

During the Kennedy era, the development of technology, improved targeting. This tended to tempt strategists to a counter-force approach, instead of a counter-value one. For example, in spite of Mc Namara's emphasis on mutual assured destruction i.e. Second-Strike, in 1968, the First-Use of nuclear weapons was adopted, at that time, as an alternative to fighting conventional forces. Clearly, increased range and improved accuracy in delivery systems can prompt nuclear power states, to move from a policy of Second-Strike to First-Use and is inherently de-stabilising because it favours the side that strikes first. Indeed, when provided with highly accurate, war winning nuclear weapons, some leaders can be tempted to believe that a nuclear war can be fought and won against all the contrary evidence.³⁵

There should be no doubt that an Israeli military doctrine which is based either on First-Use or First Strike is very dangerous and threatens many of the surrounding regions, including Europe, as well as itself. Therefore, the key to controlling Israel's military ambitions lies in denying it access to advanced delivery systems and restricting its ability to develop a counter-force strategy. However, the military/ industrial complex both in Europe and the US seems intent on doing just the opposite. A global problem requires a global response. The inspectorate of the International Atomic Energy Authority should be asked to scrutinise all locations in Israel where weapons of mass destruction and supporting delivery systems could be held. This should be accompanied by an ongoing transparent system of verification and monitoring. Ad hoc agreements with the US, or NATO, can be no substitute, as the history of Israeli WMD in chapter 3 shows.

Chapter 2 Israeli Involvement in the Militarisation of Space Programmes

Space programmes in Israel have been developed from close cooperation between Israel and the US. Arrow, for example, is a stand-alone theatre missile defence system, which was developed after the US Strategic Defense Initiative Organization office signed a contract with Israel, in 1988, providing more than 70% of the funding from the US.¹ This is hardly surprising because development costs in Israel according to some sources, are as little as one-fifth of those in the US.² This arrangement benefits the Israeli government, if not Israeli workers, because it seems to have resulted in a firm ongoing commitment by the US to Israeli security objectives, whatever the political and economic advantages may be from adopting other policies. The reciprocal benefits that

can be derived from a shared interest and profit in both military and industrial sectors can explain a great deal about the nature of the relationship, which has been developed between Israel and the US.

Arrow's first stage was developed by the state owned IAI firm and its second stage by Rafael, which is also state owned. The missile, which possesses in Arrow II, a two-stage hypersonic interceptor and a fragmentation warhead, reported as a blast fragmentation proximity type, was declared officially operational in October 2000, with the first successful test in September 1998³. By September 2004, the Arrow system was reported as being tested against MIRV.⁴

In addition, the Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey has reported that Israel has developed a Shavit space launched Vehicle [SLV] with a 4,500km range and 150kg and 250 kg payload.⁵ This is not a recent development for as early as 1988, Israel launched several Oftek satellites into orbit using Shavit, which is thought to have been developed from Jericho, the ballistic missile [see chapter 1].⁶ Some authorities estimate that the Shavit could be converted to a long-range ballistic missile with a range of up to 7,000 km, depending on the weight of the warhead.⁷ Recently Israel has become even more ambitious, for early in 2005, it was reported by Jane's Weekly that a Tactical High Energy Laser has been developed.⁸

Furthermore, the Israeli military/industrial complex has developed the interface between computers and human intervention, also in cooperation with the US Ballistic Missile Defense Agency.⁹ The Israeli firm IAI's electronics group specialises in electronic intelligence, jamming systems, computers and artificial intelligence. For example, Arrow's battle management system is fully automated but with human intervention being possible at every stage. Tests near Tel Aviv simulate strategies used in 'star wars' and have provided the primary prototyping tool for Arrow. And once again we find that the test bed facility for this system [ITB] is owned jointly by Israel and the US. Over several years it has been used in experiments between its Israeli developer, Holon and the US Ballistic Missile Defence Organization's VAX-based battle management centre at Huntsville Alabama, USA and is reported as being used to develop Israeli Boost Phase Intercept Systems Management C3.¹⁰

An important role in the development of Arrow has probably been Israel's expertise in the production of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles [UAVs] and associated payloads. The firms involved include IAI and Rafael but the private sector has a presence with Elbit Systems among others. Elbit has developed space-based reconnaissance sensors and systems for imaging intelligence including a 'space-based' remote sensing system for South Korea.¹¹ Rafael has developed a beyond visual range active radar seeker for air-air missiles.¹² The Israeli firm IAI is also involved in producing satellite systems, seeker technologies, signal processing and simulation, and also the relevant command, control, communications and intelligence systems.¹³ As a result of this close collaboration between Israel and the US, by 2004 Israel had launched a Digital Army programme, whose command control communication with computers and intelligence was estimated by some authorities to be one of the two, or three most advanced in the world.¹⁴

Chapter 3 History of WMD in Israel

Avner Cohen has written a comprehensive account of the development of Israeli nuclear weapons.¹ It is an intriguing history of deceptions between governments and perhaps more importantly within governments. The Israeli government, the US, the French, the Norwegian and the UK governments are all involved in a process, where against reassurances to the contrary, Israel developed a formidable nuclear arsenal which is now capable of threatening a large number of countries.

Cohen describes how the French industrial military complex gave their backing to the development of Israel's nuclear weapons, even though this arrangement did not have the support of their own foreign ministry. Cohen maintains that the "*Suez Crisis had important consequences for the French Nuclear program..... Only by developing its own nuclear bomb would the humiliation that France had suffered in Suez be avoided in the future.*" However, Shimon Peres, who could be regarded as the father of the Israel's nuclear programme, immediately perceived the opportunity this offered and with Prime Minister Ben Gurion's support, immediately tried to win French assistance for the aim to produce a nuclear facility in Israel, in 1957. This would form the basis of Israel's nuclear weapons programme, although it was agreed by both parties that that it would be used for "*scientific research.*" The French Foreign Ministry was unaware of the real nature of the project, which was

conducted secretly by certain French officials. The contract to supply a re-processing plant was hidden and the transactions were made through a financial body created specifically for that purpose.¹

However, the French were not alone in providing assistance. When the US authorities queried the use of 'heavy water', while the Israelis were attempting to acquire some, negotiations were then held instead with the Norwegians. Eventually the Israelis purchased heavy water, through NORATOM. It had previously been sold to the British, who now agreed to its transfer and that any safeguards should be the responsibility of the Norwegian government. Israel guaranteed in 1959 that any purchase of heavy water "*will be employed solely for the promotion and development of the peaceful use of atomic energy and not for any military purpose*"²; a promise which the evidence suggests was not kept.

According to Cohen, the project was financed 'in an "*unorthodox*" fashion and a significant portion of it – especially the funds raised by special donations overseas- did not appear in the regular defence budget' According to Peres, about half the cost of Dimona, more than \$ 40 million, was contributed from overseas by friends of Israel.³ The US authorities must have been aware of the size and scope of the Dimona project because, according to Cohen, Americans contributed a substantial minority of the funds, especially in 1959. Officials in the French, Norwegian, British and US governments all supported the project, even when it did not have the backing of their elected representatives. However, when President de Gaulle came to power in France he was opposed to the project and in 1960 he severed links with Israel because he did not want the production and reprocessing of weapon-quality plutonium there⁴ and refused to supply natural uranium fuel for the reactor. However, he was willing to allow the project to be finished by French companies. If the Israelis stated publicly that Dimona was peaceful, he would not press for outside inspection.

