

April 1989

Vol. 5, No. 3

# THE MONTHLY PLANET



DAVE EASON

## NATO Turns 40; Warsaw Pact Cuts Back

The Monthly Planet  
 c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze  
 320-G Cedar St.  
 Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
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# WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD FOR THE SANTA CRUZ COUNTY NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE?

You can help shape the future by taking a few minutes to fill out and return this questionnaire. Your responses will be extremely helpful to us in the long-range strategic planning process we will be starting soon. We would appreciate your ideas, suggestions and direction. Thanks!!

1. What do you see as the primary purpose or mission of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze?

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2. What would you like to see our organization accomplish during the next (two, three, five, ten) years?

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3. Do you have specific (or general) ideas on how to accomplish these goals?

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4. Which of the following activities would you yourself be most likely to participate in?

- Lobbying
- Attending community educational forums
- Nonviolent civil disobedience
- Making a financial contribution
- Gathering petition signatures
- Holding or attending house meetings
- Raising peace/justice issues in your workplace
- Helping organize rallies, demonstrations and marches
- Helping with mailings and other work in our office
- Serving on one of our administrative or program committees
- Serving on the board of directors
- Doing research on particular issues
- Writing letters to local newspapers
- Public speaking
- Showing films and videotapes in the community
- Fundraising



Are you a  member  non-member  interested in further participation

Thanks for taking the time to offer direction to the future of the Santa Cruz Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Please mail to: The Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County, P.O. Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061

or return to the Freeze office: 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060

*Please return as soon as possible.*

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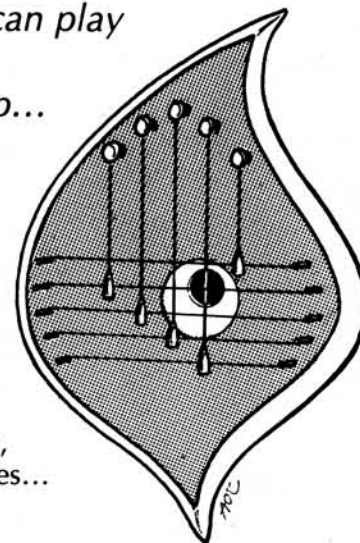
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influence the media—  
be the media"

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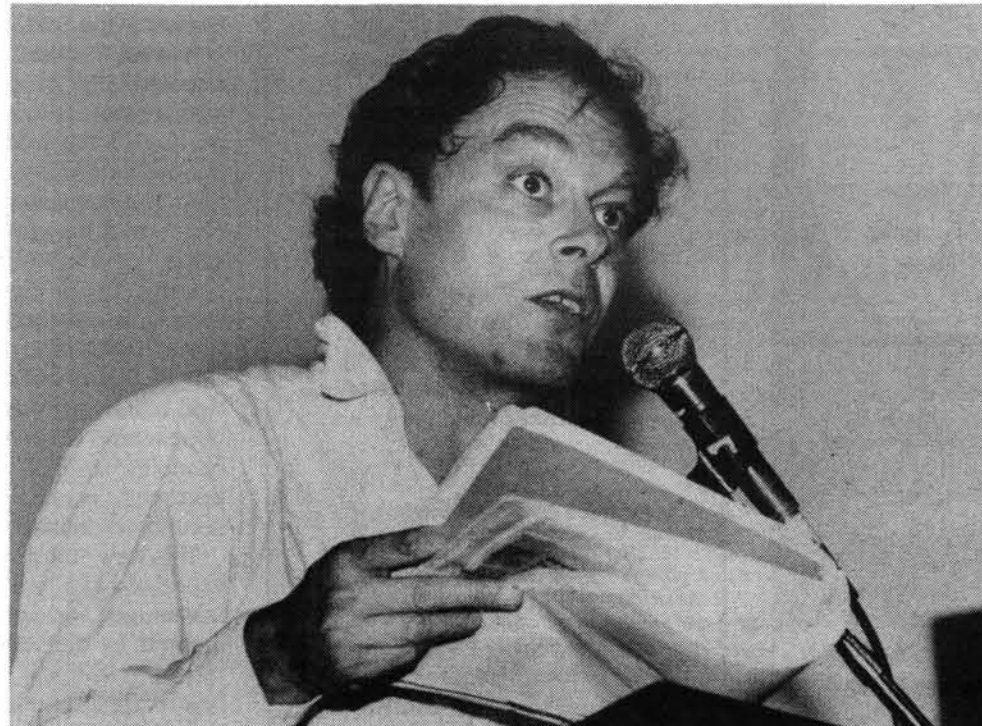
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\*Translation of Russian on cover: "One good turn deserves another."



Columnist Alexander Cockburn visited Santa Cruz on March 7th. Speaking before a packed Moraga Hall, he accused the mainstream media in the United States of "engineering social consent" for flawed policies and of limiting the political debate.

The Monthly Planet (ISSN 1042-3249) is published every month except January by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County. Mailing address: Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061. The Freeze office is located at 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz. Telephone (408) 458-9975 for the Freeze; 429-8755 for The Monthly Planet. The views expressed in the Planet are those of the authors and are not necessarily the official views of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Articles, calendar items, letters, or other submissions should be typed, double spaced, and sent to the above address, or via electronic mail (Peacenet User ID: freezecruz). All submissions should include a phone number and the return of unsolicited manuscripts cannot be guaranteed. We reserve the right to edit letters for brevity and clarity. Annual subscriptions are available for \$15 (student/senior/low income, \$10). Although we are a non-profit, tax-exempt organization, donations to us are not tax deductible because a portion of our work includes legislative lobbying.

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## From the Grassroots

*We prefer that letters to The Monthly Planet be typed, double spaced, and not more than two pages in length. We reserve the right to edit for brevity and clarity. Send your letters to The Monthly Planet, P.O. Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061.*



### The "Third World" War

Paul Kennedy, in his book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, argues that hegemonic systems inevitably decline when their military expenditures exceed the carrying capacity of their economies. This fact is now beginning to penetrate the American mind by suggesting that we are now in great need of shifting our investments away from military spending towards economic competitiveness capacity. For an international global economic order is emerging and America is lagging. But our entrenched military-industrial-complex infrastructure is not likely to disband itself completely. As such, the establishment has imposed its own solution: Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC). In ideology and practice, this move engages us in a "war" against the hungry and repressed peoples of the third world.

LIC affirms that forces must be retrained and restructured to fight in the underdeveloped countries of the Southern Hemisphere, thereby shifting the axis away from the traditional East-West (U.S.-Soviet) conflict of interests towards an imminent North-South (U.S.-third world) confrontation.

In essence, this outlook holds that the real threat to long-term American security lies not in the East, but in the South. And it is here in the third world where America faces billions of disadvantaged people who are increasingly demanding a greater portion of the world's collective wealth. For the third world produces much of the food and raw materials consumed by the North, and they are no longer willing to settle for a continued state of dismal poverty. This is the "Great Fear" that is coming to supersede the once prominent Soviet threat and helping to move the United States out of the East-West Cold War military stalemate and into the competitiveness of an emerging international economic reality. This, loosely translated, becomes "economic security"—national security re-defined.

This new "third world" war will not be expressed as a "war" against the poor, disadvantaged and oppressed. It will be submerged in the rhetoric of international terrorism, the war on drugs, Islamic upheaval, illegal immigration and the protection of "strategic interests" worldwide.

If we ever do suffer a nuclear war, it will probably occur because of U.S. intervention in a LIC that then escalates into a larger war, dragging in the two superpowers. Let us work to overcome this scenario by resisting the tendency to view our brothers and sisters in the third world as enemies. World peace and universal prosperity will only benefit.

Steve Jones  
Santa Fe, New Mexico

### I.R.S. Extortion

It's tax time again. People make jokes or twitch nervously when the topic comes up. Especially if they "owe" money on "money earned"!

Prior to the April 15th deadline, individual financial dossiers are prepared for scrutiny by the I.R.S. It remains illogical that people complain about taxes, but fail to do anything about them.

This process of systematic legal extortion is second to none. The very fact that people pay "beyond their ability," in fear of swift reprisal from the I.R.S., communicates a very potent message.

I question if the general American taxpayer knows what the federal income tax is. What does it subsidize? Or how is it incurred as a debt that falls on the taxpayers' shoulders each year? Blind faith? Or "mass intimidation"?

