The Cost of War for Iraq – A Damage Report

by Hendrik van den Berg
UNL Department of Economics

In the November issue of the Nebraska Report, I estimated the full cost of the Iraq War for the average household in the United States. The total cost came to about $21,500 per household. In my estimate, I included not only the direct budgetary expenditures that have been widely reported in the media, but also the indirect costs from diverting resources away from productive investment, the huge future costs of caring for the casualties and replacing worn out equipment, and the interest on the government bonds to finance the war.

As large as my estimates were, however, they are still gross underestimates of the true costs of our invasion and occupation of Iraq.

First of all, my estimates assumed that our occupation will end at the end of 2008. Under more a likely scenario that U.S. military forces will remain in Iraq at least five more years, the U.S. Congressional Budget Office estimates long-run U.S. costs of the Iraq occupation could grow to well over $4 trillion—or more than $40,000 per household. What has not yet been considered in these cost estimates for the Iraq War, however, is the cost of our military aggression on Iraq. Iraqis are no less important than we are, and an estimate of the damage we caused in that country is certainly in order.

The Iraqi Economy

According to Angus Maddison, a noted economic historian who has compiled complete historical estimates of economic growth, Iraq went from being the wealthiest area on earth 1,000 years ago to a poor country by the middle of the 20th Century (Maddison (2003), The World Economy: Historical Statistics, Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). After 1950, however, petroleum exports accelerated Iraqi economic growth. Average per capita income in Iraq surpassed $6,000 by 1980, putting Iraq in the upper echelon of developing countries. Saddam Hussein’s war with Iran in the 1980s, though, caused substantial damage to Iraq’s petroleum infrastructure and the country’s economy began to decline dramatically. By 1990, the Iraqi economy operated at half its 1980 capacity.

Maddison shows per capita income in Iraq at around $2,500 by the time Saddam invaded Kuwait in 1991. The ensuing Gulf War and the economic sanctions imposed by the international community after the Gulf War gradually reduced per capita income in Iraq to an estimated $1,250 by 2000. Under the sanctions, oil production declined for lack of investment, and corruption—

with the incentives for smuggling to evade the sanctions—increased.

The United Nations estimated recently that in 2007 the Iraqi economy was operating at half its pre-invasion level (BBC News Online, September 14, 2007). Over half the Iraqi population is now unemployed or underemployed. Half of the estimated $1,250 per capita income in 2000 would put Iraq’s current average per capita income at about $600-650 per year. Given that income distribution in Iraq is quite unequal, an average of $650 would explain the reported United Nations’ estimate last year that nearly half of all Iraqis were living in severe poverty. In the aggregate, a fall in per capita income from over $1,250 before 2003 to the current $600 for each of the 25 million Iraqis implies that total GDP for Iraq fell by about $15 billion per year since the invasion.

With the ethnic strife and lawlessness that our invasion set off, and the concrete walls we are now building to partition Baghdad and other cities into ethnic enclaves, it is unlikely that economic activity will recover soon. The total cost of lost economic output will easily surpass $100 billion before the economy recovers. If the partitioning of the country and the violence continues, and there is little or no

Nebraskans for Peace Phone:402-475-4620/Fax:475-4624
941 ‘O’ St., Ste. 1026 nfpstate@nebraskansforpeace.org Lincoln, NE 68508 www.nebraskansforpeace.org

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inside

Intelligence Report Refutes White House Claims About Iran p. 2
Coalition for Peace Event Puts “a Face on Iran” p. 3
An Analysis of Muslim Government p. 4
NFP State Board Priorities p. 4
REAL-LIFESTAR WARS p. 5
What’s HOT in Global Warming? p. 7
Organizations from Three States Join Together on Uranium Concerns p. 8
Seven Ways Radioactivity Affects the Upper Midwest p. 8
Speaking Our Peace p. 12

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Intelligence Report Refutes White House Claims about Iran

The following article by former CIA Analyst Ray McGovern was first posted on consortiumnews.com, December 3, 2007.

For those who have doubts about miracles, a double one occurred today. An honest National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) on Iran’s nuclear program has been issued and its Key Judgments were made public.

With redraft after redraft, it was what the Germans call “eine schwere Geburt”—a difficult birth, ten months in gestation.

I do not know how often Vice President Dick Cheney visited CIA Headquarters during the gestation period, but I am told he voiced his displeasure as soon as he saw the first sonogram/draft very early this year, and is so displeased with what issued that he has refused to be the godfather.

This time Cheney and his neo-con colleagues were unable to abort the process. And after delivery to the press, this child is going to live.

The main points of the NIE:

“We judge that in fall 2003, Tehran halted its nuclear weapons program...”

“We assess with moderate confidence that Iran seeks to develop a nuclear weapon by early-to-mid-next decade.”

“We judge that in fall 2003, Tehran halted its nuclear weapons program...”

“We do not have sufficient intelligence to judge confidently whether Tehran is willing to maintain the halt of its nuclear weapons program indefinitely...”

“We judge with moderate confidence Iran probably would be technically capable of producing enough highly enriched uranium sometime during the 2010-2015 time frame.”

“The key findings of NIEs would no longer be required to produce a weapon for which the U.S. is so ill prepared.”

Apparently, intelligence community analysts are no longer required to produce the faith-based intelligence that brought us the Oct. 1, 2002, NIE “Iraq’s Continuing Program for Weapons of Mass Destruction”—the worst in the history of U.S. intelligence.

Truth be told, one of the Iran NIE’s findings was written into its first draft, from which Director of National Intelligence Michael McConnell drew in telling the Senate Armed Services Committee on Feb. 27 that Iran could possibly develop a nuclear weapon by early-to-mid-next decade.

McConnell said not a word, though, about Iran’s having halted its nuclear weapons program in fall 2003. And in February, he was still adhering to the faith-based approach, saying, “We assess that Iran seeks to develop a nuclear weapon.”

At which point, Sen. Lindsay Graham, R-South Carolina, tried to sum up the proceedings with the disingenuous comment, “We all agree, then, that the Iranians are trying to get nuclear weapons.”

Curiously, McConnell indicated recently that the key findings of NIEs would no longer be made public.

My guess is that the Pentagon, and especially Adm. William Fallon, commander of our forces in the Middle East, succeeded in persuading McConnell to go public. Several months ago, Fallon was reliably reported to have said, “We are not going to do Iran on my watch.”

And it is an open secret that he and other senior military officers, except those of the Air Force, are strongly opposed to getting into a war with Iran for which the U.S. is so ill prepared.

Will President George W. Bush and our domesticated media succeed in dismissing this latest NIE as “gueswork,” as he has in the past? It is going to be highly interesting to see how the White House will try to spin this one.