The US administration was prepared to believe that nuclear WMD were located in Iraq in 2003, although none were found after the Iraq war. However, in 1958, evidence of the construction of Dimona was ignored by the US administration, although photographs of the site were provided by British Intelligence.⁵ By 1960, Dimona's presence was clearly identified and its real nature was still being questioned by US and British intelligence but the Israelis continued to assert that the project was solely for peaceful purposes. And, in 1961, US officials agreed, in spite of the evidence to the contrary, that there was no Israeli aim to produce nuclear weapons, even when the Israeli government refused to allow any visit at all by the International Atomic Energy Authority.⁶

Just before his inauguration in 1961, President Kennedy, who was committed to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons⁷ was told that Israel had a nuclear reactor with a capacity of generating 90 kilograms of plutonium and was regarded as having possibly developed nuclear weapons.⁸ However, Ben Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister, was still producing reassurances to the contrary and delaying any visit by US scientists to Dimona. When this did take place, the scientists recognised that plutonium was being reprocessed but there was "*no present evidence that the Israelis have weapons production in mind.*" Presumably they were unaware that a large underground reprocessing plant was being constructed.⁹ Ben Gurion avoided any problems, by explaining the commitment to nuclear power as an acceptable means of developing desalination.

By 1963, the Israeli surface to surface missile, Jericho, was being manufactured by the French firm, Marcel Dassault. The irony is that now the Israeli successor to this version of Jericho could theoretically threaten France itself. The CIA stated in an internal assessment for the US administration that Israel... "*would seek to exploit the psychological advantages of its nuclear capability to intimidate the Arabs.....would use all its means to persuade the US to acquiesce in, and even support, its possession of nuclear capability,*"¹⁰ and a month later Peres gave the US President the reassurances he required, although he was determined to continue the programme. However, during the first half of 1963, the US administration, at the behest of President Kennedy continued its efforts to limit the development of offensive missile programmes in Egypt and Israel and stop the development of Israeli nuclear weapons. In 1963, President Nasser of Egypt had told the US that the development of Israeli nuclear weapons would be a cause for war.¹¹ When Ben Gurion resigned, Kennedy maintained his diplomatic offensive and indeed persuaded the new Prime Minister, Eshkol, to sign the Partial Test Ban Treaty.

However, Eshkol also decided to follow an "*opaque*" policy about the nuclear facility in Dimona, which meant in Avner Cohen words, "*both an infringement of Israeli sovereignty and being less than honest with the US*"¹². Golda Meir, who was then a minister, had argued strongly, on the other hand, for transparency, arguing that a case should be made to capture world opinion. In this climate, about a month before his assassination, President Kennedy was not willing to provide the Israelis with the security guarantees that they sought, without their

compliance on the issue of nuclear proliferation but he did wish to initiate a security dialogue. An agreement was reached about supplying the Israelis with modern tanks, although Kennedy refused to supply surface to surface missiles to Israel. However, Peres had achieved his objective; a recognised dialogue had begun between the US and Israeli Military Industrial Complex.¹³

Kennedy had wanted US visits to Dimona to conform, as far as possible, to international inspections standards but the Israelis wanted them seen only as scientific visits. After his death, in spite of inspections, some in the US administration continued to have doubts and were still pressing for the Israeli government to commit itself to the non-proliferation policy and IAEA inspections.¹⁴ However, despite US suspicions, the Israelis concealed the reprocessing operations from US inspectors using a variety of means, although some US officials had doubts.¹⁵ President Johnson followed a different path from President Kennedy, however, and was happy for the US to sell highly sophisticated conventional weapons systems to the Israelis. In one case, Germany acted as a third party, on the understanding that Israel would not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the region,¹⁶ in spite of USA fears that there was a danger that the Skyhawks sold to Israel could become nuclear weapon carriers.¹⁷

While US and Israeli officials repeatedly discussed the real meaning of the phrase ‘introducing nuclear weapons’, the Israeli government continued to ignore any exhortations about proliferation from the US. By then the Israelis had acquired a delivery system from the French, in the form of Jericho, [see Chapter 1], although in May 1966, Prime Minister Eshkol had said Israel had no nuclear weapons and would not be the first to introduce them.¹⁸ However, according to Pierre Pean, “*the first plutonium extraction tests took place during second half of 1965*” and by 1966 Israel had enough plutonium “*to manufacture the bomb during 1966, or at the latest early 1967*”¹⁹

At the time of the 1967 six-day war, during the confrontation between the two superpowers in the Mediterranean, the US intelligence ship Liberty was attacked, not as was first thought by the USSR, but by the Israelis.²⁰ This resulted in a substantial loss of life. Nevertheless, the US still did not publicly challenge Israel, presumably because the covert interests of the military/ industrial complex were regarded as having priority. That war ended when the Egyptian air-force, which had posed a threat to Israel’s nuclear ambitions was destroyed on the ground.²¹ By 1968, the US State Department was reporting, “*a French company has nearly completed development for Israel of a surface to surface ballistic missile system with a nuclear-carrying capacity.*”²² How, under these circumstances, the US could not understand the true intentions of the Israeli government remains a mystery.

In that year, Harold Saunders the senior staff member of the National Security Council, whose remit was the Middle East, was urging the US government to put pressure on Israel to join the NPT. The father of the hydrogen bomb, Edward Teller was certain at that time the Israelis were developing nuclear weapons but were not testing them. Israel said it approved of the treaty “*in principle*” presumably for anyone else but “*had reservations*” presumably for its own participation.²³ A US government memo recognised that [Israel] “*has decided not to join the NPT but wants to stay in step with other countries, which have doubts about the security assurances provided by the NPT.*”²⁴ Indeed, during the 1967 war Cohen reports that the Israelis, who were testing a joint French Israeli missile, were extremely worried about any attack on Dimona and had according to one source “*improvised two nuclear devices.*”²⁵ However, the evidence suggests that the US had been more interested in selling 50 Phantom jets to Israel than ensuring that Israel was definitely not developing nuclear weapons. Later these same weapons would be used in the 1970 war for attacks against the Egyptian civilians.²⁶ The planes could also theoretically be adapted for nuclear delivery.²⁷

Israel was still maintaining that it did not possess nuclear weapons but did admit to having acquired the ‘know how’. However, President Johnson had been told earlier in 1968 that the Israelis had nuclear weapons by the CIA.²⁸ and Secretary of State Dean Rusk was complaining that Jericho missiles were capable of carrying nuclear warheads²⁹ and other officials were fearful that the Israelis were developing nuclear weapons at other sites. If that was true then, it is certainly true today. Indeed, this episode was instructive for all concerned. When in doubt, a US President, who followed Johnson’s lead, would, unlike President Kennedy, protect the interests of his own military/industrial complex and ignore the underlying principles of the NPT.

By 1970, the US stopped its visits to Dimona, probably realising that the Israelis had several other sites which may be implicated in nuclear weapons production. The new US President, Nixon, was more sympathetic to the Israeli cause even though the Israeli government had linked the question of the NPT to Israel’s hold on the Palestinian Occupied Territories.³⁰ Indeed, by the 1970 war, the CIA was briefing Congress on Israel’s nuclear

programme, although the US administration continued to protect Israeli interests.³¹ For in that same year, during a conflict in Jordan known by the Palestinians as 'Black September', the US and Israel were preparing to use their forces to suppress the Palestinians even though this might have led to a superpower nuclear confrontation and even conflict.³² The only conclusion that can be drawn, was that the development of Israel's nuclear capability was welcomed by the US. Then, during the 1973 Arab/Israeli War, according to Schwartz and Derber³³, quoting various Israeli sources, the decision was taken to make Kfir and Phantom nuclear bombers battle ready. Israeli made Jericho weapons carrying nuclear warheads were also made ready, making a total of 13 devices, even though this could have precipitated all out nuclear war. In 1979, according to some authorities, Israel is believed to have detonated an explosion high in the atmosphere off the eastern coast of Southern Africa. However, sanctions were not imposed on Israel in this last stage of the Cold War.³⁴