As we each send in our detailed financial reports for 1988 to the I.R.S., perhaps that feeling will be there again, sticking in the pit of our stomachs as we do so. Probably because we know it is by coercion that we comply.

The two prerequisites to a "just" tax are: 1) Direct benefits received, and 2) Ability to pay.

At least that's what they taught us in government classes back in high school—or perhaps it's like George Washington and the cherry tree, which also never happened!

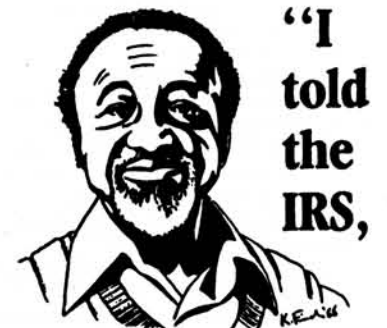
Karen Priest  
Santa Cruz



### Congratulations

Congratulations to the editors and writers of *The Monthly Planet*! In four short years you have become one of the finest statements for peace in the area. Many thanks for your consistently excellent publication.

Sylvia Hillis  
Capitola



**"I  
told  
the  
IRS,**

Look, you are in effect asking me to help kill a bunch of people down there I don't know. And I'm sure if I did know them I wouldn't want to contribute to their deaths. Forget it! The answer is no. Forever no!"

—Wally Nelson, farmer

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### The Nuclear Weapons Freeze

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- A Comprehensive Test Ban

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*The Quiz*

# Take This Quiz— Win A Free T-Shirt!

It's fun! It's easy! And all the answers can be found in this issue of *The Monthly Planet*. To enter, simply answer all the questions and send this page to *The Monthly Planet Quiz*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060. To qualify for the prize, we must receive this page—with all the correct answers—by Tuesday, April 25, 5 p.m. If we receive more than one correct entry by the deadline, the winning entry will be pulled out of a hat. We'll notify you by mail if you're the lucky one. Only one entry per person per issue is allowed. Good luck! (Congratulations to last month's winner, Jim Thorn of Los Gatos.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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### Multiple Choice

**Under NATO's "modernization" plan:**

- a) Every American will be able to afford a new toaster.
- b) Every American will be able to afford a new computer.
- c) Every American will be able to afford a new car.
- d) Every American will be able to afford a new home.
- e) Old weapons are replaced by expensive, new ones.

**The Soviets have recently announced that they will unilaterally:**

- a) Cut their military budget by 14.2 percent.
- b) Cut their number of military personnel by 500,000.
- c) Cut six tank divisions from Eastern Europe.
- d) All of the above.
- e) None of the above.

**The ARENA party, which which just won the presidential election in El Salvador, is known for:**

- a) Being politically progressive.
- b) Supporting the FMLN.
- c) Making progress on human rights.
- d) Being linked to death squads.
- e) Building sports arenas.

**Who said: "What is national security and what are we willing to pay for it?"**

- a) James Baker.
- b) Wes Wallace.
- c) Tom Thompson
- d) Barbara Bush.
- e) George Bush.



### True/False

- \_\_\_\_\_ The NATO alliance consumes over half of the U.S. military budget of \$300 billion a year.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A group of Texas activists plan to build a house on the Nevada Test Site to dramatize the need to spend federal funds on housing for the homeless rather than on the arms race.
- \_\_\_\_\_ There have been 18 separate U.S. military interventions in Panama's history.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Democratic leaders in Congress will probably vote against any Contra aid package this year.

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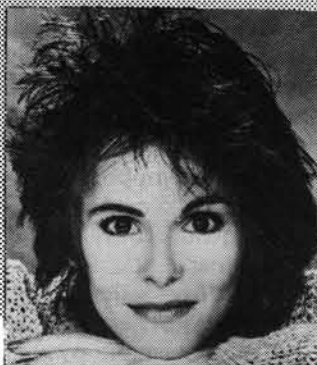
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## Feature

# Central America: An Overview

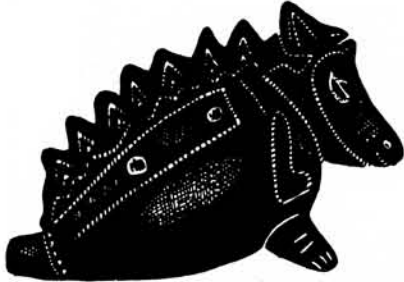
by Trevor Davis, Sara McCamant, & Dan Ringer

"You'd be surprised—they are all different countries."

—Ronald Reagan

On January 20, George Bush succeeded Ronald Reagan as president of the United States. Other than the usual media coverage and the \$24 million pageant in Washington, Bush's inauguration day passed by in this country with little notice from the general public.

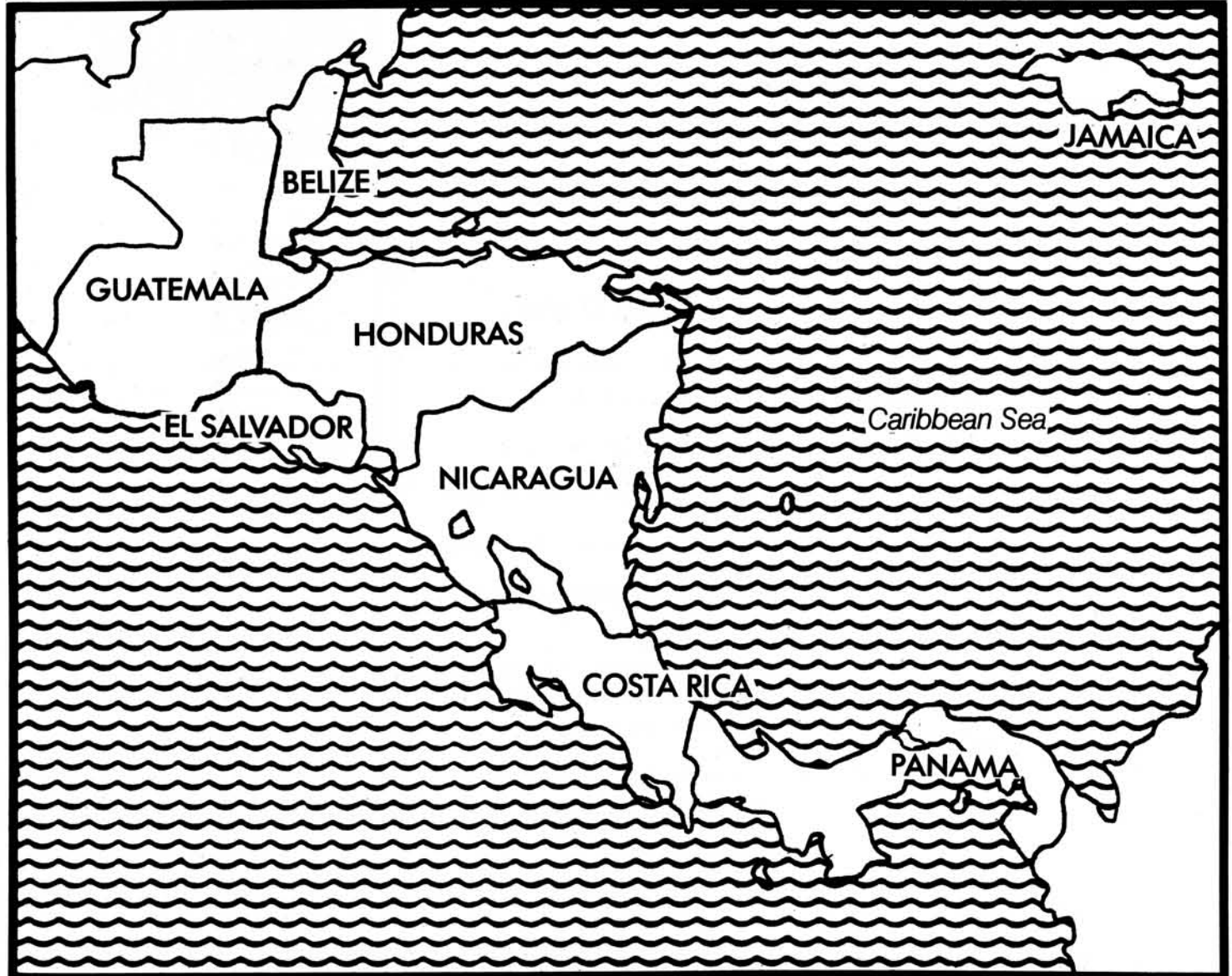
Not so in Central America. In Nicaragua, January 20 was a day of celebration. Thousands took to the streets, rejoicing the end of Ronald Reagan's presidency. Central Americans everywhere reveled in their ability to survive eight years of Reagan's policies.