During his 27-year career as a CIA analyst, Ray McGovern chaired National Intelligence Estimates and produced/delivered the “President’s Daily Brief.” Now on the Steering Group of Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS), he was the keynote speaker at the 2004 Annual Peace Conference in Omaha.
The Cost of War for Iraq, conclusion

The economic growth to bring the economy back up to its modest pre-invasion level, the cost of the economic collapse caused by our invasion will continue to grow by the continuation of annual discrepancies between current and past per capita income levels.

These types of exercises in national cost-accounting are purely conjectural, of course. What would have happened had we not invaded Iraq? Would the economy have regained its 1990 per capita income of $2,500? For that to happen, at the very minimum we would have had to lift the economic sanctions that were politically popular here in the U.S., even as they were devastating to ordinary Iraqis. Was the departure of Saddam Hussein necessary for Iraq to recover its 1980 income level? What if, instead of invading Iraq, the U.S. had agreed to pay Saddam $1 billion to go into exile (which a member of the Spanish government claims was indeed on the table before the invasion but rejected by the U.S.)? The U.S. and the U.N. could have then suspended sanctions and let the country recover and grow back to its 1990 or even 1980 levels. Under this assumption, the decision to invade and foment the current chaos could be viewed as having an opportunity cost of $300-$600 billion!

The Loss of Iraqi Lives

The biggest loss to Iraq is obviously the overwhelming loss of life. Credible studies, such as the study reported in the British science journal *Lancet* in 2006, estimate that at least 500,000, and perhaps as many as 1 million, Iraqis have died from violence, lawlessness, crime and poverty since the U.S. invasion. How do we value these Iraqi lives?

A bit of simple logic can help us here. First of all, there is no reason to assume that Iraqis value the life of a family member or another Iraqi any differently than Americans would value their own lives or the lives of other Americans. In fact, there is much evidence showing that people value their lives about the same everywhere in the world. Therefore, we can use the studies used regularly in U.S. courts to settle civil cases, which suggest a human life in the U.S. is valued at about $7.5 million. This value of a human life is what I used to estimate the long-run cost of the invasion to the U.S. A case can be made that the value of an Iraqi life should be adjusted for the fact that even before the U.S. invasion, life expectancy was shorter in Iraq than in the U.S. Therefore, adjust the value of an Iraqi life to four-fifths the value of an American life. This puts the value an Iraqi life in terms of U.S. dollars is about $6 million. Thus, if the U.S. invasion and occupation caused 500,000 deaths, the total value of lives lost in Iraq is $3 trillion. If more recent estimates of 1 million Iraqi dead are correct, then the cost of Iraqi lives lost is at least $6 trillion. This suggests that just in terms of the lives lost, the U.S. invasion and occupation has been much more costly to Iraq than to the U.S. Only the most ethnocentric American would find this result surprising.

Other Costs

Over half of the country’s medical doctors may have left the country, and hospitals and clinics are having trouble handling the increased workload from the violence and growing poverty. School and university attendance has declined, markedly so for women. The major universities have lost most of their foreign-educated faculty to emigration and assassination. With so many teachers killed or now living in other countries, it will take at least a generation to restore Iraq’s schools and universities. Infrastructure is in worse shape than it was before invasion, when it was already battered by ten years of economic sanctions. Oil exports are still lower than before the invasion. There will be permanent costs from the injuries, limbs lost, mental illness and other long-lasting effects of war and violence.

As in the case of the U.S., these costs will sum to tens of billions of dollars of lost income and productivity.

It will be a long time before we know the full tally for the Iraq War. Just the $3 to $6 trillion value of the loss of Iraqi lives falls between $25,000 and $50,000 per American household. The lost economic and social welfare of the Iraqis injured, disabled and economically depressed adds hundreds of billions more to the damage we have caused in Iraq. The total costs to Iraq and the U.S. of our invasion are, therefore, double or triple the $21,500 I calculated for the U.S., or $40,000-$60,000. And, if our occupation continues for years and our occupation provokes continued violence or a partitioning of the country that prevents an economic recovery, then the Congressional Budget Office estimates of over $40,000 must be multiplied by two or more to get the full cost of our aggression.

Time will tell exactly what the costs of the invasion will turn out to be. At this point, the numbers certainly suggest that future monetary compensation to Iraq by the U.S. is called for. It will be interesting to see whether the American government will deny its responsibility to fund future United Nations peacekeeping, multilateral reconstruction efforts, or to even allow vulnerable Iraqis immigrate to the U.S.
An Analysis of Muslim Government

by Mohammed H. Siddiq

A native of Saudi Arabia, Mohammed H. Siddiq is a U.S. citizen who makes his living as an interpreter. His writings on Muslim politics and culture have regularly appeared in the Nebraska Report over the past decade.

In most Muslim societies, there is little clear understanding of Islam, the functions of the Islamic state and how to go about establishing one. Unfortunately, most Muslims understand Islam primarily as personal piety, represented by such routine activities as prayers, fasting, keeping a beard, wearing hijab (women’s apparel) and, if possible, performing the Hajj to Mecca. The much larger questions of political legitimacy and social and economic justice are seldom discussed.

Islam’s injunctions, however, are not merely concerned with Tahara (cleanliness) and Najasa (uncleanness). They also treat matters of governing the marketplace and the weighty issues of power and authority. How a person acquires power and what the limits are on its use are vital elements of Islam’s value system.

Millions of Muslims like myself, however, would never know of these more broadly defined Islamic values listening to the sermons in the tens of thousands of mosques in the Muslim world today. In part, the emphasis on personal piety can be attributed to the severe restrictions imposed by oppressive Muslim regimes to ensure that Imams (the leaders of prayers) steer clear of politics. But it’s also due to the fact that so many Islamic institutions and religious trends have voluntarily embraced this limited interpretation of Islam, promoting it in their teaching and preaching.

Muslim political parties or movements that authentically seek to represent the whole cloth of Islam, however—including the importance of justice in the structuring of society—will be defined by three main points: 1) they must understand and be clear about their ultimate objective—the establishment of an Islamic state; 2) they must understand, honor and follow the process by which that can be achieved; and 3) they must generate a righteous leadership that operates above a parochial or narrow class of economic interests.

Most Muslim governments fail on all or most of these points, and are accordingly creating frustration, anger and hopelessness among the Muslim masses.

It’s sad but true that in Muslim countries wealth and power has tended to accrue to those who are poorly educated, ruthless, self-seeking, lacking in sympathy and compassion, and willing to abandon Islamic principles for fame and material gain. Muslims who for decades lived under cruel regimes in Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and others have lost any feeling of control over their lives. Some have internalized a sense that they are ‘nobody’—just chaff in the wind. And why? Because they are forced to accept a ‘top-down’ autocratic state, where the lone political party (for example, the hereditary emir of the House of Saud in Saudi Arabia) dictates everything and crushes any chance of free expression. Civil society in these countries is virtually non-existent. Taking initiative is discouraged. And opposing the emir or the dictator can be fatal.

Muslim governments—especially in the Arab countries—lock up political opponents, ban public protests and stifle criticism with a barrage of repressive laws. They have made their citizens feel voiceless, worthless and ashamed.