The strategy of the Israeli government should be understood for what it was. After all, as Cohen describes it "*the nuclear project was, in many ways, the ultimate Zionist project.*" Although, by then, colonialism was anathema to most governments, the Israelis were dedicated to acquiring the land of "*Greater Israel.*" This should have caused the Israeli state many problems. However, the US understood imperialist ambitions, having some of its own. It became clear to all that the Israel government would not be opposed by the US, as long as it did not undermine US interests. Therefore, in 1981, when Iraq was developing its own nuclear programme, which many judged was being established for peaceful purposes, Israel bombed the reactor and faced very little criticism from the US.³⁵ Israel's determination to smash any viable nuclear state in the Arab world led to it engaging in pre-emptive strikes, which were entirely against international law. Was the Israeli government assuming then that its potential enemies were capable of similar deceptions to those that Israel had constructed to protect its interests? To those states, who took US declarations about the Non-proliferation Treaty at their face value, the endorsement of Israel's nuclear capacity must be as extraordinary as the fact, that while Pakistan "*was crossing the nuclear threshold, it rose to become the third largest recipient of US foreign aid.*"³⁶

By 1983, the nature of Israel's military ambitions and nuclear potential was well known and various states were prepared to condemn Israel, even though this meant challenging US support for the state. At a meeting of the Non-Aligned Nations in 1983, the agreed final documents rejected "*Israel's habitually aggressive and expansionist policies in the region*"³⁷ and the view that Palestine was the core of the Middle East problem, and, therefore, called for total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian territories, condemning illegal Israeli settlements and the invasion of Lebanon and Syria. It also "*particularly condemnedthe policy of the United States of America and called for it to stop assisting Israel*" and denounced Israel's bombing of Iraq's reactor, which it regarded as one of those "*installations devoted to peaceful purposes.*" Significantly the final document also stated in article 105:-

"[g] *The Conference expresses its deep concern at the build up of conventional and nuclear weapons in Israel, which is designed to reinforce Israel's position as a base for colonialism and racism in the third world in general and in Africa and Asia in particular. By taking such a measure, Israel imperils global peace and security. The Conference called for the implementation of United Nations Assembly resolutions 33/71 of 14th December 1978 on military and nuclear cooperation with Israel and 37/82 of 9th December 1982 on Israel nuclear armament.*"

The Non-Aligned Movement had been frequently supported by the USSR, although its path was specifically neutral, because it gave another interpretation to global events to that provided by the US. However, as the Cold War ended, its influence waned. Indeed, throughout the world, none could have been as pleased as Israel, when the Soviet Union collapsed. The Palestinians would lose their most effective protector, Zionists living in the USSR would be recruited to colonise the illegal settlements in the West Bank and the Arab countries would lose much of their influence.

However, was it still in the interests of the US to ignore Israeli nuclear weapons and other WMD? Would the US assert itself and demand that Israel conform to its stated policies on Non-proliferation? No, once again, the Israelis did not have to explain publicly why they should retain weapons of mass destruction when others were castigated for this by the US administration. Quite the contrary, Israel had become so confident by 1992 of obtaining the requisite support from the US, that it was prepared to orchestrate a vociferous campaign against the withdrawal of loan guarantees by the US administration, which wished to see an end to illegal settlements in the West Bank, protesting that this policy undermined its inalienable right to the land of Palestine³⁸, even though such annexations were against international law. Other evidence that the Israelis were developing biological and chemical weapons was also ignored [see Chapter 1]

But Israel must have realised that its actions were creating some hostility and set out to protect its interests. From about 1994, Israel began co-operating formally with NATO, although informal co-operation had developed long before then, as the Military/Industrial complex in the West and that in Israel became more interdependent. In 2000, the government of Israel test- launched a Jericho missile, allegedly without telling the US in advance. The missile landed near a US warship, which reasonably thought it was under attack.³⁹ In spite of this incident, US/Israeli relations remained friendly. However, it was only on February 24th 2005 that NATO announced that it had signed a partnership agreement with Israel.⁴⁰

Chapter 4 The Israeli Arms Trade

Resources

In 2002, Israel agreed a military budget of \$9.8 bn, which is 8.9% of its GDP, which is about three times higher than the US [3.1%] and four times higher than the world average [2.6%]¹ In 2001 Israel's exports reached a new high of \$2.7 bn and in 2000 was reported as being the tenth biggest exporter of arms in the world.² The US, China, India and Turkey are all major customers, as are many European countries. The annual production from the Israeli Arms industry was about US\$ 3.6 billion, in 2001.³

Jane's International Defense Review, in 2002, reported that Israel Aircraft Industries “*is the nation's largest exporter, the largest industrial concern and the largest single employer, with 14, 500 employees.*”⁴ This state owned firm has sold more than US\$1.7 billion of goods for export [with about 60% of this work being civil]. Israel depends on the arms trade to provide her with income to run the state and Joseph Ackerman, President of the Israeli Arms Firm Elbit Systems, has acknowledged that the increase in US and NATO military expenditure is a significant factor in the country's progress.⁵

Israel's suppliers have come from the US, Germany, France and the UK. The US provides the most, for it provides \$3 bn in annual aid and US sales to Israel were \$2.9 bn. [Further information is available in chapter 6] Germany has supplied over three quarters of a billion between 1996 and 2000, [\$765] and France \$50m between 1996-2000. However, France and Germany have currently suspended arms sales to Israel but not declared a formal embargo⁶

No doubt that Israel's history is one of militarization. In establishing a Zionist state, in the forties and fifties, committed to ethnic cleansing directed at the Palestinians, who were only lightly armed, Israel spent much of its budget on the military. Between 1948 and 1978, it is reported as spending just over a fifth on the Israeli Defence Force [21%] and between 1973 and 1982, nearly 50% of the state's budget, although a substantial portion came from US military aid.⁷ Not surprisingly, many Israeli Prime ministers have been Generals e.g. Yitzak Rabin and Ariel Sharon, others have histories of being leaders of terrorist groups e.g. Menachim Begin,⁸ while other Israeli leaders, such as Shimon Peres, have worked throughout their professional lives with the International Arms Trade, whether in Israel or in abroad, in countries such as France and the US. [See Chapter 3].

Weapons of Mass Destruction [WMD]

Without the support of the international arms trade, Israel would have found it much more difficult to develop delivery systems that can be used for WMD. For example, the Israeli government has purchased a multiple launch rocket system and developed guidance.⁹ Furthermore, although Israel has acquired Dolphin submarines from Germany which could be used as for WMD delivery, [see chapter 1], it is reported that the Israeli government seeks even more Dolphins¹⁰ and there are some unconfirmed reports that she is developing a longer-range cruise missile for use in the Dolphin submarine. She has already acquired F-161 aircraft¹¹ and 250 F-16s, which is the world's largest fleet outside the US.¹² In addition Israel has commissioned a further 102 from the US Company Lockheed Martin.¹³ The provision of delivery systems has not been all one way. Indian nuclear capacity has been aided by Israeli firms upgrading Indian Jaguar Bombers to allow them to carry nuclear weapons, a policy which runs directly counter to the non-proliferation treaty.¹⁴ According to *Campaign Against Arms Trade*, “*Israel is now India's second largest equipment supplier, with military transactions signed or in the pipeline of \$3 bn.*”

Israel has developed expertise in several fields, which could be very useful in deploying WMD notably:-¹⁵

- Unmanned aerial vehicles
- Space Weapons e.g. Arrow [see Chapter 2]
- Space technology [see chapter 2]]
- Upgrading programmes in conjunction with outside firms, for example, in Canada, Georgia, Romania and Brazil. A wide variety of arms are implicated including:- F-16s, MIGs, Unmanned Aerial Vehicles [UAVs], radar and laser warning equipment
- Precision Guided Munitions and Advanced Military Aircraft.
- Non-intrusive Integration programmes.
- Signals Intelligence Markets

Sales to other countries to support this strategy

Israel has been able to acquire delivery systems and technology by engaging in profitable trading relations, which have led to shared technology, or reciprocal agreements. [See chapter 5] As a result, Israeli upgrades have been acquired by the new members of NATO. For example, Poland has upgraded 200 Sukhoi SU-22m4 fighter bombers.¹⁶ European countries have bought Unmanned Aerial Vehicles from Israel, such as Finland and Switzerland,¹⁷ while France and the Netherlands are cooperating in building up a Medium Altitude Long Endurance system based on an Israeli design. *Campaign Against Arms* Trade reports that Israel has sold arms to at least 51 countries, apart from the US.¹⁸ These trade deals have protected Israel's interests, as countries, with whom trade links have been built, are less likely to criticise Israeli policies.