The worst may not yet be over. Central America has changed since Ronald Reagan first stepped into office eight years ago. Paramilitary squads tied to the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have made intimidation and assassination a standard fact of political life. While the histories of Costa Rica and Panama are not as extreme, the pressures of the Reagan years have taken their toll on these nations as well. The Contra war and other forms of U.S. aggression have pushed Nicaragua close to collapse.

It is hard to consider changes reaching Central America without change first coming to the United States. With U.S. domination of the region all but taken for granted, the destiny of Central America is tied firmly to the U.S. government and its policies.

What follows is an overview of each



Central American country and the challenges it faces as we move into the Bush years.

## Guatemala

While the 1986 election of civilian president Vinicio Cerezo has brought Guatemala renewed U.S. aid, human rights violations continue to plague the country. In 1983, the U.S. cut off all aid to Guatemala because of extreme human rights abuses by the military government. (Guatemala had been under military rule since 1954,

following a U.S.-backed overthrow of the democratically elected Arbenz government.) Government sponsored terror claimed the lives of over 80,000 Guatemalans during the late '70s and early '80s.

The election of Cerezo, a Christian

The Union of Labor and Popular Action, a coalition of peace and social justice groups, has organized mass street protests. Last August, it organized a nationwide general strike, the first in Guatemala's history.

The Guatemala National Revolutionary Unity, the armed guerrilla opposition, resides mostly in the rural northern regions of the country. Although discredited by the military, the guerrillas are active in nine out of Guatemala's 22 provinces.

While previously open to dialogue, Cerezo is no longer willing to talk with guerrilla leaders. Nor is he willing to declare a cease-fire with the armed opposition as required by the Central American Peace Accords.



Democrat, promised to bring an end to repressive military rule in Guatemala. Sadly, this promise has been broken repeatedly. Disquieted by an attempted coup last May, Cerezo has since refused to negotiate with opposition leaders. He has also refused to confront the sharp rise in death squad activity in Guatemala over the last year.

Despite the military's efforts to wipe out all forms of dissent, Guatemala's opposition movement continues to grow.

## Belize

It may come as a surprise to some that Belize is located in Central America. With a culture and history that have more in common with the Caribbean, Belize is often not associated with its Central American neighbors. The country is quite small, with only 170,000 inhabitants. Like most of Central America, Belize relies on agricultural exports. Its primary export is both illegal and unofficial—marijuana.

Formerly known as British Honduras, Belize did not gain full independence from Great Britain until 1981. Guatemala does not recognize this sovereignty, claiming Belize's territory as its own. British soldiers remain stationed at the border



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between Belize and Guatemala to ward off a possible Guatemalan invasion.

In recent years, the U.S. has developed a growing influence over Belizean affairs. In addition to various economic and development programs, the U.S. government has proposed building a military base near the Belize-Guatemala border.

If Great Britain pulls its troops out of Belize—as it has vowed to do eventually—the Belizean government would most likely allow a U.S. military presence. Yet the prospect of U.S. troops is alarming to many Belizeans. "We don't think U.S. troops would be helpful," says Belize Foreign Minister Dean Barrow. "We know their deployment here would suck us into the conflicts of Central America."

## El Salvador

El Salvador is engaged in what the press calls a civil war. Over the last nine years, warfare and government death squads have claimed the lives of over 70,000 Salvadorans. One quarter of all Salvadorans have been displaced by the war; altogether, 10 percent of the population has left the country. El Salvador's bloody campaign is fueled by U.S. dollars—\$3.2 billion since 1980.

While most of the war's casualties have been civilians, the Salvadoran army is officially fighting the FMLN-FDR. The FMLN is an alliance of five Salvadoran guerrilla groups. The FDR functions as the political arm of the FMLN.

Backed by strong U.S. support, José Napoleon Duarte became president of El Salvador in 1984. Duarte, a Christian Democrat, was hailed by the U.S. as a moderate alternative to El Salvador's far right. Still, after five years in office, he was unable to wrest power from the military. Death squads remain active in El Salvador, targeting for assassination any vocal opponent of the government.

On March 19, the Christian Democrats were voted out of office. With less than half of the electorate voting, Alfredo Christiani of El Salvador's ARENA party was elected president.

Last January, the FMLN stunned the world by offering for the first time to participate in these elections. It would only have taken part if the vote had been postponed for three months—time to develop a viable campaign. Despite surprising U.S. support for this proposal, the Salvadoran government turned the FMLN's offer down.

For the most part, this left Salvadorans with a choice between the Christian Dem-

ocrats, who have grown increasingly divided under Duarte's leadership, or the ARENA party, which is known to have strong ties to El Salvador's death squads. While ARENA won the elections, it is doubtful they garnered much popular support. Says FMLN member Arnoldo Ramos: "If we participate in truly free and fair elections there's no question that we will win."

## Honduras

U.S. military aid has pushed the Honduran government into combat against its own people. Already one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere, Honduras is under the command of a regime inflated by U.S. dollars.

The U.S. sent \$81 million in military aid to Honduras last year—over 20 times the amount sent in 1980. In return, the Honduran government has played a willing host to a U.S. military presence. At any given time, there are between 10,000 and 15,000 U.S. troops in Honduras.

While the flow of money and guns has made a few Hondurans rich, most of the country pays a terrible price for U.S. support. Backed by U.S. money, the Honduran military holds an oppressive reign over its people. Disappearances and incidents of torture, once unheard of in Honduras, are now daily news. Contra warfare has spilled across the Honduran border, turning



southern Honduras into a combat zone.

Honduras had no systematic human rights problem before the military occupation. It does now. From 1980 to 1984, 218 assassinations were reported, along with 200 disappearances, and 1,947 illegal detentions.

Says Ramon Custodio, a human rights activist: "Security forces were disappearing people up to December of 1985. Now they are just killing people. There are no more political prisoners in Honduras."

With the Honduran government's approval, Honduras has been dragged deeper and deeper into the Contra war. Having neither territory nor popular support inside of Nicaragua, the Contras maintain permanent camps in Honduras. The Honduran government has actually seized land from its own citizens and handed it over to the Nicaraguan Contras.

An estimated 16,000 Hondurans have been displaced by Contra warfare. Two thousand Honduran coffee growers have lost their land—and their livelihood—to the Contras.

The Honduran government refused to even acknowledge the Contras' presence until sometime after the signing of the Central American Peace Accord in 1986. All sectors of Honduran society have protest-

*continued on next page*



## Women's Convoy to Central America Departs June 10th

This past summer the Veterans' Peace Convoy proved that it's possible to move 106 people in 38 vehicles from the East Coast, Midwest and West Coast to Managua, Nicaragua, and deliver those vehicles plus medical aid, food and, most importantly, hope and solidarity from North Americans. After countless complications and lengthy delays, and only because of undying determination, it succeeded in crossing the border from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico with all its material aid and vehicles intact—setting a precedent for other convoys to come.

While on the Veterans' Peace Convoy, Meg Livesey of Boston conceived the idea of an all-women's convoy, delivering aid, vehicles and support to women's organizations in southern Mexico and Central America. She saw in the convoys not only a highly visible way to raise and distribute material aid, but also a unique and life-changing opportunity for participants to connect personally with both donors and recipients of the aid.

Now set to depart June 10th, approximately 100 women, driving 30-40 vehicles from all parts of the U.S., will converge in Austin, Texas, to organize before crossing the border together. Their route is determined by the groups they will connect with—women in San Cristobal operating emergency soup kitchens in areas where children recently had been dying of malnutrition; Indian women providing health care at a Guatemalan refugee camp in Chiapas; a human rights group in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, documenting abuses and disappearances. The Convoy is scheduled to arrive in Managua, Nicaragua, by July 10th, just at the onset of the 10th anniversary celebration of the Triumph of the Revolution.