Unless Islamic governments and heads of state start displaying more determination to oppose injustice, alleviate suffering and end corruption, Muslims will continue to shun their governments—and resent those individuals and states who support them.

Freedom-loving nations around the world need to understand that the lack of basic human rights and freedoms in Islamic countries affects Muslims’ choices, their relations with one another, their mental and social health, their sense of place, and—at core—their relations with the rest of the world. Change the political context within which Muslims live their lives, and you change a lot. Alternatively, continue to prop up and embrace these repressive emirs and dictators, and extremism and the appeal of terrorism will gain a greater and greater hold. The principle involved here is very straightforward: Arab Muslims aspire to freedom. And as we in the West prize freedom so highly, it should not be hard to understand that it is prized by Arab Muslims as well.

2008 NFP State Board Issue Priorities

There’s no end to peacemaking. No matter how much a Peace & Justice organization like ours might already have on its plate, or how overcommitted we may already be, there’s always one more issue deserving of our attention.

But when you’ve only got a budget of $150,000 a year and the equivalent of three full-time staff, you have to make some choices. So each year, the State Board of Nebraskans for Peace has the unenviable task of setting the organization’s priorities for the coming year.

From our inception at the height of the Vietnam War, NFP has always been a multi-issue organization—focused on both peace and justice issues. That same mindset and outlook informs our agenda-setting efforts today. With the United States embroiled in yet another conflict in the developing world, anti-war organizing is of course a foundational part of our activities. As a Nebraska-based group, however, we continually strive to give our anti-war work a Nebraska flavor—particularly since our state has two senators, in Chuck Hagel and Ben Nelson, who have been openly critical of the White House’s policy initiatives in the Islamic world.

We try to balance this national and international emphasis though by also choosing some issues that have a uniquely Nebraska bent (such as our long-term involvement with Whiteclay alcohol sales, for instance). Not only does this local focus highlight our Nebraska identity, we’re well aware that if NFP doesn’t pick up on these state-specific Peace & Justice issues, it’s unlikely anyone else in the country is going to.

Finally, you may notice that this year’s list of priorities looks suspiciously like last year’s list of priorities—and not all that different from the priorities of the year before. While the work of peacemaking and justice-working is indeed endless, many of the issues are persistent and enduring. Sadly, our government tends to force its will onto the rest of the world as much today as it did 40 years ago. Exploitation and oppression are as prevalent now as they were four decades ago. And injustice continues to be pretty standard wherever you look.

It’s our responsibility, as the oldest statewide Peace & Justice organization in the country, to continue to confront these unacceptable conditions—with whatever resources we have at our disposal. And, as always, how effective we are in confronting them depends to a large part on the support we can muster from our members.

For 2008, the NFP State Board has identified the following five program priorities:

Program I: Turn Off the Violence. As has been the case previously, we will continue our anti-bullying work in the schools. We hope to take a leading part in the passage of LB 205, the anti-bullying bill that got out of committee last session. This year we also mean to expand the focus of this program to address domestic abuse and adult violence.

Program II: Anti-War & International Law. This long-standing priority will center not only on Iraq, Iran and the White House’s “War on Terror,” but on the essential role of the United Nations and the primacy of international law.

Program III: StratCom & Anti-Nuclear Organizing. With StratCom in our backyard, those of us in NFP have a special responsibility to alert the rest of the world about the even greater menace this command center has to world peace in the wake of 9/11.

Program IV: Civil Rights. In addition to our continuing focus on Whiteclay, we will also be treating such diverse topics as immigration, globalization and economic development in North Omaha.

Program V: Environment. The ongoing degradation of the environment is fast becoming the premier peace issue of our time. In addition to urgently needing to develop our state’s renewable wind energy resources, Nebraska faces a long overlooked, but growing danger from the military and nuclear pollution of our soil and water.

Just as these five programs are not ranked in order of importance, this list is not immutable or exhaustive. For example, with this being our best opportunity in years to abolish capital punishment in the state, NFP will naturally be aiding Nebraskans Against the Death Penalty in their abolition efforts. Our 2008 Priority Plan is really nothing more than a blueprint for action—and we know, depending on the circumstances, plans can and should be changed. But if we’re to be as effective as we can be with the limited resources we have available, it’s important that we have a plan.
The Militarization of Space

Military space officials will have to develop new doctrine and concepts for offensive and defensive space operations, power projection in, from, and through space, and other military uses of space.—Rumsfeld’s Commission Report

The opening talk at the Strategic Space conference was given by USSTRATCOM acting commander Lt. Gen. Robert Kehler, who repeated that old cliche about the Chinese curse, “May you live in interesting times.” Implicitly responding to China’s January self-attack, he added, “Well you know what? We get paid to deal with interesting times.”

But how USSTRATCOM plans to deal with them isn’t clear. In 2002, the Air Force undersecretary for military space acquisitions told The New York Times that “We haven’t reached the point of strafing and bombing from space,” but that “we are exploring space, and the costly U.S. missile-defense program that began life two decades ago as President Reagan’s “Star Wars” dream continues to founder.

Spending on missile defense has doubled since 2000, and the program is expanding into Poland and the Czech Republic. But Bruce Gagnon of Brunswick, Maine, coordinator of the Global Network Against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space, believes the U.S. Missile Defense Agency, with its current official budget of more than $9 billion, is just “a Trojan Horse.”

He says, “Missile defense brings in the money but the real story is offensive, preemptive attack technologies for global strike. That’s where the real action is.” Gagnon agrees that current U.S. space policy remains entirely consistent with the aggressive stance taken in the Rumsfeld report, “although they have slapped off just a bit on their rhetoric.”

In September, The New York Times relayed a similar message from a former Pentagon official, who said that space weapons are “still definitely part of the program, but they don’t emphasize it because the arms-control people come out of the woodwork.”

From the World Policy Institute and other sources, we know about some of the weapons under planning or development in the murkier parts of the military-industrial budget:

- The Evolutionary Air and Space Global Laser Engagement (EAGLE) project, a series of orbiting mirrors to direct beams from ground- or air-based lasers at targets in space
- The ground-based Kinetic Energy Anti-Satellite Weapon, which could shoot down satellites with missiles, along with the Kinetic Energy Interceptor, a missile-defense system that could double as an anti-satellite weapon
- The Washington Post revealed this week that the Congress has appropriated $100 million for a space-weapons system called “Falcon,” described as “a reusable Hypersonic Cruise Vehicle (HCV) capable of delivering 12,000 pounds of payload at a distance of 9,000 nautical miles... in less than two hours.” House and Senate conference wrote. “Enhancing these capabilities is critical, particularly following the Chinese anti-satellite-weapons demonstration last January.”
- Hypervelocity Rod Bundles, or “Rods from God,” 20-foot-long, one-foot-diameter tungsten poles (existing only on paper at this point) that would be hurled from low-Earth orbit at 25,000 miles per hour to pulverize “hardened” targets in enemy territory.