The Israeli military/ industrial complex is not choosy about its trade partners. Israel is reported as aiding the Medellin drug barons of Columbia, as well as the Guatemalan army during its conflict with the peasantry when ten of thousands of people disappeared.¹⁹ The Israeli government was also a strong ally of apartheid South Africa, with annual two way sales amounting to more than \$500 million.²⁰ The pattern is clear, when other arms exporters refused to back illegal and /or oppressive regimes, usually because of activities of which their governments disapproved, Israel met the demand in the market, whether the country concerned was Chile, after President Allende, Nicaragua under Somoza, Panama under Noriega and the government of Burma. Recently, the government of Zimbabwe has placed an order for riot control vehicles worth \$10 m. Even genocide was no bar. The Israelis organised arms transfers to Rwanda in spite of a UN embargo.²¹

Civilians, the Israeli Arms Trade and the Illegal Use of Arms,

The arms trade profits help the Israeli government to fund its military campaign against the Palestinians. In addition, weapons are being deployed by the Israeli military/ industrial complex in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, primarily against civilians, where their use enables the Israeli government and military/industrial complex to develop markets abroad. These include those repressive governments who wish to diminish dissent by force. Indeed, the Palestinian population seems to be used as a captive group, in which new technologies, for the control of low density conflict in civilian populations, are being tested.

Furthermore, many weapons, which are deemed illegal, are reported as being used against civilians in the occupied territories. For example, Amnesty has discovered that since June 2001 the IDF has been using US-supplied Flechette rounds [filled with up to 2,000 5 cm long steel darts], which is '*an indiscriminate ammunition designed to defeat massed infantry attacks, or squads of troops in the open*'²². Using them in Gaza is likely to kill civilians.²³ Not surprisingly, air-launched decoys and anti-tank missile and rocket systems and Cluster bombs are regarded as areas in which the Israelis excel.²⁴

There is also evidence that dum-dum bullets are being used against civilians.²⁵ Furthermore, more than one little girl sitting at her desk, at an UNWRA school, has been shot and killed by Israeli snipers.²⁶ Palestinians en route to hospital have also been shot and killed and there have been casualties from amongst ambulance drivers.²⁷ From December 2000 to August 2002, Israel used its Apache and Cobra helicopters to attack militants, which resulted in 82 activists being killed and 31 bystanders. These extra-judicial killings are illegal in international law and are banned by the Geneva Convention.²⁸

UK Policy, WMD and the Arms Trade with Israel

Following the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, an arms embargo was placed on Israel by the UK government. Since the Oslo Accords, however, the UK has sold Israel many items of equipment, including submarines, combat

helicopters, combat aircraft, tanks, bombs, torpedoes, rockets, missiles, mines, machine guns, ammunition and electronic equipment.²⁹ As *Campaign Against Arms Trade* has demonstrated, although Ariel Sharon, when he came to power as Israel's prime minister, denounced the Oslo Accords, the British government did not re-impose restrictions but on the contrary allowed UK military export licences to Israel to almost double from \$12.5 million in the year 2000, to \$ 22.5 million in 2001. The Israeli firm Elbit Systems Silver Arrow has even acquired a UK firm and UAV Engines Ltd located near Birmingham provides engines for the IAI Searcher.³⁰

There are many reasons why the Arms trade between the UK and Israel should be curtailed. *Campaign Against Arms Trade* argues that the UK government has clear policy guidelines but does not follow them. "This [UK] policy is in violation of the criteria for arms exports licenses which states that there should be respect for sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council and those decreed by the European Community, agreements on non-proliferation and other international obligations." Other criteria covered include "The internal situation in the country of final destination, as a function of the existence of tensions, or armed conflicts" and "the preservation of regional peace, security and stability."

Furthermore, the use by Israel of force against unarmed civilians has also been ignored. In spite of the UK government's protestations about its commitment to peace in the region, it allowed new guidelines allowing the export to the US of UK manufactured components, which are incorporated into F-16s bound for Israel. F-16s are among the aircraft that have been used in attacks on the occupied Palestinian Territories and Palestinian homes and civilians, alongside Apache and Cobra helicopters.³¹ This means that the UK is an accessory to acts, which appear to contravene international law. Furthermore, the Israeli/UK trade involves some weapons that have been developed for use against civilian populations in the Middle East. For example, the use of Raphael's Gill/Spike anti-tank missile is being evaluated by the M.OD of the UK. This is being done in spite of the fact that this missile was first used against civilian populations in Lebanon.³²

As *Campaign Against Arms Trade* rightly maintains when discussing the illegal treatment of Palestinian civilians, "Israel is carrying out an occupation deemed illegal by international law: it flouts UN resolutions and shows little respect for the wishes of the international community."... "Israel has used and continues to use indiscriminate and excessive force against Palestinian civilians. It uses methods of collective punishment and carries out extra-judicial killings. It has been widely condemned for its violation of Palestinian human rights." This is directly contrary to a policy which calls for "respect of human rights and the fundamental freedoms in the country of final destination." The sale of ammunition, missiles, up-grading of combat aircraft and other weapons used against civilians assuredly contravenes these guidelines. Sales of UK arms to Israel, also, contravene the criterion that there should be an evaluation of the risk that "the equipment will be diverted within the buyer country or re-exported under undesirable conditions" Therefore, when *Campaign Against Arms Trade* asserts that "Israel also sells weapons to anyone who want them", this is very hard to dispute, given the evidence.³³

Clearly the sales of submarines, torpedoes and missiles do not conform to these criteria, either, especially when they can be adapted to deliver WMD. The up-grading of Indian Jaguar bombers to nuclear status, by Israeli firms, certainly flouts the non-proliferation treaty but that is not the main criterion which should govern British policy on this issue. The development of WMD by Israel has frequently been overlooked by the international community but the refusal by the Israelis to allow the International Atomic Energy Authority to inspect facilities at Dimona and elsewhere should, by itself, offer sufficient grounds for the UK government to embargo any arms trading of any kind whatsoever with Israel.

Chapter 5: Israel and NATO – problems from partnership?

The Future of NATO after the Cold War

In 1990, according to Russian archive material, when the Russians were negotiating the withdrawal of their forces from East Germany, President Gorbachev was given verbal assurances by James Baker, then US Secretary of State and the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that NATO would not expand.¹ Therefore, in the following year in 1991, when Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared that the task was 'to create within the CSCE framework as a matter of priority, a pan-European security architecture as envisaged in the Charter of Paris'², this and similar statements, were greeted with approval by the Russians and indeed the majority of the European peace movement. It is significant that the Charter of Paris re-iterated many of the important themes of the Helsinki

agreements, which played such a key role in developing the concept of security. In other words, security came to be seen at that time not only in military terms but also in terms of social, political, economic and legal human rights.

Therefore, in 1992, it would have been possible to extend the role of the CSCE and create a regional co-operative security system. But this was resisted by the US who having succeeded in their objective of dismembering the Soviet Union then announced that they wished to see a continuing role for NATO and the retention of interlocking transatlantic and European institutions,³ arguing for a programme of expansion and an increase spending in each member country in Europe.⁴ Indeed, the US Secretary of State Madeline Albright stated that the Clinton administration had *"no higher priority than the expansion of NATO."*⁵

Looking after the West's energy supplies

The Director of Russia's Foreign Policy Directorate said in 1995 that he regarded the loss of the oil fields of the Caspian Sea as a more serious threat to Russia's security than NATO expansion.⁶ The truth, of course, is that these matters are connected. The military threats to Russia, posed by NATO expansion into Eastern Europe and the new US bases and forces in the region of the Caspian Sea have behind them, among other considerations, the desire by the West, and the US in particular, to ensure access to cheap sources of energy. Having gained access to the former USSR's natural resources on their terms, the NATO countries are setting in place a political and military framework which will ensure, they hope, their continuing control over these supplies in the Middle East and Central Asia.