Equally important will be the solidarity activities with disenfranchised women along the U.S. portion of the Convoy's route. In the Santa Cruz area, groups have begun collecting day care and health care supplies, office equipment, food and children's vitamins. To offer assistance or to learn more about the Women's Convoy to Central America, contact Valori George (667-2444) or Karen Priest (425-0821)

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## Feature

# Central America: An Overview

continued from previous page

ed the Contras' presence in their country since the camps were established in 1981.

Despite promises last February to expel them, the Honduran government appears willing to allow the Contras to remain in their country for at least another year.

## Nicaragua

There is some good news. In February of this year, the five Central American presidents who signed the 1987 Peace Plan met and hammered out an agreement that may end the Contra war in Nicaragua. There are problems and details to be worked out, but this agreement looks like it may be the real end of the Contra war.

The bad news is that the Contras have been only one weapon in the U.S. war against Nicaragua. As the trade embargo is still in effect, Bush can continue to isolate Nicaragua. The U.S. can also continue to block vital development loans. It can step up its illegal support of opposition political parties. It can continue to spend unauthorized millions of dollars on disinformation campaigns in the U.S. and in Nicaragua. Even without the Contras, the Bush Administration has no shortage of ways to chip away at the Nicaraguan revolution.

Nicaragua may have survived eight years of military and economic attack under Reaganism, but it has not survived intact. Nicaragua starts 1989 in an absolutely devastated condition. Inflation has reached 22,000 percent. Hurricane Joan, which hit Nicaragua last October, left 200,000 homeless and \$840 million in damages. Eight years of Contra war have left 55,800 casual-

ties and \$12.3 billion in economic losses.

All this destruction has had one undeniable effect: it has reversed many of the gains Nicaraguans fought so hard for. The Revolution of 1979 promised—and delivered—education, health care, land, and democracy to a people who had never had these things. Yet in the tenth anniversary of the Revolution, Nicaragua is struggling to hang on to the gains of those first few years.

## Costa Rica

Costa Rica is often called "the Switzerland of Central America." With its democratic traditions, social reforms, and laws prohibiting the formation of a standing army, the government of Costa Rica contrasts sharply with the many military regimes found in Central America.

Yet Costa Rica's acclaimed reputation is becoming less deserved. Recent economic troubles have significantly reduced the standard of living and left Costa Rica vulnerable to pressure from the United States.

A soaring foreign debt has forced Costa Rica to make cuts in social service programs. Subsequently, the quality of health care has declined. Literacy rates are dropping. Shanty towns have cropped up around the country as more and more Costa Ricans fall into unemployment and poverty.

As this crisis worsens, Costa Rica has become more and more dependent on the U.S. In return for economic assistance, the Reagan Administration pushed Costa Rica into taking an active role in its war against the Nicaraguan government.

Costa Rica's borders are now patrolled by a 10,000 member "security force." This security force, which is trained by the U.S., has come to resemble the army Costa Rica prides itself in not having.

The Reagan Administration has used Costa Rican territory to create a "southern front" in its war against neighboring Nicaragua. As revealed by both the Iran-Contra scandal and the Christic Institute lawsuit, Costa Rica was used by the U.S. as a rendezvous point in the exchange of drugs for

weapons to support the Contras.

Peace and democracy are on the decline in Costa Rica. While still a vivid contrast to its neighbors, the so-called Switzerland of Central America has bowed in to U.S. pressure to become more militarized.

## Panama

Panama has gone from being a virtual colony of the United States to being a symbol of anti-U.S. sentiment for much of Latin America. In the U.S., Panama was once largely known as "that place where our canal is." Now it is seen as the kingdom of General Antonio Noriega, the drug-dealing dictator.

The U.S. took control of the Panama canal zone in 1903. Only five days after leading the insurrection that brought Panama's independence from Colombia, the U.S. drafted a canal treaty with the newly formed country. Signing the treaty for Panama was Frenchman Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French mining engineer. No Panamanian has ever signed the agreement.

The U.S. has occupied the canal zone ever since. There have been 18 separate U.S. military interventions in Panama's history. Multinational corporations have almost complete control of the economy, while six out of ten Panamanian families cannot satisfy their basic needs. All these factors have led to strong anti-U.S. sentiment throughout Panama.

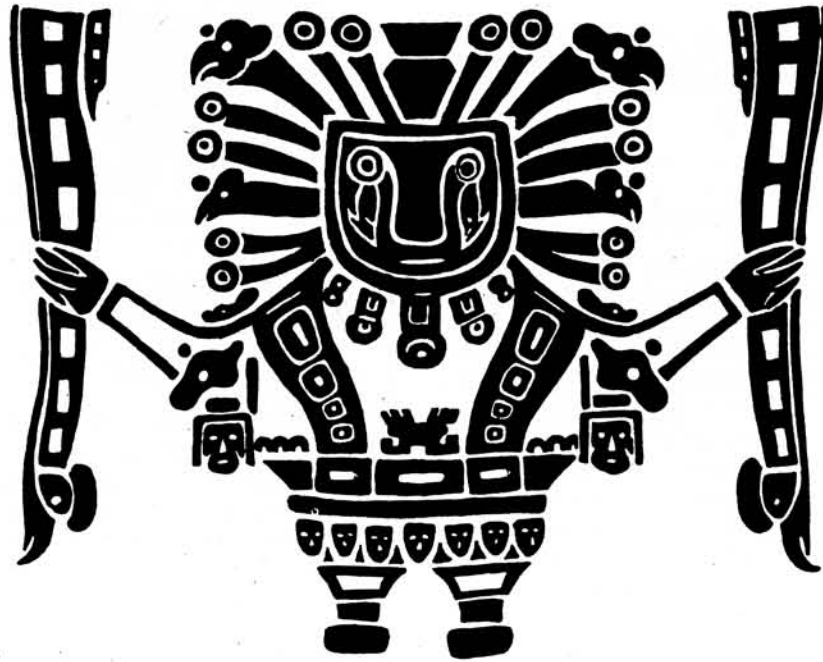
In 1985, General Noriega removed the recently elected president, Nicolas Barletta, replacing him with Erick Delvalle. For nearly three years, Delvalle played a willing puppet to Noriega. Then, after a visit to the U.S. in February 1988, Delvalle



asked for Noriega's resignation. This triggered a sequence of events which left President Delvalle exiled in the U.S. and Noriega in power. The U.S. immediately set up economic and political sanctions against Panama, hoping to pressure Noriega into resigning.

Yet the sanctions have done just the opposite. Many now stand behind Noriega in defiance to U.S. interference. According to party leaders, a key issue in the upcoming Panamanian elections is whether Panama is to remain a "colony of the U.S." or not.

Trevor Davis, Sara McCamant, and Dan Ringer work with the Coalition for Nicaragua in Santa Cruz. This article is reprinted from Envio, the Coalition's newsletter.



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## Feature

# Thousands of Arrests Expected at "Reclaim the Test Site II" Action

by Ruth Lindahl



hours of the morning, some making several round trips, to pick up 1,200 protesters stranded in Tonopah.

The American Peace Test and the American Civil Liberties Union succeeded in getting an injunction against Nye County, and theoretically this year the furthest protesters could be transported to the jail at Beatty, just 60 miles north of the test site.

In a recent surprise move, two actionists who penetrated the site to the restricted town of Mercury on Easter Sunday were given federal trespassing charges. Until this time, all arrestees have been served under Nye County charges, with the exception of two conspiracy counts that were dropped before trial. The significance of this development is unclear: is it a threat, meant to discourage protesters from getting arrested in such vast numbers, or do the authorities actually intend to prosecute some or all of the actionists in federal court?

Ruth Lindahl works with the American Peace Test in Las Vegas, Nevada. For more information about RTS II, contact APT at (702) 731-9644. In Santa Cruz, call Gaia House at (408) 426-1062.

Thousands of anti-nuclear activists are expected to return to the desert encampment at the entrance to the Nevada Test Site for "Reclaim the Test Site II" (RTS II), a nonviolent civil resistance action organized by the American Peace Test for April 7-16, 1989.