Such specifics were scarce at the Omaha conference, but the audience knew how to peer between the speakers’ euphemisms and understand what was being discussed when, for example, Global Strike deputy commander Rear Adm. James Caldwell said his mission was to “deliver global effects, both kinetic and non-kinetic” or when Air Force Col. Kevin McLaughlin, as if giving a medical lecture, spoke of the “timely application of space power.”

USSTRATCOM was created in 1992, replacing and expanding upon that old nuclear warhorse, the Strategic Air Command. Not long after the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, USSTRATCOM—which already commanded the nation’s nuclear weaponry—was given a host of other missions, including those of the former Space Command and a new Global Strike Integration Command, which will wield space weapons if they’re ever fully deployed.

Tim Rinne is state coordinator of Nebraskans for Peace, which holds demonstrations outside the

continued on page 6

Lt. Gen. Robert Kehler those possibilities.”

This fall marks the 40th anniversary of the Outer Space Treaty, an agreement among 98 nations (including the U.S.), that banned nuclear arms from space but left out mention of other weapons. Nevertheless, no nation has ever launched an attack into or from the heavens. So what’s one to do with a backyard of the U.S. Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM)?

And that strategy includes not just war-mongering against countries like China and Pakistan by “space warriors,” but it poses a threat to the safety and liberties of all Americans.
Without space hardware and software, the U.S. military would be crippled. Seventy percent of the bombs that struck Iraq during the Pentagon’s 2003 “Shock and Awe” campaign were satellite-guided, and the looming attack on Iran would be almost completely by remote control. Space hasn’t yet been ‘weaponized,’ but it is heavily militarized.

What Will It Take to Start a War in Space

A ‘Space Pearl Harbor’ will be the only event able to galvanize the nation and cause the U.S. Government to act.—Rumsfeld’s Commission Report

Why should we citizens even care what goes on outside the planet and its atmosphere? The prospect of space war seems a lot less ominous than did, say, the threat of a U.S.-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Nobody lives in space; no civilians will be maimed or killed by a robotic shoot-em-up in orbit.

Harking back to filmmaker Stanley Kubrick’s classic tale of nuclear Armageddon, Rinnie likens USSTRATCOM to “Dr. Strangelove on steroids.”

“Would [outer space] be the venue for wars and synchronized killings, or the common space for a complex of cooperative peaceful efforts benefiting our species? The two uses of space could not exist side by side.”

They stress that the first deployment of weapons will set off a multi-trillion-dollar arms race, risk littering orbital space with enough debris to make it unusable for any civilian purpose, and possibly trigger a nuclear war.

The central problem is the vulnerability of orbiting spacecraft. They have the great advantage of ‘seeing’ vast regions of the Earth’s surface, but that leaves them hanging out there fully exposed. Space objects not only have nowhere to hide; they also move in fully predictable ways, making them vulnerable to attack at an adversary’s convenience.

USSTRATCOM’s Gen. Kehler—who, ironically, bears a slight resemblance to the late actor Peter Sellers (but only as he played the amiable President Muffley, not the crazed Dr. Strangelove)—emphasized that dilemma with an old war axiom: “If the enemy’s within range, so are you.”

That places space weapons in a classic ‘use or lose’ position, pushing their owner to launch a preemptive strike at the first sign of danger. In the words of one analyst, “The hair trigger that characterized nuclear deterrence during the Cold War would be elevated to the heavens.”

And what for might bung that hair trigger, most of the rhetoric at the conference focused on the so-called ‘War on Terror.’ But when Air Force Lt. Gen. Frank Klotz predicted that “our next conflict may involve more traditional warfare against an adversary with more significant forces,” he was pointing at the country that seemed to be on everyone’s minds: China.

Back in 2000, China’s official Xinhua News Agency gave U.S. strategic planners reason to worry, with an coyly ‘hypothetical’ article predicting that “For countries that could never win a war with the United States by using the method of tanks and planes, attacking the U.S. space system may be an irresistible and most tempting choice.”

China only knocked out its own satellite on Jan. 11; nevertheless, one conference speaker equated that incident’s impact to the alarm caused by the Challenger and Columbia space-shuttle disasters of 1986 and 2003. Others in the hall implicitly compared the event to an even bigger turning point, referring to it as “1/11.”

Speaker after speaker voiced the feeling of vulnerability that comes with having one’s most critical military hardware protected by nothing but the void of space:

“Space is no longer a sanctuary.”

“In the past, we were the unique masters of the air and space domains. Today, that cannot be taken for granted.”

“Space is not a benign environment anymore.”

“Malicious actors can disrupt communications links, and thereby our very way of life.”

“We aren’t ready for the big show.”

It fell to a civilian, an industry man—Northrup-Grumman vice president Frederick Ricker—to hearten the military whiners: “If we can’t have sanctuary in space, we can certainly have superiority.”

Tim Rinnie of Nebraskans for Peace sees a near-obsession with the “terrestrial and celestial encirclement of China” led by the warriors at USSTRATCOM with no thought given to diplomacy. “They simply are not going to allow China to become an economic or military rival in space.”

The Big Money Behind Space Technology

The loss of space systems that support military operations or...
Bjorn Lomberg’s Warm, Fuzzy World

Bjorn Lomberg, author of The Skeptical Environmentalist (2002) and Cool It: The Skeptical Environmentalist’s Guide to Global Warming (2007) is rather unique in that he poses as both a climate contrarian and an environmentalist. Despite his self-adapted plumage, if Lomberg is an environmentalist, I am Dick Cheney.

Lomberg’s forecast is sunny, warm, glib, breezy and comforting—a retort to all those climatic crisis-mongers who think global warming portends a world that is irritating, hot, nasty and destructive of human and natural life. While a number of arctic biologists believe, for example, that receding ice will kill polar bears which use it to hunt for seals, Lomberg has a solution. In Cool It: The Skeptical Environmentalist’s Guide to Global Warming (2007), the Danish adjunct professor of business tells the polar bear pessimists who tell us “No ice, no bears,” that the creatures are rational inhabitants of their world (a species of economist, perhaps, much as he is), who will respond to a lack of ice by behaving like brown bears from which they descended—foraging on land, rain or shine, warm or not. No ice, Lomberg tells us, no problem. In Bjorn Lomberg’s world, the warming, melting Arctic will have nice things: more birds and butterflies. He leaves out mosquitoes, wasps and the carcasses of dead polar bears that haven’t read his books.

Lomberg is, in fact, as he often is, a little bit correct and massively wrong at the same time. Traveling in the Arctic interviewing game officials and hunters, I was told that a few polar bears have become land animals, rummaging through garbage dumps and mugging tourists. One enterprising polar bear put a tourist hiking in a park near Iqaluit, on Baffin Island, into a hospital while I was visiting. Most of the time however, polar bears’ feeding habits are changing more slowly than their environment and they’re going very hungry, losing considerable weight as the Arctic ice recedes.