Russia depended on the co-operation of Bulgaria, the Ukraine, Georgia and Kazakhstan to be able to deliver its oil to the world.⁷ However, Bulgaria was forced by its economic collapse to formally apply for membership of NATO.⁸ Ukraine has been forced through economic pressure, resulting in the 'velvet coup', to give up its non-aligned status and is applying to join the EU and may well go into partnership with NATO, and Georgia has very close relations with the US, as a new oil pipe line is being routed through that country. Kazakhstan is under continuous political and economic pressure from the US and Russia. Furthermore, since the events of Sept 11th 2001, the US has acquired bases in Uzbekistan, as well as in Iraq. Faced with such a hostile strategy, alternative markets for Russian energy resources have been found in China and these two states in 1996 concluded a treaty which was designed to improve trade relations and co-operation between both countries and has resulted in the construction of a major oil pipe line into China. If a close alliance is being forged between these countries, NATO's policies and that of its member states have certainly provided the cement to encourage them to cooperate.

However, at the present time, the main concern of the US remains the Middle East and the vast oil deposits in that region, which are needed by the oil-hungry economy of the US. Therefore, in spite of the support the US enjoys from the authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and faced with a severely diminishing oil supply in the Western hemisphere, the US has encouraged NATO to develop out of area military strategies. Some have suggested that this policy was followed to support the US oil industries and interests.⁹ In 1992, after the First Gulf war, the strategic concept of NATO was changed in order, it was said, to deal with crisis management outside the Alliance area. A statement was agreed by the Alliance ministers in June 1996.^{10,11} NATO's military planning for 'peace support' does not only envisage conflict prevention, peace making and peace keeping but also peace enforcement by military means and peace building i.e. using force to strengthen and solidify a political settlement.

Certain European governments such as Germany and France still have grave reservations about some aspects of this strategy and, following strong pressure from public opinion, refused to take part in the Iraq war of 2003. It is an irony that the strategy of encirclement, which worked so well for NATO during the Cold War, has been re-enacted in the Middle East with the help of some of the 'new' East European states, such as Poland with troops based in Iraq. NATO's Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, has no doubts about NATO's role. "*NATO*" he asserts *"is an agent of change ...that is why we are now engaged in peacekeeping in Afghanistan. It is why we are conducting an anti-terrorist maritime operation in the Mediterranean. And last but not least, it is why NATO is running a training mission in post-Saddam Iraq"*¹²

The problems encountered in Iraq and the possibility of a future war with Iran has prompted a response in NATO. On March 16th 2005 NATO's Press office reported that the Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defence programme had been launched which was designed to defend soldiers against theatre-range ballistic missiles.

Presumably, this system will protect 'out of area' actions by NATO in the Middle East. It is designed to protect troops from missiles such as SCUD, whose range would be too low for even medium range attacks. Its adoption directly threatens all the countries of the Middle East.¹³

Such actions, of course, are illegal under international law. In this 'out of area' scenario Israel has played a key role, for it actively supports the US administration's development of an 'ideology' to win commitment amongst the US public and others, based on 'the war on terror', which is designed to achieve acquiescence not only amongst the US public but also internationally Israel has also employed strategies such 'out of area' illegal pre-emptive strikes, used so effectively in the Arab/Israeli wars as well as in the Iraq war.¹⁴ Furthermore, Israel's denial of civil liberties and detention of political prisoners resonates with the policy of the US with regard to so-called illegal combatants and their incarceration in prison camps at Guantanamo Bay and elsewhere. In both cases the ongoing conflict is prosecuted in the name of 'freedom and democracy'. Furthermore, Israel's defence forces and the equipment they possess could play a valuable role in strengthening US and NATO control in this region [see Chapter 1].

NATO's Partnership with Israel?

NATO's Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, in a speech in Israel in 2005 stated that we try "to move from dialogue to partnership" Israel's concrete proposals included, he added, "the fight against terrorism, or joint military exercises where Israel's expertise is very much valued". Clearly Israel is seen to be an ally of NATO but is NATO an ally of Israel? The Israelis must have thought there was no doubt about that, after they had so assiduously courted the US and EU for decades, especially the military industrial complexes. [See Chapter 1, 3 and 4.] Some have suggested that if NATO and the US succeed in pacifying Afghanistan and ending hostilities in Iraq, NATO could then deploy a 60,000 strong force to monitor the border between Israel and a future Palestinian state.¹⁵

Various options have been discussed including:-

- 1] A NATO force,
- 2] A UN force,
- 3] A multinational force with a UN mandate and
- 4] A multinational force without a UN mandate.

However, many sympathetic to NATO have maintained that such a force would have to be acceptable to both sides. Some commentators have suggested that NATO would be unacceptable to the Palestinians and the UN would be unacceptable to the Israelis.¹⁶

However, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, on the same visit to Israel in February 2005, was quick to remind his Israeli audience about the existence of the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative which has involved Middle East countries, such as Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar. Furthermore, he expressed reservations about Israel's attitude to the Middle East Peace Process, stating "there would first have to be a lasting peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians. Moreover, the parties concerned must be in favour of a NATO role in its implementation; and there would have to be a UN mandate. These conditions do not yet exist. For the time being, NATO lends its political support to the efforts by the Quartet to realise the goals of the "Roadmap", which should again remain the priority for the whole international community".¹⁷

However, the grave reservations that observers world-wide hold about Israel's policies, which are in contravention of international and humanitarian law must be addressed, if such a course is to succeed. These include ethnic cleansing, the shooting of unarmed civilians including small children, collective punishment of civilian populations and the Israeli government's support for illegal and aggressive settlement beyond the 1967 green line, with the building of the so-called 'security fence', which has been declared illegal by the United Nations.^{18 19}

At the moment, it seems that NATO is reluctant to be involved.²⁰ However, it is disturbing that NATO is conducting joint military exercises with Israel, as it must be remembered that both NATO and Israel are nuclear armed. Such close military cooperation can hardly lead to confidence building in neighbouring states and can only lead to further instability in this troubled region.

Chapter 6: The Relationship between the US and Israel.

Israeli Deception?

Reading Avner Cohen's account of the development of Israeli weapons, any reader could be forgiven for assuming that Israel has become a major military power, with large stocks of weapons of mass destruction because the government of Israel regularly deceived the US administration.¹ There is some evidence for this in Cohen's work and in support of this view, Hirst described the relationship the Israeli authorities had with the US as deceitful in how it achieved its ends "*It [Israel, he maintains] did so by systematically lying to it [the US] at the highest levels*"² However, although there is some truth in this version, it is not the whole story. Certainly, President Kennedy was opposed to the acquisition by Israel of weapons of mass destruction but other Presidents have taken a more relaxed position and encouraged arms sales to the country, while ignoring the evidence that was available. [See Chapter 3].

The development of the international arms trade has greatly benefited Israel. Alliances have been forged between the Israeli government and various arms manufacturers that appear to have created a climate in the governments of the West where Israel's possession of WMD was not regarded as an important issue. The mutual search for profits from arms has underpinned the development of Israel as a major power. In this, Shimon Peres, has played a crucial role [see Chapter 4], from when he courted the support of the French Military/ Industrial complex to supply the necessary support for the production of an Israeli nuclear bomb, to recent examples of co-operation between US and Israel, such as the shared test bed facility for space technology [see chapter 2] .

US Interests?