A highlight of the action will be the construction of a house on the test site by a group of Texan activists, to dramatize the need to spend federal funds on housing for the homeless rather than on continuing the arms race.

"The crucial step in stopping the arms race is still a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," said Chris Brown, action coordinator for RTS II. "We're coming out in even bigger numbers than before to say that the job isn't done until we stop the development of new weapons, and that means stopping testing."

The first "Reclaim the Test Site" action in March of 1988 attracted more than 8,000

protesters from around the U.S. and several foreign countries. A record 2,065 arrests were made over the course of the 10-day action, and organizers expect similar numbers this year.

"We'll be out in the thousands to call attention to the fact that every three weeks they spend another \$40 million on another test, with another chance for a deadly accident," said Brown.

Each of the ten days of the action has been given a designated theme, which will be reflected in workshops and activities. The action will culminate in a mass rally on Tax Day, April 15, entitled "No Taxation For Annihilation." Speakers include Carolyn Cottom of the International Comprehensive Test Ban Coalition and Nick Carter, Executive Director of SANE/FREEZE.

"There's a lot of excitement around this action," said Brown. "There will be many solidarity actions in communities across this country and in countries around the world. In addition, there will be a companion action in the Soviet Union for the first time ever."

Protesters plan to escalate their civil resistance this year, action organizers revealed. While the vast majority of the arrests last year were for simple line trespass (crossing the test site boundary into the arms of an awaiting police officer), a significant number of actionists this year plan to go "backcountry," or penetrate more than three miles into the test site.

The American Peace Test (APT) is dedicated to using nonviolent direct action and civil resistance to bring a comprehensive test ban and an end to the arms race. Since its inception, over 18,000 people have participated in APT-sponsored actions at the Nevada Test Site and in Washington, D.C. More than 4,500 of those have chosen civil resistance and arrest.

In last year's Reclaim the Test Site action, 2,065 arrests were made during the ten-day event. Protesters were detained in a fenced "cage" while arrests went on, and then were put on busses and driven 180 miles north to Tonopah, the county seat. Protesters were then released to find

their own way back.

Action organizers formed caravans that followed the busses up to Tonopah and picked up the protesters. The first time this tactic was employed was at the mass rally on March 12, 1988. That night, the usually deserted highway was lighted by a constant stream of headlights as vehicles drove across the desert until the wee

## The Test Site Lies On Shoshone Land

The Shoshone tribe has stewardship of the land that is now designated the Nevada Test Site, according to the still-valid 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley. The explosion of nuclear devices in their ancestral land is an anathema to the Native American way of life, and the Shoshone tribe has been active with the American Peace Test in working to ban testing. The Shoshones issue permits to protesters authorizing them to "come, gather, and go" on this land, and protesters argue as a legal defense in court that they have true jurisdiction over the land, not the Department of Energy. Shoshone involvement in APT actions has increased, and this year Shoshone Elders will conduct opening and closing ceremonies to begin and end the 10-day action.

## NEW NEW NEW

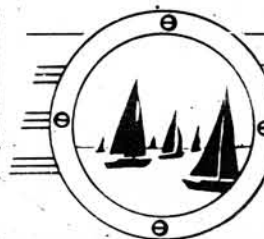
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## Legislative Update

# Once Again, Democrats Cave In on Contra Aid

After a series of meetings between Secretary of State James Baker and Democratic leaders, the Bush Administration announced on March 24 that it had reached a bi-partisan agreement with Congress on "non-lethal" aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. The \$40 million dollar package — \$4.5 million a month through February 1990 — was agreed to by both the House and Senate leadership.

The Baker plan outlines a supposed carrot-and-stick approach to Nicaragua — funding the Contras until the national elections in February as the stick while offering future incentives to the government such as stepping up diplomatic relations, ending the trade embargo, or even a renewal of foreign aid as the carrots.

Besides keeping the Contras in place in their Honduran base camps, Baker has offered the possibilities of rewards for each step Nicaragua takes to fulfill its end of the peace accord agreed to by the Central American presidents on February 13-14. These steps include Nicaraguan commitments to reform electoral laws, to open media access to opposition groups, and to release imprisoned members of



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Somoza's National Guard. Rewards would range from stepping up diplomatic contact to lifting economic sanctions. But the Contras would remain to keep alive the U.S. option of renewing the war, especially if election results do not satisfy the U.S.

There is profound concern that any package which keeps the Contras in their Honduran camps will undermine and ultimately subvert the Central American

peace process, especially the agreement reached by the five regional presidents. At their summit meeting, the presidents agreed to come up with a plan within 90 days for the demobilization and resettlement of the Contras.

The peace agreement stated clearly that the only aid allowed under the plan is for the purpose of disbanding and repatriating or voluntarily relocating the Contras. However, a State Department

official said that because the presidents did not set an exact deadline for disbanding the Contras, the U.S. can continue funding them without violating the agreement.

The continuation of the Contras could also undermine Nicaragua's electoral process, another key component of the February agreement. Many analysts fear that funding the Contras would strengthen the resolve of opposition groups within Nicaragua to boycott elections, as they have in the past, and claim that the process is not legitimate.

Substantial progress has been made in moving towards establishment of an international peace-keeping force under the auspices of the United Nations to monitor the presidents' security agreements — specifically that no country is harboring irregular forces fighting against a neighboring country. The Baker plan is on a collision course with this part of the agreement as well.

Baker has claimed that the plan does not interfere with the peace-keeping mission because the U.S. will insist that there be no cross-border raids by the Contras. However, the U.S. cannot make such guarantees, and in fact Contra patrols continue to violate the Nicaraguan border, carrying out terrorist attacks on civilians.

Congressional sources say that passage of a 10-month package is virtually certain. Regardless of events in the region or opposition at home, Senate Democrats in particular are anxious to make amends after the defeat of the John Tower nomination. In addition, congressional leaders want to make sure that they do not have to vote again on the wearying Contra aid issue this year.

Pressure to approve the package also comes from the Florida delegation. Florida's senators and representatives say they want no more Nicaraguans in their state and fear that disbanding the Contras will bring thousands of them into the Miami area. Since there is not yet a viable plan for resettling the Contras, they feel the best way to keep them out of Florida is to keep them fed and clothed at their camps in Honduras.

The coming legislation may state that the Contra aid can be used for the purpose of repatriation or relocation should the regional presidents come up with a specific plan in May. There will probably be votes in both houses on a non-binding resolution stating Congress's agreement with the Baker plan. However, because this will not be binding language, as things stand now, the White House can choose to ignore it. (This arrangement of the Baker plan as a "gentlemen's agreement" — and not as binding legislation — avoids the problem of it being declared a legislative veto, which the Supreme Court has ruled unconstitutional.) Then, later in April, Congress will have to vote again on an actual, detailed appropriation of funds for the plan.

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**ACTION:** It is critical that liberals in both the Senate and the House hear from their constituents with a clear and unequivocal message opposing the aid plans and making clear that this aid will subvert the peace process if it passes in the form being considered. Whether Baker or the Senate leadership say otherwise, the language of the Central American presidents' agreement is clear that only aid for demobilization and resettlement is allowed.

It is also important to prepare for the April votes. Many national organizations are calling upon groups around the country to be ready to

year to end military and war-related aid to El Salvador.

## Tower Out / Cheney In

On Thursday, March 9th, the Senate determined that John Tower was unfit to serve as Secretary of Defense and rejected his nomination by a vote of 53 to 47. The vote split along party lines with Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) being the only Republican to break ranks and oppose Tower.

*There is profound concern that any package which keeps the Contras in their Honduran camps will undermine the Central American peace process, especially the agreement reached by the five regional presidents.*

respond with massive numbers of phone calls to legislators 48 hours before a vote.

## El Salvador

The Bush Administration presented its foreign aid program to the House Western Hemisphere subcommittee on March 2. The following week, congressional hearings were held on El Salvador with leaders of the Christian Democrat Party, the Republican Nationalist Alliance (ARENA), and the Democratic Convergence, the three main parties competing in El Salvador's March 19 presidential election. On March 9, further hearings were scheduled on aid requests for Central America.

The subcommittee had originally scheduled to vote on the foreign aid package for March 15 and the full House Foreign Affairs committee was to follow with action on the bill the following week. However, committee leaders felt that the administration did not yet have its act together and therefore had not provided enough information to the committees.