Lomberg’s world loves numbers, and positively relishes warmth. Despite his general ignorance of how the Earth system operates (both his Masters and PhD were in Political Science), Lomberg parsely his case on “what science tells us” and dedicates his new book to coming generations. A reviewer wrote in Nature, however, that his case is “built on a deep misconception of Earth’s system”—a rigorous scientist’s kind way of stating that Lomberg’s argument is a waste of innocent trees that could have been left standing to absorb some surplus carbon dioxide. I clicked onto Amazon.com and found it ranked the 50th best-selling book on its list of several million. On October 19, 2007, it ranked #123.

Lomberg’s picture of the Arctic’s future also differs sharply from that of Inuit who live there. Our hunting culture thrives on the ice, snow and animals. Our hunting culture thrives on the ice, snow and animals. Witness Sheila Watt-Cloutier, former chairwoman of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize. “What is happening affects virtually every facet of Inuit life,” Watt-Cloutier told the Eleventh Conference of Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Montreal, December 7, 2005. “We are a people of the land, ice, snow and animals. Our hunting culture thrives on the cold. We need it to be cold to maintain our culture and way of life. Climate change has become the ultimate threat to Inuit culture” (Watt-Cloutier, 2005).

“Inuit are adaptable and resourceful,” said Watt-Cloutier. “We have to be to survive in the Arctic. But the ACIA [Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004 report; www.acia.uaf.edu] foresees a time—within the lifetime of my eight-year-old grandson—when environmental change will be so great that Inuit will no longer be able to maintain their hunting culture. Already Inuit are struggling to adapt to the impacts of climate change… How would you respond if an international assessment prepared by more than 300 scientists from 15 countries concluded that your age-old culture and economy was doomed, and that you were to become a footnote to globalization?”

Ranging from the Arctic to Great Britain, the controversial professor cites authoritative-sounding numbers that 3.6 degrees F. of warming would cause 2,000 more heat-related deaths a year in England, but 20,000 fewer deaths related to cold weather. Never mind that within a couple of centuries, such a temperature rise could provoke enough sea-level rise to drown all of London and much of the rest of coastal Earth. Lomberg does not give statistics on deaths by drowning.

He roundly condemns diplomatic attempts such as the Kyoto Protocol as ineffective and expensive, and lays out his own plans to limit average global temperature rise to 4.7 degrees C. At even lower levels of temperature increase, however, many scientists actually trained in these fields assert that “feedback loops” will provoke a runaway greenhouse effect. While it may not even be within humankind’s power to stop a temperature increase from global warming at a specific point, the last thing we want to do is to set the target so arbitrarily high that the Earth, within a couple of centuries, could lose its permanent ice.

Lomberg sprays forth a fog of numbers that sound very precise, but mean very little. He discusses the urban heat-island effect and concludes (on pages 21 and 22 of Cool It) that planting trees and installing ponds in London could cut temperatures 14 degrees F. Additionally, painting asphalt surfaces white could, he says, reduce temperatures 18 degrees F. He provides numbers and cites a source (Greater London Authority, 2006). But does anyone really believe that planting trees, building ponds, and painting black surfaces white would reduce London’s temperatures 32 degrees F? A fraction of that would provoke an ice age.

Londoners, break out your heavy overcoats!

Bruce E. Johansen, Frederick W. Kayser Professor of Communication at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, is the author of the three-volume Global Warming in the Twenty-First Century (2006).
Organizations from Three States Join Together on Uranium Concerns

Organizations from South Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado met in Rapid City in November to discuss their joint concerns about uranium mining in the region and its impact on surface and ground water, human health and local property values.

Defenders of the Black Hills and ACTion for the Environment, which faces mining proposals along the southern Black Hills attended from South Dakota. The Powder River Basin Resource Council attended from Wyoming, where exploratory and mining permits have been applied for in the state. And Coloradans Against Resource Destruction traveled from the northern part of Colorado where uranium mining is being proposed near Fort Collins. (With both a uranium mine of its own at Crow Butte in northwest Nebraska and the groundwater risk to the Ogallala Aquifer, both Nebraskans for Peace and the Nebraska Sierra Club plan to participate in future meetings.)

A Canadian company, Powertech Uranium Corporation, is planning mining at the three sites in South Dakota, Wyoming and Colorado, utilizing ‘in situ’ leach mining (ISL). Under the ISL technique, a solution is injected underground into suspected uranium deposits, dissolving the uranium and its radioactive decay products, as well as heavy metals. This radioactive solution is in turn pumped to the surface, where the uranium is then removed and shipped to a mill for concentration into “yellowcake.” The water is retreated and then injected back underground in a cycle that continues until all the uranium has been extracted. In the final step, reverse osmosis is used to remove some of the toxicics from the water, and the remaining liquid is either injected underground or retained in shallow ponds.

In Colorado, a Powertech representative said the company also intends to do open pit mining. Other uranium mining companies are currently active in the three states as a result of recent increases in the price of uranium. “In Wyoming, there are significant questions about regulation and oversight of uranium operations,” according to Shannon Anderson, Organizer for the Powder River Basin Resource Council. “Our organization wants the public to have a stronger voice in uranium activities and wants regulators to ensure full restoration of mined areas,” she said.

In South Dakota, Powertech has started drilling more uranium exploratory wells in southwestern Black Hills where there are already 4,000 wells. “It’s already been proven worldwide that ISL mining contaminates aquifers that cannot be fixed,” said Charmaine White Face, Coordinator for Defenders of the Black Hills. “South Dakota relies so heavily on aquifers for drinking water and livestock use that we do not need to add to the destroyed aquifer statistics by doing this kind of mining for uranium here. We’ve been in a drought for the last ten years and the last thing we need to do is poison our water,” she said.

ACTion for the Environment is very concerned that South Dakota taxpayers will once again have to take on the toxic messes that are left when a mining company leaves, as happened previously with Canadian companies. “The Board of Minerals and Environment should remember what happened when they gave approval for the Brohm mine. Now South Dakotans are paying for that mess. Are we going to have to pay for a radioactive mess left by another Canadian company?” said Gary Heckenliable, organizer for ACTion for the Environment. “Not only South Dakota residents, but all the taxpayers of the United States are going to have to pay for this for many, many years to come,” he said.

Coloradans Against Resource Destruction (CARD) formed earlier this year in response to Powertech’s proposal to mine in the rapidly growing area near Fort Collins. “Of course uranium mining always causes some form of contamination. Water at in situ leach mining sites is not returned to its original condition,” said Lillias Jarding, Ph.D., an Environmental Policy specialist with CARD. “Most people don’t know that federal policies that subsidize the nuclear industry aren’t just about power plants. The nuclear industry’s largest negative impacts have always been in uranium mining and milling processes.”