However, that is not the only reason why the US government has overlooked the development of weapons of mass destruction in Israel. In the development of the 'open door policy' of the US, the aim of which is to allow US capital to penetrate all other economic systems and was indeed one of the main causes of the Cold War, US international experts developed theories which sought to underpin these attempts to dominate and control the rest of the world economically. Spykeman's views were influential in promoting a debate on this issue in the US the mid twentieth century.³ He had maintained that it was impossible for the US to achieve this goal unless it could prevent a strategic alliance between Europe and Asia and argued that US foreign policy relations must promote such a division, otherwise the 'open door' policy would be seriously impeded and US power seriously diminished.

This world view was highlighted during the Cold War when Europe was divided from itself and Russia, and Russia was also divided from China. These divisions, while reflecting the views of a bloc of countries that were fully committed to resisting the entry of US capital based on an 'open door' policy, paradoxically weakened any possible alliance between Europe, Russia and China, which was so greatly feared by the US strategists.

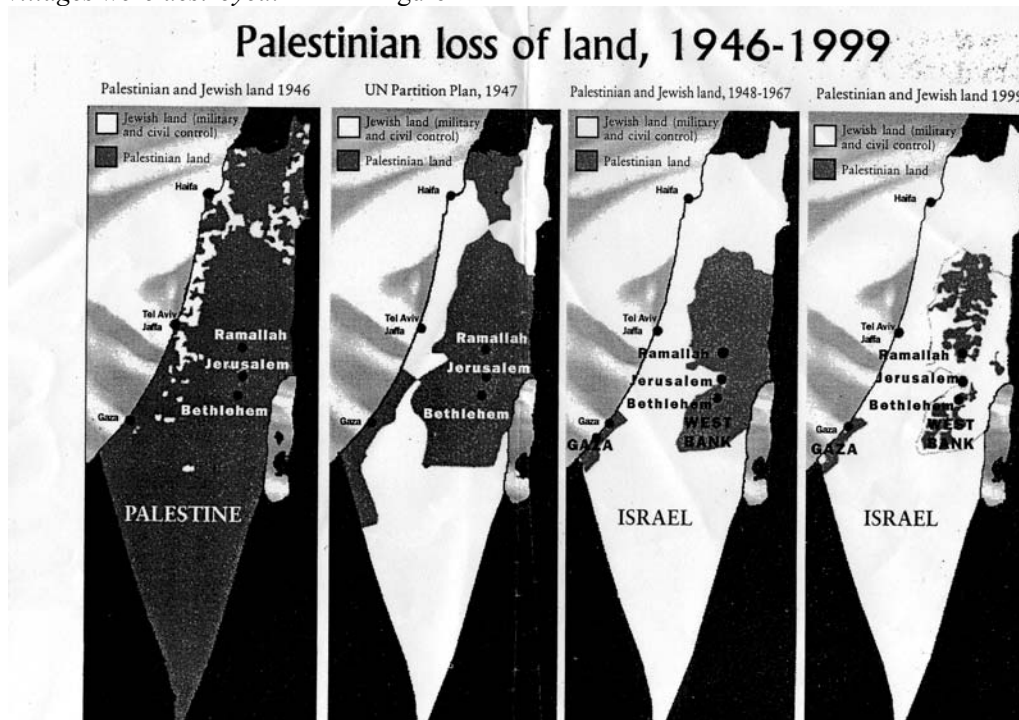
In this scenario, Israel would play a key role. As it developed much closer relationships with the US Military/ Industrial Complex and became a major military power, initially in the Middle East and then in the world as a whole, Israel's position both geographically and politically has enabled the US to promote its interests, not only in the Middle East but in the Euro-Asian land mass as a whole. For example, the possession of nuclear weapons by Israel became a recognised threat not only to the Middle East but also to the Soviet Union during the seventies and eighties.^{4,5} Therefore, this alliance between Israel and the US, in spite of some disagreements about priorities and timings essentially reflected the interests of the elites of both countries during the latter period of the Cold War.

The US administration, under a variety of different presidents, increasingly recognised that the US must control other sources of energy than those available to it in the western hemisphere. The oil deposits of those continents were seriously depleted and for the US to maintain not only its political and social aspirations but also its economic stability, increasingly it needed to control the oil supplies of Asia, rather than exploring other energy alternatives. Therefore, the massive military power which had been developed during the Cold War would be used to accomplish this objective. The possibilities provided by the Kyoto agreement would be dismissed and whatever else needed to be sacrificed, the 'open door' policy would control the oil supplies of Asia.

In this strategy, Israel would play a crucial role. It could provide a forward base to pre-empt any threats to US interests, while its oppression of the Palestinians would provide a political reaction in other Middle Eastern countries and Europe, which the US could exploit. While maintaining and developing its close and, in many

ways, covert military relationship with Israel, the US government could also play the role of democratic mediator in the conflict resulting from the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians from the Holy Land. The US government was firmly committed to this policy and foreign aid from the US to Israel has, Hirst calculates, amounted to about \$71 billion, between 1949 and 1997, which was 7 billion more than went from the US to the 1,410 million inhabitants combined of Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Israel had a population, in this period, which, he maintains was fewer than 6 million people. That is to say, he calculates that for every dollar the United States spent on an African, in this period, it spent \$250.65 on an Israeli.⁶ In comparison, in 2001 as War on Want has shown, 65% of the total Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories, i.e. about 2.1 million people, now live on less than US\$2 a day, which is below the UN poverty line. The number in poverty, no doubt, has increased since then.⁷

This was not the only help offered to Israel. Since just after the Second World War, the US has also persuaded other countries, over whom it could exercise influence, to follow its lead in the United Nations of guaranteeing support to Israel.⁸ The suffering during the period of ethnic cleansing, in 1948, which Palestinians call the Catastrophe or al-Nakba, was ignored, not only by the US but also by Europe, which itself had been ravaged by war, as Hawari describes it “two thirds of the Palestinian people were expelled from their homeland and 500 villages were destroyed.”⁹ Figure 1



Even when Israel pursued its objectives using violent means while interfering in the affairs of another country, the US remained committed to the relationship.¹⁰ Support from among US politicians for Israel, according to Hirst, who provides significant examples, has been maintained not only by generous funding but also by naming and shaming those opposed to Israel’s policies in the West Bank and labelling them anti-Semitic.¹¹

Even in some instances, when the US authorities found Israeli policy unacceptable and for example deplored Israel’s covert support for the massacres of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila by the Lebanese phalangists,¹² the long term interests of Israel would always be safeguarded, for the Israelis safeguarded the essential interests of the US. However, this opportunistic alliance has placed Israel firmly in the hands of the US and if the US strategy should fail, or indeed become outdated, as eventually it will, the Israeli government will be in a very difficult position. Nevertheless, as a result of this policy the position of the Palestinians is becoming desperate after 57 years of oppression and conflict. In 2003, 30% of the children suffered from chronic malnutrition and 21% from acute malnutrition compared with the year 2000 when it was 7.5% and 2.5% respectively. Palestinian per capita use of water is estimated at 50-70 litres, compared with Israeli use at 350 litres per day.¹³

Ideology?