Meanwhile, on March 19 in El Salvador, the ultra right-wing ARENA party — which is linked to death squad activities — defeated the U.S.-sponsored Christian Democrats in the presidential election. The guerrilla alliance, the FMLN, had earlier offered to participate in the election under the condition that it be postponed to give the alliance time to mount a campaign. The Salvadoran government spurned this offer, the FMLN boycotted the election, and voter turnout was low — around 40 percent.

The Bush Administration has accepted the results of the election as valid and is asking for \$87 million in military aid and \$185 million in economic support funds for El Salvador in fiscal year 1990.

Democrats, now concerned that death squad activities may increase, may be more willing to cut military aid to El Salvador. The House Western Hemisphere subcommittee vote is likely to take place in April. Democrats may try to limit or withhold some of this aid pending improvement in the government's record on human rights.

**ACTION:** Contact your representatives and tell them to work for the strongest legislation this

President Bush responded quickly by nominating Rep. Dick Cheney (R-WY), a six term Republican, as a replacement. Cheney is a hawk on military issues. He supports the MX rail garrison (basing the MX missile on trains) over the Midgetman missile. Cheney's record on arms control legislation is abysmal. He voted against all of the 74 major arms control initiatives that have come before the House over the last seven years. (His only favorable vote in 1988 was for the Atomic Victims Compensation Bill.)

On March 17, the Senate quickly confirmed Rep. Richard Cheney as Secretary of Defense by a vote of 92 to 0, nearly two months after President Bush was inaugurated.

## Military Budget

In February, President Bush broadly outlined a budget proposal to Congress that, without tax increases, would necessitate domestic program cuts. Bush did not specify which programs would have to be trimmed, leaving that politically undesirable task to Congress. Not surprisingly, Democrats in Congress want to avoid taking the heat for initiating cutbacks in popular programs, and insisted that Bush provide a more detailed budget plan. These "details" are due in late April. Besides cuts in domestic programs, Congress also wants clarification of just what is included in the \$309 billion request for the military. The Budget and Armed Services committees will then meet to begin discussion of Bush's amendments and revisions. Final floor votes are not expected until June.

On March 17, Rep. Tom Downey (D-NY) and 13 others circulated a letter to their House colleagues inviting them to co-sign a letter to House Budget Committee Chair Leon Panetta (D-CA). The letter opposes President Bush's proposed inflation increase in the military budget and urges the House Budget Committee to fund the

continued on page 16



## Contact Your Representatives

**President George Bush**  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500  
(202) 456-1414

**Senator Alan Cranston**  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510  
(202) 224-3553 / (415) 556-8440

**Senator Pete Wilson**  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510  
(202) 224-3841 / (415) 556-4307

**Congressmember Leon Panetta**  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515  
(202) 225-2861 / (408) 429-1976  
(16th congressional district)

**Congressmember Tom Campbell**  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515  
(202) 225-5411 / (408) 245-4835  
(12th congressional district)

## Hotlines

To keep you abreast of late-breaking events on peace issues and legislation, these organizations run regularly updated taped messages:

**Nuclear Arms Control Hotline**  
(Council for a Livable World)  
(202) 543-0006

**Friends Committee on National Legislation**  
(202) 547-4343

**Central America Legislative Hotline**  
(Central America Working Group)  
(202) 667-0990

**Testing Alert Network Hotline**  
(American Peace Test reports on activities at the Nevada Test Site)  
(702) 731-9646

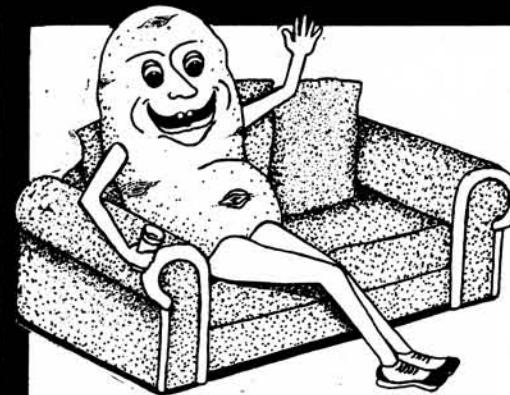
**Save Outer Space Alert**  
(militarization of space issues)  
(202) 462-0777

**Anti-Apartheid Hotline**  
(Washington Office on Africa)  
(202) 546-0408

**Nicaragua Network**  
(202) 223-NICA

**Pledge of Resistance/ERN**  
(Central America legislation)  
(202) 328-4042 / (415) 655-1177

**Witness for Peace**  
(reports on the Contra war)  
(202) 797-1531



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Feature

The United States Federal Budget for Fiscal Year 1989

# WHERE YOUR INCOME TAX MONEY REALLY GOES

HOW  
THESE  
FIGURES  
WERE  
DETERMINED

All these dollar figures are for fiscal year 1989, as reported in the **Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1990**. The percentages are Federal Funds, calculated after removing Trust Funds (such as Social Security). The government practice of combining Trust Funds and Federal Funds (creating the so-called "Unified Budget"), began in the 1960's during the Vietnam War. The government presentation makes the human needs portion of the budget seem larger and the military portion smaller. Trust Funds are not included in these calculations: they are raised separately and spent separately. What you pay (or don't pay) on April 15 goes only to the Federal Funds portion of the budget (unless you are self-employed).

"**Current military**" spending adds together money allocated for the Department of Defense plus the "defense" portion from other parts of the budget. Spending on nuclear weapons (without delivery systems) amounts to about 1% of the total budget. Including delivery systems, the "nuclear" portion increases to about 10%.

"**Past military**" is represented by veterans' benefit plans plus 80% of the interest on the national debt. If there had been no military spending, most (if not all) of the national debt would have been eliminated. Analysts differ on how much of the debt is military created. Estimates range from 50% to 100%. Eighty percent may even be conservative. The government figures bury the expenses of past military in many non-military areas of the budget.

"**Outlays**" rather than "budget authority" figures have been used to reflect what is to be spent for fiscal year 1989 alone.

Rather than use the President's proposed Fiscal Year 1990 Budget, which is modified before being approved by Congress, the figures used here have been chosen from the most recent budget which Congress has already approved.

Analysis by War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, (212) 228-0450.

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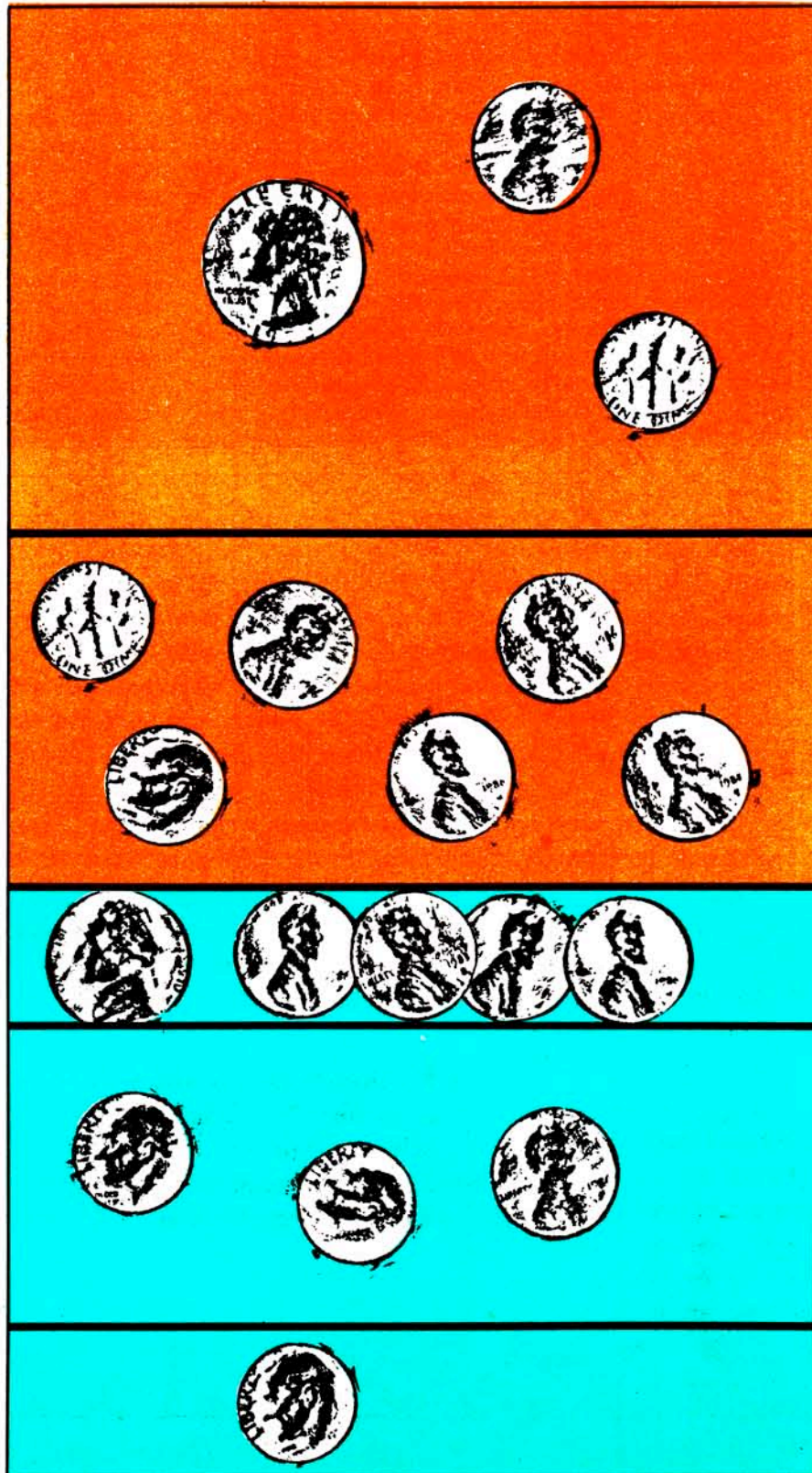
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**36% CURRENT MILITARY**  
**\$319 BILLION**