The four groups have issued a common statement:

“We want the uranium industry to know that we stand together on this issue. Whether in a rural setting or a populated area, uranium mining causes radioactive contamination. Past uranium sites continue to contaminate the air, land and water. Any bonds designed to pay for clean-up of former mining areas have not been sufficient, and taxpayers have been forced to pay the bill. We call on the public and all elected officials to do everything possible to protect the water, land and local economies from proposed uranium activities.”

For more information visit www.defend-blackhills.org.

Seven Ways Radioactivity Affects the Upper Midwest

by Charmaine White Face

1. Above-Ground Detonations of Atomic Bombs in the Southwest

According to the National Cancer Institute, during the above-ground detonations of atomic bombs in Nevada from 1951-1963, the radioactive fallout was spread throughout the United States and Canada. (See the Above-Ground Detonation map at www.defend-blackhills.org.) One of the radioactive contaminants, Iodine-131, was inhaled and/or ingested by the most sensitive population, the children of that era. Today, those children who are now adults have a high incidence of thyroid cancer and thyroid disease.

Recommendations:

a) The first diagnostic test for thyroid cancer is a simple blood test. The symptoms of thyroid cancer are so subtle you might not know you have it. Ask your doctor for a thyroid test.

b) Contact your Congressional delegation and ask them to support the expansion of the Radiation and Exposure Compensation Act, also known as RECA, to include all people across the United States who have been harmed by the radioactive fallout from the Above-Ground Detonations of Atomic Bombs in the Southwest.

2. Abandoned Uranium Mines and Prospects

In the late 1960s and 70s, when the price of uranium was high, it is estimated that more than 1,000 uranium mines and prospects were dug in the Upper Midwestern states of Montana, Wyoming, and South Dakota. When the price for uranium dropped in the 70s, these places were abandoned. (See Abandoned Mines map from USFS.) The radioactive dust, gases and water runoff from these abandoned mines and prospects have been spreading throughout the region, the ‘bread basket of the world,’ for the past 35-40 years. Radioactive dust, gases and water are also carried further east and south.

Recommendations:

It is imperative that a federal bill be passed in Congress appropriating enough funds for the cleanup of ALL the abandoned uranium mines in the region immediately, and that those harmed be given assistance. This dangerous situation cannot be placed on the end of the Superfund list of hazardous sites to be addressed in 20 years. Those responsible must be held accountable, but the cleanup and health concerns need to be addressed now.

a) Contact your Congressional representative and senators by phone, through the mail, and email. Ask that they consider sponsoring a bill for the cleanup of all the abandoned uranium mines and prospects in the Upper Midwestern Region of South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Wyoming. The senators and representatives from all 50 states must be made aware of what is happening in the center of the nation.

b) Ask your Congressional delegation to support the expansion of the Radiation Exposure...
A State Department official has succinctly explained the U.S. position: “Arms control is not a viable solution for space.” And in Omaha, Gen. Kehler stressed USSTRATCOM’s distrust of treaties symbolically: “Boundaries drawn by us will be viewed by the enemy as seams to exploit.”

Since its transformation into a “unified command,” StratCom has become a composite of the four military service branches—the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force. The photo above shows all the services represented at the “Assumption of Command Ceremony,” October 17, 2007 when General Kevin Chilton became Commander.

In the hall, at Orbital Sciences Corporation’s booth, company rep Joshua Dinman was busy handing out what seemed to be the most popular aircraft in sight: spongy little rockets with the Orbital logo that could be shot the length of the hall with a rubber band. I asked him what function this meeting serves; surely, I said, your corporation and the Pentagon address the military’s hardware needs in other venues.

He shrugged: “Right. This is just a place to fly your corporate flag, and the real ‘meat’ is in one-to-one meetings.” Those meetings aren’t only with Pentagon brass. “We all get together here. Everyone in this industry works together on programs.”

(One example of that: Orbital is one of 14 subcontractors on the Kinetic Energy Interceptor, with Northrop Grumman as prime contractor. The work is being done in nine states, ensuring wide political support.)

Another company—Alliant Techsystems, which likes to go by the name “ATK”—sponsored the conference name-tag pouches and had a prominent booth just inside the entrance to the hall. One of the reps, Cliff Baker, noted that ATK is the nation’s largest manufacturer of solid-fuel propelled rockets, builds and refurbishes all Minuteman and Trident nuclear missiles and half of all tactical missiles, and supplies 95-percent of all the U.S. military’s ammunition (which, although he didn’t say so, includes...
Seven Ways Radioactivity Affects Conclusion

Compensation Act (RECA) also to include all the people harmed by abandoned uranium mines and prospects in the Upper Midwest Region.

3. Abandoned Uranium Exploratory Wells

More than 4,000 uranium exploratory well holes, some large enough for a person to fall into, are located in the southwestern Black Hills with an additional 3,000 holes in Wyoming, just ten miles west of the town of Belle Fourche, South Dakota. These holes go to depths of 600-800 feet and most were not capped, filled or even marked. Cross-contamination of radioactive materials to underground water sources (aquifers) is the primary concern, as no capping, or filling of the well holes occurred. More exploratory well holes for uranium are in the planning stages or currently being drilled in Wyoming and South Dakota.

Recommendations:

a) Get a test for uranium and radioactivity on your own personal water source. The test is simple and the equipment can be obtained from laboratories who conduct such tests. The costs range from $200-$300 and results return in about three weeks. If radioactivity is found, immediately change your drinking water source. The source of the radiation must be found.

b) If you receive water from your city or town, ask your municipal government to conduct such a test. Most local, county, state, and tribal governments do not routinely test for radioactivity. If you are not satisfied with their response, or wish to confirm their results, testing your own water source would be the next step.

c) Capping and cleanup of these abandoned wells must occur for the safety and health of the general public. Contact your state and Congressional delegates by phone, through the mail, and email. Ask that they sponsor bills at the state and federal levels for the cleanup of all the abandoned uranium exploratory wells in South Dakota and Wyoming. Also, contact the Senators and Congressmen from other states notifying them of what is happening in the center of the nation so they may support the cleanup of all nuclear contamination in this region.

4. Abandoned ICBM Missile Silos and Radar Stations from the Cold War Era

In the 1950s, hundreds of missile silos and radar stations were built and manned in the Upper Midwest United States. The U.S. Air Force used small nuclear power plants in some of the remote radar stations to power the equipment. According to an AP story published in the June 11, 2005, Rapid City Journal, “A nuclear reactor powered the [Warren Peak radar] station” which leaked cesium-137 underground. The Air Force is still responsible for monitoring the sites, although there is no way to control the underground radioactive pollution that could be contaminating aquifers in the region. The water for most municipal, agriculture and domestic use in the region comes from wells drilled into aquifers.