However, it would be wrong to present this US/Israeli relationship solely as an example of real politik. The Israelis have created a common ground with the elites of the US. So much so that an American Jewish politician

described the relationship in these terms:- *“We no longer feel we live in the Diaspora , the United States no longer has a government of gentiles but an administration in which the Jews are full partners in the decision making at all levels”*¹⁴ Israel had expanded and driven out the Palestinians in a policy of ethnic cleansing using a variety of techniques, such as the massacre of villagers as occurred in Deir Yassim in 1948, where the Irgun and Stern gangs killed about 350 unarmed civilians, and which precipitated an exodus of refugees, fearing the same fate¹⁵. This was combined with the confiscation of land and water resources which have been held by the Palestinians for centuries¹⁶ and the creation of refugees both within and outside Israel by a policy of land confiscation and demolition.¹⁷ Later, the erection of a wall in the Palestine Occupied Territories has annexed additional land from the Palestinians and Israel plans to fragment any land in the West Bank that the Palestinians retain by this development into unviable fragments, or cantons¹⁸. None of this, throughout the decades, has provoked any serious censure in the US. As Hirst describes it, *“What is not in doubt is that, historically, the Zionists have everywhere been quite extraordinarily successful in winning and maintaining international support for their point of view, but in no country more so than in the United States, where Israel has always enjoyed a unique predisposition in its favour”*¹⁹

One of the reasons for this is that the culture of the settler is deeply rooted in US consciousness, particularly in the mid- West and South and the Israelis now share a world view with those of the settler mentality in the US. During the nineteenth century, some of the settlers, in the US, also with the aid of their government, had colonised North America and prosecuted a similar pogrom against the indigenous people, who then lived there. The legacy of that conflict is an important element in US culture, as it is in Israeli culture. Whether Israelis or North Americans, if they were committed to colonialism, many did justify such policies. They believed, or still believe that their mission was, and is, endorsed by God and their cruelty was, and is, an inevitable and acceptable consequence of this. Al Gore, the Democrat, has succinctly summed up the US position *“The Americans feel our ties with Israel are eternal. Our founders like yours also made an errand into the wilderness in search of a New Zion”*²⁰

However in the US, a further development ensured that this world view would retain support, when Christian Zionism began to exert an increasing influence. An ideology which relies much more on images provided by the Old Testament than teachings from the New, it envisages the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple on the Mount in Jerusalem. Eretz [Greater] Israel must be supported in this philosophy, Palestinian land annexed and Jerusalem must become the ‘eternal and exclusive capital of the Jews’. These developments will then be followed by an apocalyptic war between good and evil²¹ This ideology is mainly found in the US but support is growing in Europe amongst those congregations with connections with the western hemi-sphere. Some Christian Zionists have promoted the emigration of Russian Jews to Israel, while others adopt Jewish settlements. A substantial number of North Americans hold these views. In the US, the National Unity Coalition for Israel brings together 200 different Jewish and Christian Zionist organisations and claims a support base of 40 million members. This has happened in spite of the fact that Christian Zionists believe that eventually, after the ‘return of Christ’ as the Jewish Messiah, most Jews will be converted to Christianity.²²

Within the US, the need to define the US identity in terms of conquest and colonisation may eventually be changed. However, until then, the relationship between the US and Israel will be determined by the struggle within the US to overturn the dual ideologies of the settler and of the ‘open door’ with more progressive ones based on equality, inclusivity and human rights. As these views become more ascendant in the US, Israel will find itself unable to appeal to the US public for unqualified support. Therefore, Israel will either have to adapt to a changing reality or find itself socially, culturally and economically isolated and eventually unable to maintain its military power.

These are the ‘facts on the ground’ that face the Israelis as a people. They have put their faith in the deterrent power of weapons of mass destruction, brutal colonisation, the strength of the US and the appeal of Christian Zionism, but this will not aid them. A better, more effective and safer solution would be to make peace with the Palestinians, abandon weapons of mass destruction, reject the vision of a Greater Israel and consciously integrate with the peoples of the Middle East, while retaining their unique and irreplaceable Jewish identity.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions

Israel is thought to have between 100-400 nuclear weapons and is recognised as having a production capability for chemical and even biological weapons.¹ She has refused to join, not only the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT]

and that covering biological weapons [BTWC]² but also the production of new sources of fissile material for nuclear weaponry – the so called fissile cut off treaty [[FMCT]³. Although she has joined the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, she has not ratified either.⁴ On the other hand, every Arab state is a member of the NPT.

The actual threat from Israel's weapons of mass destruction is markedly increased by recent acquisitions in delivery systems, which can be used for weapons of mass destruction including nuclear threats.⁵ She now possesses approximately 50 Jericho 2 missiles with a 1,500 km range and a 1,000 kg capacity, as well as Cruise missiles and bombers, which could be used to drop nuclear weapons. A further generation of Jericho may even be capable of a range up to 4,800 km according to the Monterey Institute of International Studies.⁶ Shavit space launchers with an estimated 4,500km range also have a place in Israel's programmes.⁷ Furthermore, Israel has recently acquired Dolphin submarines from Germany which could serve as a basis for a Second Strike nuclear capability.⁸ Some Israeli policy makers have argued that Israel should develop a pre-emptive nuclear strike capability.⁹ In addition, Israel may be developing military space nuclear technology, the so called 'star-wars'.¹⁰ Crucially, many of these Israeli developments are dependent on the international arms trade.

Significantly, the cooperation with Israel leading to partnership, envisaged at the NATO Istanbul Summit in 2004, included contributing to the work of the Alliance on threats posed by weapons of mass destruction and their delivery is going ahead. However, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, the NATO Secretary General has laid down several preconditions before envisaging any NATO contribution to security in the region i.e. 'A lasting peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians. Moreover the parties concerned must be in favour of a NATO role in its implementation; and there would have to be a UN mandate. These conditions do not exist. For the time being NATO lends its political support to the efforts of the Quartet to realise the goals of the "Roadmap"...' ¹¹

Israel continues to occupy Palestinian land and flouts international law. The UN General Assembly has passed over 30 Resolutions, first proposed by Egypt and Iran in 1974 and renewed annually, for 'the establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the region of the Middle East'. Israel continues to build a 'security barrier', that is a wall, on the land of the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The wall, however, was declared illegal on 9 July 2004 by the International Court of Justice.

A substantial number of organisations deplore the fact that British as well as European and US arms sales not only help Israel to continue the occupation but also give her the ability to threaten, in a relatively short period, not only the Middle East and Russia but most of Europe also¹² and urge Members of Parliament of the UK and Her Majesty's Government to promote policies to ensure that:-

- 1 The UN inspects facilities at Dimona and any other relevant sites in Israel for Weapons of Mass Destruction [WMD] and reports its findings to the Security Council with specific recommendations, on verification and monitoring.
- 2 The strategic objective is adopted by the British government and the EU of achieving Israeli compliance with, and ratification of, the NPT, CWC, BTWC and FMCT treaties.
- 3 A WMD- free zone in the Middle East, including Israel, is actively supported by the British government.
- 4 Israel's dangerous development of military space technology is actively opposed by the UK government and the EU.
- 5 An embargo is imposed on the sale of all UK and EU relevant military equipment to, and purchases from, Israel as well as the breaking off all military contacts
- 6 The United Kingdom takes a lead in the Council of Ministers in Europe in demanding that Israel complies with its obligations under international law.
- 7 Full Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu

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Appendix A

Mordechai Vanunu – Nuclear Whistleblower

"I have no more secrets to tell and have not set foot in Dimona for more than 19 years. I have been out of prison, although not free, for one year. Despite the illegal restrictions on my speech, I have again and again spoken out against the use of nuclear weapons anywhere and by any nation. I have given away no sensitive secrets because I have none. I have not acted against the interests of Israel nor do I wish to. I have been investigated by the police and re-arrested twice, but they have found nothing. I have done nothing but speak for peace and world safety from a nuclear disaster... "I did not seek to harm Israel, but rather to warn of an enormous danger. I do not seek to harm Israel now. I want to work for world peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons."

Mordechai Vanunu, 16th March 2005

Background:

Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at the Dimona nuclear facility in Israel, has served 18 years in prison, including 11½ years in solitary confinement, for providing the first solid evidence of the existence of Israel's clandestine weapons of mass destruction. He revealed the extent of Israel's nuclear weapons' arsenal through the London *Sunday Times* who published the information in September 1986, but not before Vanunu had been drugged, kidnapped and transported back to Israel to be tried in secret and found guilty of espionage and treason. Mordechai Vanunu's illegal kidnapping began in London where Mossad agents tracked him down, and he was transported back to Israel from Rome. Mordechai Vanunu was released from Ashkelon Prison on 21st April 2004 having served his full sentence.