- Military Personnel \$78
- Retired Pay \$10
- Operation and Maintenance \$85
- Procurement \$81
- Research and Development \$37
- Construction \$6
- Nuclear Weapons (DoE) \$8
- International Security Assistance \$2
- Coast Guard \$3
- NASA (estimated military portion 50%) \$5
- Other (CIA, Selective Service, FEMA) \$4

**24% PAST MILITARY**  
**\$209 BILLION**

- Veterans Benefit \$28
- Interest on National Debt (80% estimated to be created by military spending) \$181

**9% PHYSICAL RESOURCES**  
**\$76 BILLION**

(Agriculture, Commerce, Energy, Housing and Urban Development, Interior Department, Transportation, Environmental Protection)

**21% HUMAN RESOURCES**  
**\$186 BILLION**

(Education, Health and Human Services, Labor Department)

**10% GENERAL GOVERNMENT**  
**\$87 BILLION**

(Government, Justice Department, International Affairs (Peace Corps and AID programs), 20% interest on national debt, civilian portion of NASA)

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*Legislative Update*

# Democrats Cave In on Contra Aid

continued from page 13

fiscal year 1990 defense budget below fiscal year 1989 spending levels. This is the first effective way for House members to go on record for reduced military spending.

**ACTION:** If you live in Leon Panetta's district, contact his office immediately and urge him to do all he can to reduce the military budget. If you do not live in California's 16th district, ask your representative to co-sign the letter to Budget Committee Chair Leon Panetta,

urging reduced military spending. You can obtain a copy from Representative Tom Downey's office.

## MX / Midgetman

In the March 24 Washington Post, General Larry D. Welch, Air Force Chief of Staff, confirmed that he had been talking to congressional members on the possibility of a "compromise" of the MX Rail Garrison—Midgetman debate. Welch suggested removing the existing 50 MX

missiles from silos in the ground and putting them on rail cars, while at the same time moving ahead with the building and deploying of 300 Midgetman missiles. Supporters of the Midgetman are pleased by such a "compromise." However, the next day, newly appointed Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney rebuked Gen. Welch's comments as inappropriate freelancing. However, Secretary Cheney did not reveal which missile program he supported, but noted that the MX rail garrison "makes a lot of sense" because it is cheaper and can be deployed quicker.

**ACTION:** In letters to your congressional

Soviet Union have already exchanged this data, but made an agreement not to publicly release the data unless both sides agreed to it. The Soviet Union is willing to make the data public. Meanwhile, the U.S. believes that the data will undermine its position on verification of nuclear tests. The Natural Resources Defense Council and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control have filed a lawsuit against the U.S. government seeking release of the data.

Reps. Patricia Schroeder (D-MA) and Ed Markey (D-MA) will re-introduce legislation that bans nuclear warhead testing



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**Democrats in Congress want clarification of just what is included in the \$309 billion request for the military.**

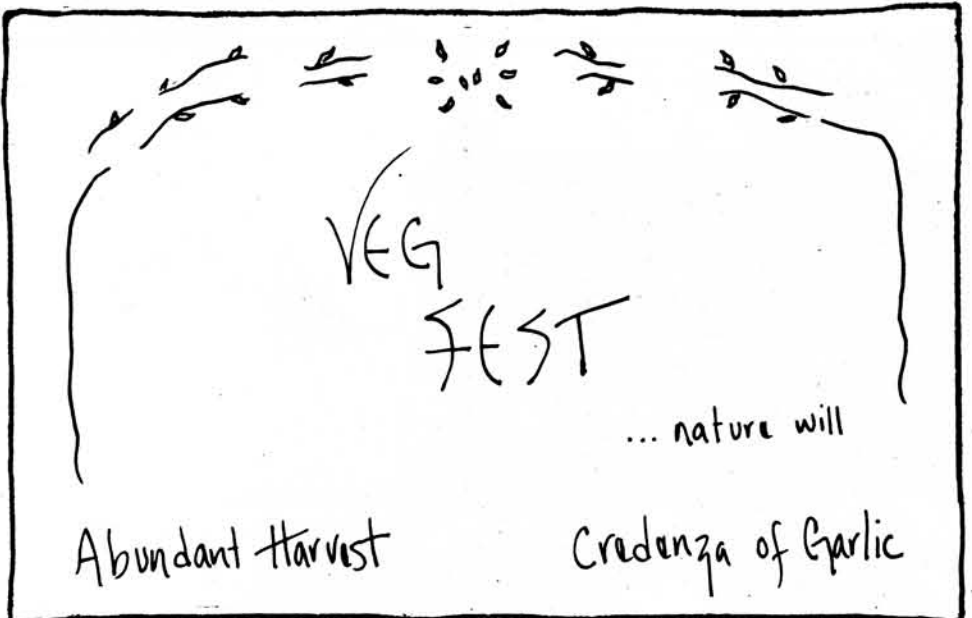
delegation, express your opposition to both the MX Rail Garrison and Midgetman missiles.

above one kiloton. Right now, it does not appear that nuclear testing legislation will be re-introduced in the Senate.

## Nuclear Testing

The U.S. is opposing release of Soviet data from two underground nuclear tests. The tests, one in the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan and another in Nevada, were jointly conducted to demonstrate on-site verification technology. The U.S. and the

The Monthly Planet's legislative editor, Shelly D'Amour, is currently on a sabbatical and will return next month. The information for this column was provided by SANE/FREEZE, the Council for a Livable World, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and the Central America Resource Network.



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## A Closer Look

# Physicians for Social Responsibility: Back to the Freeze?

by Susan C. Strong

**T**he Freeze? Isn't that an idea that died in the early eighties? Isn't that the same idea that movement pundits have lately branded bad public policy and bad organizing strategy? Many of these analysts now agree that the freeze idea declined into a form of knuckling under to the "arms control" lobby, as distinguished from taking a stand in favor of general disarmament. And, according to some of the same voices, the freeze did very little good.

What took place recently at the 1989 annual conference of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) in Palo Alto, then, is all the more strange. Incoming president Wes Wallace, M.D., laid out the following 1989 policy recommendations for the Bush Administration: 1) The U.S. should propose a U.S.-Soviet moratorium on production of nuclear weapons materials. 2) The Bush Administration should join Soviets in a moratorium of nuclear weapons tests. 3) The U.S. should institute a freeze on funding for new nuclear weapons systems for at least a year. 4) President Bush and the Department of Energy should open all health records of U.S. nuclear weapons employees and nearby communities to independent medical investigators.