Recommendations:

a) Tests for radon gas are inexpensive and testing companies can be found in the businesses section of the phone book. Test your home for radon gas. If found, ask the testing company for ways to remove the gas.

b) Consider the source of the gas. Is it in the water entering your home, or in a crack in the foundation, or some other source? By tracing the source, it is possible the cause may be eliminated.

5. Coal

The geology of the upper Midwest Region shows that the area contains wide expanses of uranium which is often mixed in coal. The coal laced with uranium, which is mined in North Dakota and Wyoming, is sometimes burned locally, or shipped to power plants in the eastern and western parts of the United States. Radioactive dust and particles are released into the air at the coal-fired power plants and often set off the warning systems of nuclear power plants located downwind. Also, during the actual process of strip mining the coal, radioactive dust and particles are released into the air and carried by the wind through the Midwest to the South and East Coasts of the United States.

Recommendations:

a) The air surrounding all locations of surface mining of coal in the region must be monitored for radioactive particles emission and the results made available to the public.

b) Local, state, and federal ordinances regarding Clean Air must be implemented to ensure the public is protected from this form of nuclear radioactive pollution. Contact your mayor, city and county commissioners to determine if your area has ‘Clean Air’ ordinances specifically for nuclear radioactive pollution. If not, actively support the immediate passage of Clean Air ordinances for your area to stop the air pollution of radioactive particles, with strong penalties for those violating such ordinances.

c) If you live in an area where coal is burned in a power plant, actively support local and state and federal ordinances on Clean Air.

d) Advocate for the regulation of radioactive materials from coal-fired power plants. Currently there is no regulation.

6. Radon Gas

Radon gas is a tasteless, odorless, radioactive gas emitted naturally from Radium 222, one of the decay products of uranium. In areas where uranium has been disturbed, whether in digging a foundation for a house or in the natural movement of the Earth, radon gas may be emitted in the air, or through contaminated water. Lung cancer can begin when radon gas is breathed by human beings.

Recommendations:

a) Urge your local governments, city and county, to declare your areas to be nuclear-free.

b) Encourage your state to declare itself nuclear-free and to begin expansion of renewable energy projects. Wind has been proven in Europe to be the most economical, and South Dakota has a wind of wealth.

c) Encourage your Congressional delegation to pass laws that provide incentives for renewable energy development and use now. Currently, the amount of research and studies on renewable resources are more than abundant. The time for action is now.

d) Encourage your Congressional delegation to pass a resolution declaring the United States to be nuclear-free. Western Europe is acutely aware of the problems of uranium mining, nuclear power plants and radioactive contamination, and is 50 years ahead of the U.S. in solving these problems. It is time to stop the radioactive contamination of the people, the land, water and environment of the United States.

Charmaine White Face, Oglala Tetuwan (the Lakota speakers) of the Oceli Sakowin (the Great Sioux Nation), is the Coordinator for “Defenders of the Black Hills.” A writer and former college instructor, she was the recipient of the “International Nuclear Free Future Award for Resistance” presented this past October in Salzburg, Austria. She may be reached at bdefenders@msn.com.
STAR WARS, conclusion

Mr. Baker agreed that the Strategic Space conference was mainly an opportunity to “meet and greet, learn names.” He said ATK doesn’t go head-to-head with other giants like Boeing, Raytheon and Lockheed-Martin; rather, those companies are generally ATK’s customers.

Baker said he wouldn’t call manufacturing for the military a “growth industry” so much as a “replenishment industry.” “Take GPS satellites. There are only five launches a year of new ones, and with limited slots, that won’t change.” But growth areas do exist: “Our ammunition division—Now they’re doing very well, what with Iraq and Afghanistan. For them, it’s been hard to keep up.

Our Future Depends on the Future of Space

The U.S. must be cautious of agreement... that may have the unintended consequence of restricting future activities in space.—Rumsfeld’s Commission Report

Experts Michael Krepon and Christopher Clary of the Henry L. Stimson Center have shown convincingly how the Rumsfeld Commission was dead wrong in declaring war in space to be inevitable. They note that even in the darkest days of the Cold War, and despite the Star Wars program, the U.S. and Soviet Union showed no eagerness at all to put weapons in space. Today, U.S. military dominance is so complete that taking the fight to space would add very little and probably make all U.S. forces more vulnerable.

As for potential adversaries, Krepon and Clary ask, “Why would an attacking country or terrorist group choose a distant target that provides services to many nations, rather than focusing on a distinctly American target?”

But that hasn’t held back the space warriors. United Nations efforts supported by Canada, Russia, European Union members, and a long list of other nations to ban space weaponry have been vigorously opposed by the Bush Administration. A State Department official has succinctly explained the U.S. position: “Arms control is not a viable solution for space.”

And in Omaha, Gen. Kehler stressed USSTRATCOM’s distrust of treaties symbolically: “Boundaries drawn by us will be viewed by the enemy as seams to exploit.”

Other American space hawks have decided international efforts to promote peace and harmony in the heavens as a type of “lawfare,” defining it straight-facedly as “a strategy of using or misusing law as a substitute for traditional military means to achieve military objectives.”

USSTRATCOM and its supporters regard other nations’ plans to substitute legal accords for bombing and shooting as a diabolical scheme that can and must be foiled.

So, thanks to the space warriors who get together in Omaha each fall, you might lose your TV reception, your Google Earth views, and maybe your hometown and your family, but at least you’ll be safe from “lawfare.”

Stan Cox is a plant breeder and writer in Salina, Kansas, whose new book, Sick Planet: Corporate Food and Medicine, will be published next spring by Pluto Books.

Paul Olson, conclusion

threaten again, then bomb. But that may not scare a nuclear Pakistan much. Our ‘all or nothing’ policy requires that nations such as Pakistan succumb. In the words of State Department official Richard Armitage, directed to Musharraf, “You are either one hundred percent with us or one hundred percent against us.” General Musharraf has been pretty much with us since then, but the Pakistani people have not. Too many of them remain bad off. Perhaps we ought to talk a few of them, the illiterate, the uneducated, the unemployered, the undereducaded, the impoverished, to find our whether they are one hundred percent with us or against us or whether they would just like a new pair of shoes. Perhaps this is not an ‘all or nothing’ world.

One of Aesop’s other relevant fables is the story of the frog that got too big for its britches:

As a huge over-grown ox was grazing in a meadow, an old envious frog that stood gaping at him hard by, call’d out to her little ones, to take notice of the bulk of that monstrous beast; and see, says she, if I don’t make myself now the bigger of the two. So she strain’d once, and twice, and went still swelling on and on, till in the conclusion she forc’d herself, and burst. The Moral: Betwixt pride, envy, and ambition, men fancy themselves to be bigger than they are, and other people to be less: and this tumour swells itself at last till it makes all fly.

The frog, in this version of the fable, is the United States under the neo-cons in the Bush/Cheney Administration. The ox is the world, and we pretend, to our peril, that we are more important than everyone else.

