

tactical aircraft ground support equipment. (US Sixth Fleet jets have been practicing precision attacks in the Negev area.)

6. Strategic airfields: Construction of a special Israeli facility for US Strategic Projection Force aircraft. (In the October 1984 issue of *Newsweek* magazine, columnist George Will wrote that 'Israel' is «The only nation in the region where we know we can land a plane tomorrow.»¹¹)

7. Transshipment of US supplies to the Lebanese Army overland from 'Israel'.

8. Intelligence sharing of data and analysis on «radical» forces and movements in the Middle East.

9. Maintenance: Israeli maintenance and overhaul of US aircraft and ships in the eastern Mediterranean to raise US operational readiness.

10. Defense against submarines: Cooperation in anti-submarine warfare by increasing Israeli ASW capabilities, and operating US ASW equipment out of Israeli facilities. (The first joint anti-submarine exercises between the US and Israeli navies began after the signing of the strategic cooperation agreement. «The US has reportedly told Israel that it plans to play a very active role in overseeing the costs of US participation in an Israeli diesel submarine project and also in the future Saar-5-class missile boats for the Israeli Navy.»¹²)

11. Enhancing US-Israeli cooperation in the «struggle against international terrorist organizations and operations.»

12. Coordinated air and naval peacetime maneuvers to develop and perfect joint procedures.

13. Coordinated US-Israeli defense industrial base planning to enhance wartime 'surge' production capability.

14. Cooperation in industrial research and development. (Israeli firms have made significant advances in research areas of potential importance to the US armed forces. Moreover, 'Israel' has served as a laboratory for testing the strengths and weaknesses of new US weaponry in actual combat. The F-15 and F-16 planes were first tested in combat by Israeli pilots. 'Israel' made as many as 27 changes and improvements in these bombers, as well as 114 modifications on the US Patton tanks. The Israeli armed forces tested cluster bombs, phosphorous bombs and chemical weapons on innocent civilians during its 1982 invasion of Lebanon.)

15. Joint projects to enhance economic development and security planning in 'third world' countries. (Under the guise of development or agricultural projects, the US has been able to impose its influence in 'third world' regional politics, using 'Israel' as its surrogate, especially in areas where it would be diplomatically embarrassing to operate overtly. Weaponry is delivered to fascist regimes, being written off as 'metal ware' or 'machinery' or 'electronic goods'. 'Israel' often works out of 'interest sections' of European embassies in countries with whom it does not have diplomatic relations).¹³

At a higher level, 40 US industrial executives explored aspects of Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) cooperation between the US and 'Israel'. This included opportunities for cooperation with Israeli companies in high technology, and space research and development projects. Other fields for possible cooperation include: communications systems, computerized publishing systems, lasers, microelectronics, quality control systems, pharmaceuticals, robotics, fiber optics, data transmission and distribution systems, and biotechnology.

In view of the above, 'Israel' is simply a *nome de guerre* for what is actually a US military base in the Middle East. A clearly emerging aspect, however, is that military might is not serving to cower people into the kind of submission that would allow imperialism to get on with their rearrangement of the region.

FROM STRIKE FORCE TO MILITARY BASE

Over the years, when the Arab nationalist movement refused to succumb to imperialist plans and conditions, the US has used Israeli military might to impose its hegemony. Created by aggression, 'Israel' got its first major war experience in the 1948 occupation of the major part of Palestine. 'Israel' joined the French-British aggression against Egypt in 1956, and in 1967 occupied the rest of Palestine, plus Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and Syria's Golan Heights. In 1982, the Zionist state invaded major parts of Lebanon, including the capital, Beirut. In addition, there were a series of blitz attacks - the Israeli

bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, and of the capital of Tunisia in 1985, as well as semi-daily attacks on neighboring Arab countries, against the Palestinian people and revolution. All of these acts of aggression were supported and financed by US imperialism, because they served its interests.

On the other hand, doubts have more recently been raised as to the Zionist entity's ability to implement the full array of imperialist aims, simply by the US pumping in astronomical amounts of aid to finance indiscriminate aggression. This is why US Secretary of State Schultz last year stressed: «Israel's long term security can only come through peace with its neighbors, not military superiority,»¹⁴ though the US continues high power efforts to develop this very superiority. Meanwhile imperialism is stressing the efforts to impose a political settlement on the conflict in the Middle East, attempting to capitalize on the results of Zionist aggression. By bridging the gap between Arab reaction and the Zionist state, imperialism hopes to secure the latter's permanent presence while ensuring its own exploitation of the area's resources and manpower. Such an ambition requires elimination of the Arab national liberation movement and especially the Palestinian revolution. For this reason, when the imperialist plan took concrete form in the Camp David accords, these were just as much a model for a military pact in the area. Parallel to the political settlement between 'Israel' and Egypt, the US increased its direct presence in the area, building and expanding bases in a string of countries bordering on the Gulf and Indian Ocean; it established the RDF and made other preparations for direct intervention.

With the advent of the Reagan Administration, the emphasis on military might - both American and Israeli - increased, along with the imperialist drive to establish the Middle East as reactionary bulwark against the Soviet Union. At the same time, Arab reaction did not capitulate all at once and join Camp David openly. Not even all of the reactionary Arab states welcomed the degree of direct US military presence that the Reagan Administration wanted. In this situation, the original US-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement was signed, and the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was launched, supported and financed by US imperialism, to break the deadlock for Camp David. This war exhibited the most obvious form of US-Israeli wartime coordination to date - with the US Marines brought in to protect the Israeli occupation and reap the political results of the invasion. Despite all the signs of US-Israeli friction during this time, and the failure of this joint venture, the experience of Lebanon actually served to add momentum to closer US-Israeli coordination. The US's fiasco of trying to bolster Amin Gemayel's unpopular regime increased appreciation for the importance of 'Israel' as a totally dependable ally.

The Zionist state's dependability is virtually ensured by its very nature as a settler colonial society. Established by aggression and displacement of the native Palestinian Arab population, the Zionist state placed itself in geopolitical isolation. The settler society has a high degree of internal cohesion in the face of the «external enemy» created by its own aggression. Thus, the Zionist society's internal stability is virtually ensured, and the settler population is highly mobilized to serve as cannon fodder in military ventures which they perceive as a struggle for their own existence. This situation dictates the Zionist state's loyalty and readiness to struggle for imperialist dominance as the ultimate guarantee for its own existence.

It is these qualities in the Zionist state that made it inevitable that the strategic cooperation agreement would be revived and materialized in ever closer Israeli - US military cooperation. For all the while the US promotes the 'peace' process, it encounters obstacles and wields the threat of aggression to eliminate them. Thus, we witnessed the Israeli bombing of the PLO's headquarters in Tunis, with US logistical and intelligence support. In turn, this spring, the US bombed Libya and counted on 'Israel' for intelligence information about the effects of its aggression.

The unprecedentedly high degree of US-Israeli military cooperation today has its war-and peacetime applications, for military and political means are two sides of the same strategy for imposing imperialist dominance. As more Arab reactionary regimes are now showing readiness to capitulate to the US-Zionist conditions, closer US-Israeli cooperation on the alternate use of these two options is more crucial than ever