Current situation:

Before his release last year the Israeli authorities imposed severe restrictions on the whistleblower, based on 1945 British Mandate legislation. These restrictions contravene his human and civil rights. The restrictions were necessary, the State says, to prevent Vanunu from revealing more secret information that could damage Israel. The most severe restriction denies him a passport and confines him in Israel for one year; this restriction has since been renewed for a further year until 21st April 2006. Other restrictions, renewable at six monthly intervals, state he is not permitted to speak to foreigners, to leave the city of Jerusalem without permission, to stay overnight at any address other than his own without permission or to approach any borders or foreign embassies. In addition, the recently updated order is even more repressive than the previous one, stating that Vanunu is forbidden to mention the words 'Dimona' or 'nuclear weapons'.

Since his release Vanunu has openly challenged some of the restrictions and continually asserted his rights to freedom of speech, the freedom to travel and, above all, the freedom to begin to rebuild a life for himself. During all the interviews Vanunu has continually asserted that he has no more secrets; indeed, what could he possibly know that would harm Israel after 11½ years in solitary confinement and a total of 18 years in prison?

Over the past year Vanunu has been arrested and detained twice; his laptop computers have been permanently confiscated. On 11th November last year he was arrested and questioned about breaking the restrictions and on 24th December he was again arrested when he attempted to enter Bethlehem to celebrate midnight mass. Since then, Vanunu has been charged with 21 counts of breaking the restrictions by speaking with foreign journalists. The prosecution of Vanunu for speaking to representatives of the media has been denounced by the International Federation of Journalists, Index on Censorship and dozens of international figures, including Pentagon Papers whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg. His trial date is set for 19th May 2005.

Interestingly, the Israeli authorities have not charged Vanunu with revealing state secrets - only with breaking the restrictions. Israeli officials continue to state the reason for refusing Vanunu a passport is that he retains some information dating back to 1986 that could jeopardise the security of Israel. Calman Altman, one of Israel's leading nuclear physicists, challenges this spurious argument by directing anyone wishing to find out about Dimona or nuclear weapons in Israel to the internet search engine, Google, which will provide updated information freely available on the internet. Moreover, Vanunu was thoroughly debriefed in 1986 by Frank Barnaby, a leading nuclear scientist and the suggestion that he might have withheld some information is simply not credible.

The real reasons for Mordechai's continuing restrictions are two-fold. First, Yehiel Horev, head of the Internal Security Division of Israel's Ministry of Defence, is pursuing a personal vendetta against him. By wandering around parts of the plant where he was not supposed to be, and removing classified information from Dimona and Israel, Mordechai made a mockery of the Dimona's internal security arrangements for which Horev was responsible.

The second reason is political. The U.S. is not supposed to give aid to a country producing nuclear weapons. According to the amendment to the Arms Export Control Act of 1969, proposed by Senator Symington, it is illegal for the U.S. to give aid to countries selling or receiving nuclear materials or technology. The amendment did exclude countries, such as Israel, which had been buying nuclear materials prior to its enactment and some have argued, notably renowned journalist Seymour Hersh, that the amendment was tailored to provide Israel with a get-out clause. Hence, Israel's nuclear programme remains a sensitive matter, which accounts for the policy of 'nuclear ambiguity' by which Israel neither confirms nor denies the existence of its nuclear programme. And, of course, the U.S. provides Israel with up to \$5 billion a year in military and economic aid, excluding loans and loan guarantees.

In sum, it would cause major embarrassment to both the U.S. and Israeli governments if Mordechai were to arrive, say, in the U.S. and start campaigning against Israel's nuclear programme.

International support:

In April this year an international delegation arrived in Israel to support Mordechai Vanunu and to ask the government of Israel simply to let Vanunu go. Following an initiative from Knesset Member Issam Makhoul, some members of the delegation were permitted to address and observe the Knesset Constitution, Law and Judiciary Committee, which convened on 19th April to discuss the restrictions imposed on Vanunu. Among the international, legal and nuclear experts present were international human rights lawyer, Michael Ellman who denounced Israel's treatment of Vanunu quoting article 14.7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (to which Israel is a signatory): "no one shall be liable to be tried or punished again for an offence for which he has already been finally convicted in accordance with the law and penal procedure of each country". Also present were (retired) Israeli nuclear physicist, Calman Altman; Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Mairead Maguire and Right Livelihood Award chairman, Jakob von Uexkull, who emphasised that any information Vanunu had was now some 20 years out of date. However, an hour before the committee meeting began its "debate" the decision to renew the draconian restrictions for another year was announced on public radio.

Nevertheless, the international speakers opted to enter the Knesset and protest at the disgraceful way the committee meeting had been hijacked by the security services. To a backdrop of Knesset 23 MKs (MPs) shouting and some giving interviews to broadcast media while the committee was in progress, two Likud members, Ronie Bar-On and Yehiel Hazan took part in a particularly virulent exchange shouting that it was not necessary to recognise Mordechai Vanunu's human rights since he was not human. Under these difficult conditions Vanunu's spokespeople attempted to make their voices heard.

On 21st April this year, the first anniversary of Mordechai Vanunu's release from prison, over 50 supporters from Israel and the international community, including Ryoko Noma from Hiroshima, gathered within sight of the Dimona nuclear facility in the Negev Desert. Speakers including Mairead Maguire, Issam Makhoul, and many Israeli activists and performers called for international weapons inspectors to visit Dimona and for full freedom for Mordechai Vanunu.

What you can do for Mordechai Vanunu?

Pressure must be brought to bear on the government of Israel at every opportunity. Israel needs to respect the human rights of all its citizens, including Vanunu, and his courageous action must not be forgotten. He acted without self interest and has paid, and continues to pay, a very high price.

What sort of State imposes solitary confinement on a prisoner who acted non-violently and who posed no physical threat to himself or other prisoners? What sort of State, not content with that most severe punishment, continues to punish a man who has served his full sentence?

- Support the Lobby of Parliament on Wednesday 13th July 2005 – come and speak to your MP about what he or she can do to support Mordechai Vanunu;
- Protest the ongoing punishment of Mordechai Vanunu by letter, fax and email to the Israeli Embassy in London;
- Express outrage at the treatment of Mordechai Vanunu to your MP at every opportunity;
- Challenge media stories that do not include Israel as being in possession of nuclear weapons.

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- 9 See above Monterey Institute - Israel's Nuclear Posture Review <http://> as ref 1 *and* Opall-Rome B [1998] Israel Officials Hint at Cracks in Nuclear Code of Silence Defense News 14-20 Sept p 6
- 10 Opall-Rome Barbara [2005] Defense news.com January 2005, quoted by ICIS Monday January 10th 2005
- 11 NATO Update[2005] NATO Secretary Visits Israel to discuss greater cooperation Feb 24th www.nato.int/docu/update/2005/02-february/e0224a.htm and Speech of Jaap de Hoop Scheffer in Israel 24th February 2005 <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2005/s050224a.htm>
- 12 Statement jointly agreed by Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Palestine Solidarity Campaign, [2005]London, February/March

LOBBY

PARLIAMENT

July 13th 2005 2.0 pm 7.0 pm



calling for:-

- *Inspection by U.N. for WMD
- *Verification and Monitoring of WMD
- * Israeli Adherence
to International Law
- *Negotiated Disarmament
- *Ratification of WMD treaties
- *No Star Wars
- *Nuclear Free Middle East
and
- *Full Freedom for Vanunu

***Public meeting
4.0pm – 6.0 pm***

Committee room 9 House of Commons with

**Bruce Kent, Mahmoud Hawari, Mandy Turner, Frank Barnaby,
Jeremy Corbyn M.P. and other sympathetic MPs.**

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