A little talk with the ox might be in order, and perhaps the President, who was reading The Per Cent to grade school kids on 9/11, should read more children’s stuff, starting with Aesop. He might also attend to Aesop’s implications.
RESIST Awards Grant to NFP

Nebraskans for Peace was awarded a $3,000 grant this past fall by RESIST, Inc., a national progressive foundation located in Somerville, Massachusetts. RESIST, which was founded in 1967, funds movements for social justice by providing small but timely funding for grassroots peace and social justice groups. “Each year, RESIST funds groups like Nebraskans for Peace, because our mission is to support people who take a stand about the issues that matter today,” said Board Chair Rebecca Howes-Mischel.

RESIST has six funding cycles during the calendar year and gives grants and loans of up to $3,000. For information on how to apply for a RESIST grant for your organization, check out the website at www.resistinc.org or email Robin Carton, Grants Manager, at robinc@resistinc.org.

Your Foundation Speaks

by Loyal Park, President, Nebraska Peace Foundation

If you have not made a will, now is the time to do it. Although you might not think you own enough for it to be worthwhile, everyone has certain assets—for example, your home—which need to be protected. Also, your family needs to know upon your death what you desire be done with the property you do own. And if you made a will out some time ago, this is a good opportunity to review it and see if it is still relevant to your financial and family situation today.

Whether you are starting from scratch or revising an existing will, please consider including Nebraskans for Peace and/or the Nebraska Peace Foundation in your will. And if you are planning to include us in your will, please let us know. Knowing that we have been included in your estate will assist our efforts in planning the financial future of Nebraskans for Peace. Just give me, Loyal Park, a call at 402-489-6682.

Crying Wolf & Becoming the Too Fat Frog

by Paul Olson, UNL Professor Emeritus

When I was in grade school, we thought we were pretty advanced because we had libraries of reading books in each schoolroom. The stories were mostly of the ‘feel-good’ sort—Dick-and-Jane or the Centerville postman or Cinderella. But we had moral stories also, especially Aesop. Since I got in my father’s cows from our woodland pasture almost every evening, Aesop’s ‘cry wolf’ story struck me powerfully. I had pretended to be dead once and fooled my parents into believing I was. They’d cried and cried. Later, I’d delayed bringing in the cows to scare my parents even more. This time though they were angry, Aesop’s fable really hit me with my own wrongs:

A shepherd-boy, who watched a flock of sheep near a village, brought out the villagers three or four times by crying out, “Wolf! Wolf!” and when his neighbors came to help him, laughed at them for their pains. The Wolf, however, did truly come at last. The Shepherd-boy, now really alarmed, shouted in an agony of terror: “Pray, do come and help me: the Wolf is killing the sheep”; but no one paid any heed to his cries, nor rendered any assistance. The Wolf, having no cause of fear, at his leisure lacerated and destroyed the whole flock. Moral: There is no believing a liar, even when he speaks the truth.

A hopeless Lutheran liar, I lived in fear that someday I too would need help and not get it.

Now that fable has become not only my story, but our national story as hopeless hegemonic liars. In editorials and blogs and TV commentary, the crying wolf story illustrates what has happened with George W. Bush. The first ‘wolf cry’ came when he misled the nation about Iraq’s nuclear weapons. The nation came running. The second was misleading the nation about the immediacy of Iran’s nuclear threat. The Republicans and the Clinton Democrats came running with their votes to condemn the Iranian Republican Guard as a terrorist organization. That vote essentially authorized a presidential order to attack Iran.

The third ‘wolf cry’ has come with Pakistan and its nuclear threat. This wolf, though, is real.

The ‘real wolf’ exists as a radically unstable Pakistan possessing 30-50 nuclear weapons, many of which it has had since 1986. It has always been a bit unstable because of its troubled history, dating to the period of the Iran-related Mughal empires. The modern state was begun in a compromise between the Hindus, Gandhi, and the Muslim, Jinnah, and forged out of the bloody forced emigration of millions of Muslims from Hindu parts of India into predominantly Muslim territory. It encompasses many peoples, tribes, cultures, and it quite early lost almost half of its landmass when the Bangladesh portion of the country rebelled and formed a separate state.

Now the remaining unstable amalgam has nuclear weapons. The claim is that the bombs are safe because they are not fully assembled and the parts are scattered about the country, but someone surely knows where the parts are, else the bombs would be worthless.

The United States has periodically raised the threat of sanctions against Pakistan for its nuclear bomb-making (ostensibly to answer India), only to back down when it appeared that Pakistan would be important to us geopolitically against the Soviets, Iran or the Taliban.

The moral of our present posture seems to be, “We don’t oppose nuclear weapons; we just only want ‘our guys’ to have them.” (We, of course, are the only ones to have used nuclear weapons in a war. After World War II, when the Soviets proposed the destruction of all nuclear weapons, we opposed them.) According to journalist and disarmament expert Jonathan Schell, we are now trying to define a nuclear club made up only of our friends and asserting the right to preemptive American attack (it would come from StratCom) on any hostile or neutral country that seeks like arms. Instead of negotiating and helping, we have threatened and threatened, and the result has been polarization throughout much of the Islamic world.

Polarization has created the real wolf. Pakistan’s nuclear weapons may well fall into the hands of a radical Islamist government in that land. It is very unstable now. Pervez Musharraf’s American-supported dictatorship and the confusion and corruption of Pakistani politics have led to widespread sympathy for the Taliban and their allies. According to Pakistani polls cited by Jonathan Schell, “Osama bin Laden, at 46 percent approval, was more popular than Musharraf, at 38 percent, who in turn was far better liked than President Bush, at a bottom-scraping 7 percent.” The polls also show that 60-75 percent of the Pakistani public want Islamist law—such as the Taliban would impose in ruling the country.

Other ominous signs: the Taliban have grown by leaps and bounds in the northwest Pakistani areas of North and South Waziristan, where the Pakistani government has reached an accord to allow the Taliban-related tribes more or less free rein in the area. The Taliban have also grown rapidly in Pakistani cities. Some speculation says that Taliban sympathizers may take over parts of the army, and the well-armed Northern provinces may convert new provinces to the south. To resist the coming chaos, Musharraf has made himself into a full iron-man dictator by dismissing judges that stand for independent law and against his continued personalist rule. Though necessity may force him to come to a compromise with Benazir Bhutto and her secularist forces by the time this column appears, it seems unlikely that the compromise will, in the long term, stabilize a nuclear Pakistan or create anything like a democracy there.

Further destabilizing the country is its economic and educational situation. According to World Council of Churches data, two-thirds of Pakistan’s adults can’t read, half have no access to basic health care, 35 percent are poor, 6 million more per year become poor, the real unemployment rate is estimated to be about 10 percent and the economy is generating few jobs.

So the wolf fable is apropos. Pakistan could become the first Islamist nuclear power. Then what do we do?

Our proclivity will probably be to do what we have done in Iraq and what we are trying to do in Iran—threaten, threaten…

conclusion on page 11