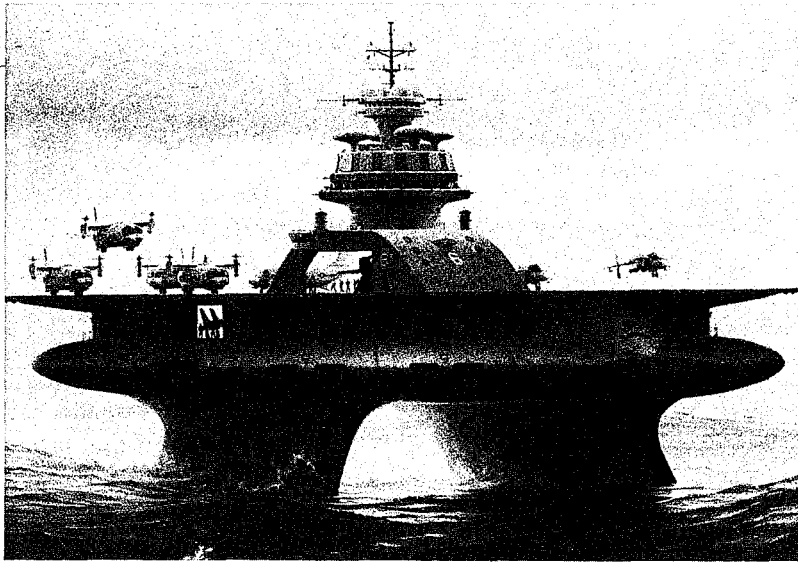


FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE



Could many low-cost mini-carriers do the work of a few big ones? Proponents of SWATH (small waterplane area twin hull) craft, like the one depicted here by Morgan Wilbur, say that they have the needed large-ship stability.

argues, is when its “de facto mission has become survival”—which is true, he says, of the heavily defended modern carrier battle group. Thus, the last Mediterranean galleys were huge, “with several hundred galley slaves and hundreds of troops.” The sailing ship “met its fate as an elaborate, ornate, 100–120 gun, 1,000-man ship of the line.” The last battleships carried almost 3,000 men and “bristled with anti-aircraft batteries.”

Each of “the queens,” notes Ortlieb, “fell victim to longer-range offensive systems.” Only “events” will show if carriers can defy history.

A Smart NATO?

“How the Next War Will Be Fought” by Frank Barnaby, in *Technology Review* (Oct. 1986), Rm. 10–140, Mass. Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Western Europe are outnumbered—in troops, tanks, and other categories—by the Warsaw Pact forces they face. Thus, should Soviet Bloc units attempt even a non-nuclear attack, NATO’s present policy is to respond quickly with tactical atomic weapons, even at the risk of starting a wider nuclear war.

Barnaby, a physicist and chairman of Just Defence, a British group that promotes *nonnuclear* military strength, argues that this policy is outdated. New weapons—notably “smart” missiles—can stop any nonnuclear assault. A “non-provocative” NATO posture based on such weapons, he

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says, would reduce the chances of fighting ever breaking out.

As Barnaby notes, "warfare relies increasingly" on smart weapons. A U.S.-made, \$15,000 TOW or a \$40,000 Hellfire missile can destroy a \$3 million tank. The U.S. Standoff Tactical Missile, which deploys warheads that attack many tanks, is one of several new weapons being developed.

These weapons' abilities are proven—as during the 1982 Falkland Islands War, where British and Argentine missiles sank ships and downed more than 100 planes. Such technology, Barnaby argues, would allow NATO to create a nonnuclear European defense zone, roughly 37 miles wide, along the entire 625-mile East-West frontier. The zone would be saturated with attack sensors and all manner of smart weapons. Mobile squads with "high firepower" arms would deal with whatever enemy forces managed to break through.

Because no counterattack would be needed, NATO forces "would not have main battle tanks, long-range combat aircraft, or large warships." Nonprovocative defense, while cheap, "morally acceptable, and unambiguously legal," would also, says Barnaby, be "militarily credible."

Battered Lives

"Politics and the Refugee Experience" by Cheryl Benard, in *Political Science Quarterly* (vol. 101, no. 4, 1986), 2852 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-7885.

Refugees are defined as people who flee from their own state to another because of war, persecution, or personal danger. By the United Nations' last reckoning (1981), the displaced now number some 8.7 million. Most have fled troubles they did not create and often do not even understand.

Benard, research director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Politics in Vienna, Austria, toured refugee camps in Pakistan, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Thailand, and the Sudan. She found that the chief result of confinement and enforced dependency was a tendency toward violence.

In Thailand, warring Cambodian groups maintain headquarters in the camps and prey on each other's civilians; in one encampment of 250 Vietnamese, all of the women had been raped by Cambodians. Among Pakistan's Afghan refugees, violence often turns inward. Patriarchal husbands, humiliated by their powerlessness, vent their anger on their families.

Apart from such universal features of refugee experience, actual *conditions* vary widely. How well refugees are treated often depends upon what (if any) symbolic purpose they serve for their host country. Thailand, having no political use for its Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, keeps them in a border zone where they are eligible neither for official status nor support from the United Nations' refugee agency.

Refugees in countries considered part of the Soviet sphere also fare badly, says Benard. The Soviet Union does not sponsor refugee relief, and Western relief groups typically refuse to help out Soviet-backed regimes.

By contrast, most of the refugees seen as belonging to the "free world" fare relatively well. Dozens of Western voluntary organizations maintain offices in Pakistan, to help Afghan victims of Soviet aggression.

Like Nazi camp survivors, former refugees remain absorbed in the