The conference's overall theme was "Redefining National Security." The goal is to put PSR "on the cutting edge of this country's growing debate about national security." Said Wallace, "It is a debate about choices among national priorities and among national values. What is national security and what are we willing to pay for it?" Some major themes stressed included what has been called "destruction before detonation"—the way that nuclear weapons production has already irreparably damaged the environment and the health of U.S. citizens in some communities. This phenomenon has also been described as a 40-year "nuclear war on U.S. citizens" waged by their own government.

The essence of such government behavior has been secrecy in the service of "national security." The physicians stressed this violation of the principle of "informed consent"—not only is informed consent an essential ethical and legal requirement of medical practice, but also of the conduct of a democratic government.

Given the damage to our own environment and our people, one wonders how the government will be able to refuse the physicians' request for release of data. But the doctors are not waiting to find out. PSR has already commissioned its own Physicians Task Force to assess the available data and to recommend criteria for public health studies related to nuclear weapons production.

Although PSR backed away from officially calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons and for major cuts in the overall defense budget in their 1989 policy recommendations to the administration, PSR president Wallace did speak at length



ELEN HODGES / MONTHLY PLANET

about the combined public health implications of our domestic and foreign policies. He stressed the fact that the public's health is the most essential component in national security, and that health today is a product of the whole spectrum of social, economic, and political forces. Wallace noted: "We can point to case after case of neglected social needs—in health, education, housing, skills training, the environment—and contrast these lost opportunities with the cost of extravagant and useless weapons systems. Over the coming months, as the new administration and Congress negotiate their budget priorities, PSR will do just that." Especially shocking were the figures he gave for infant mortality: 10 percent of all U.S. babies and 18 percent of African American babies. But the message really came home when another speaker said that a baby born in Hong Kong or Singapore today had a better chance of survival than a U.S. baby.

Wallace had nothing but scorn for the way Congress usually approaches these questions. Citing House Armed Services

Chair Les Aspin's now infamous remark about being able to afford every new weapons system on the table if we put together a 10-year budget, Wallace called for a truly national debate on American goals and values.

Well, what should we think of PSR's 1989 proposals? Are they stuck back in 1982, or is something else going on? And how does that relate to the current critique of the freeze idea?

To see clearly what has happened in the world since 1982, one must draw upon the work of a man not speaking at the PSR conference—Jonathan Kull, author of *Minds At War*. Kull has articulated the effects on U.S. and Soviet nuclear policy of "perception theory"—the theory that one must do what others expect one to do, even if it is stupid. In the case of nuclear weapons, if the Soviets, the public, the third world and Congress thought nuclear weapons would protect us, then we had to have them. All that really counts is what people believe. The Freeze expressed what the people of our planet really believe about the necessity and value of nu-

clear weapons. It also led to widespread questioning of war's value as an instrument of international policy, and to the extremely important citizen diplomacy movement. Altogether, these changes helped to create the current state of superpower detente and more. Today peace is breaking out in an unprecedented way everywhere.

These effects may not be the results of a deliberate and coherent long-range strategy, but they reflect something with perhaps even greater power. They show the inexorable leverage of a sound idea unfolding naturally in a favorable climate. PSR's program and policy recommendations are the next step in this process. Calling for a halt to plutonium poisoning in a context of questioning what the health and security of our nation and the world really require will have similar beneficial, if unplanned, side effects. But one thing we can now confidently predict—well-chosen ideas can alter perception, and perceptual shifts change behavior. Eventually, new kinds of behavior will affect policy too. It is only a matter of time—perhaps not as far away as we think, if we just keep at it.

Susan C. Strong chaired Northern California SANE/FREEZE from 1985–1989.

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## Cover Theme

# A Look at NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the 40th Anniversary of NATO

**F**orty years ago this month, the United States, Canada, and many of the countries of Western Europe joined together in a military alliance called NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In May of 1955, the Soviet Union and a group of Eastern European countries formed an opposing alliance called the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO or Warsaw Pact). For most of the post-World War II period, Europe has been divided into these two "blocs." Now, after 40 years of NATO, and in the context of recent Soviet proposals to radically restructure armed forces in Europe, it is necessary to take a fresh look at this alliance which consumes over half of the U.S. military budget of \$300 billion a year.

Today, the greatest concentration of military power in history lies along the border separating the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. From the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains, and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean seas, the European continent is home to some 75,000 main battle tanks; nearly 50,000 artillery pieces, rocket launchers, and anti-tank weapons; about 50,000 land-based, ground-attack airplanes; and nearly five

million active-duty ground troops. More than a thousand warships—both surface ships and submarines—patrol European waters. And the number of nuclear bombs and warheads deployed with the armies, navies, and air forces dedicated to the European "theater" will still exceed 20,000 even after the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty has been implemented.

## The Balance Seen Broadly

For decades, NATO has claimed that the Warsaw Pact enjoys a clear superiority over NATO in conventional forces. Beginning in the 1950's, NATO sought to counter this perceived superiority by deploying nuclear warheads on European soil. NATO adopted a "First Use" nuclear strategy—the explicit threat to use nuclear weapons to defeat a conventional attack launched by Warsaw Pact nations. In response, the Soviet Union deployed many of its own nuclear forces in order to match NATO's nuclear capability. This escalation and the ensuing tensions were labeled the "Cold War" and have served as the justification for a mounting arms race ever since.

However, retrospective studies of the conventional balance in Europe from the

late 1940's through the 1960's show that the balance was never as unfavorable to the West as was regularly proclaimed to the public at the time. Examination of available data on the present balance reveals a far more complicated picture than a simple, clear-cut Warsaw Pact superiority.

Looking at numbers of military personnel and combat divisions, the two alliances are roughly equal. The Warsaw Pact does have an edge of 6.4 million to 5.5 million in active military personnel worldwide, but this is largely attributable to the fact that many non-combat personnel (railroad and construction troops, border guards) are organized as an integral part of the Soviet armed forces.

Concerning the number of active-duty ground troops, NATO has fewer in the central European region, but only if France is not included in such tabulations. France is often left out of official counts on the grounds that France has not been a part of NATO's integrated military structure since 1966. Nonetheless, France remains a member of the NATO alliance and deploys 50,000 of its troops in West Germany. In the event of a major European conflict, France is likely to participate fully on the side of the Western alliance.

The Warsaw Pact does have a significant edge in the number of combat divisions in Central Europe (49 to 32), not counting French forces. Just as important, many of these divisions are deployed forward, near the inner-German border. On the other hand, this difference in divisions is partly the result of the different organizational structure of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. For example, the American

tanks that were first produced in the 1950's and have not been significantly modernized since. By comparison, NATO tanks of similar vintage, such as the M-60 and Leopard I, have been constantly upgraded in terms of armor protection, firepower, and mobility. Regarding modern tanks produced in the 1970's and 1980's—the American M-1, the West German Leopard II, the Soviet T-72 and T-80—NATO actually has an edge of roughly 12,000 to 9,500 in central Europe.

In terms of economic and military potential, NATO is clearly superior to the Warsaw Pact. The economic strength of the Western democracies, measured in Gross National Product, is 2.6 times greater than that of the Warsaw Pact nations, and NATO's population is 1.6 times greater. In addition, NATO's annual military spending is about 30 percent higher than that of the Soviet Union and its allies. Even without the United States and Canada, the European NATO countries are roughly the equal of the Warsaw Pact in population and are superior in total economic output.

## Arms Control Efforts

The first organized efforts to contain the buildup in Europe—the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks—began on October 30, 1973, in Vienna, and lasted 15 years without producing a major agreement. The agreed aim of the talks was to create a troop ceiling for each alliance of 900,000 troops, of which 700,000 could be ground force personnel. Despite the lack of a MBFR Treaty, the two blocs reached an agreement on a number of issues. Both sides endorsed the concept

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*On this 40th anniversary of NATO, it is time to take a fresh look at this alliance which consumes over half of the U.S. military budget of \$300 billion a year.*

and West German armored divisions that are the mainstay of NATO forces in the central region contain 17,000–18,000 troops per division, while those of the Soviet Union and its allies average 11,000–12,000.

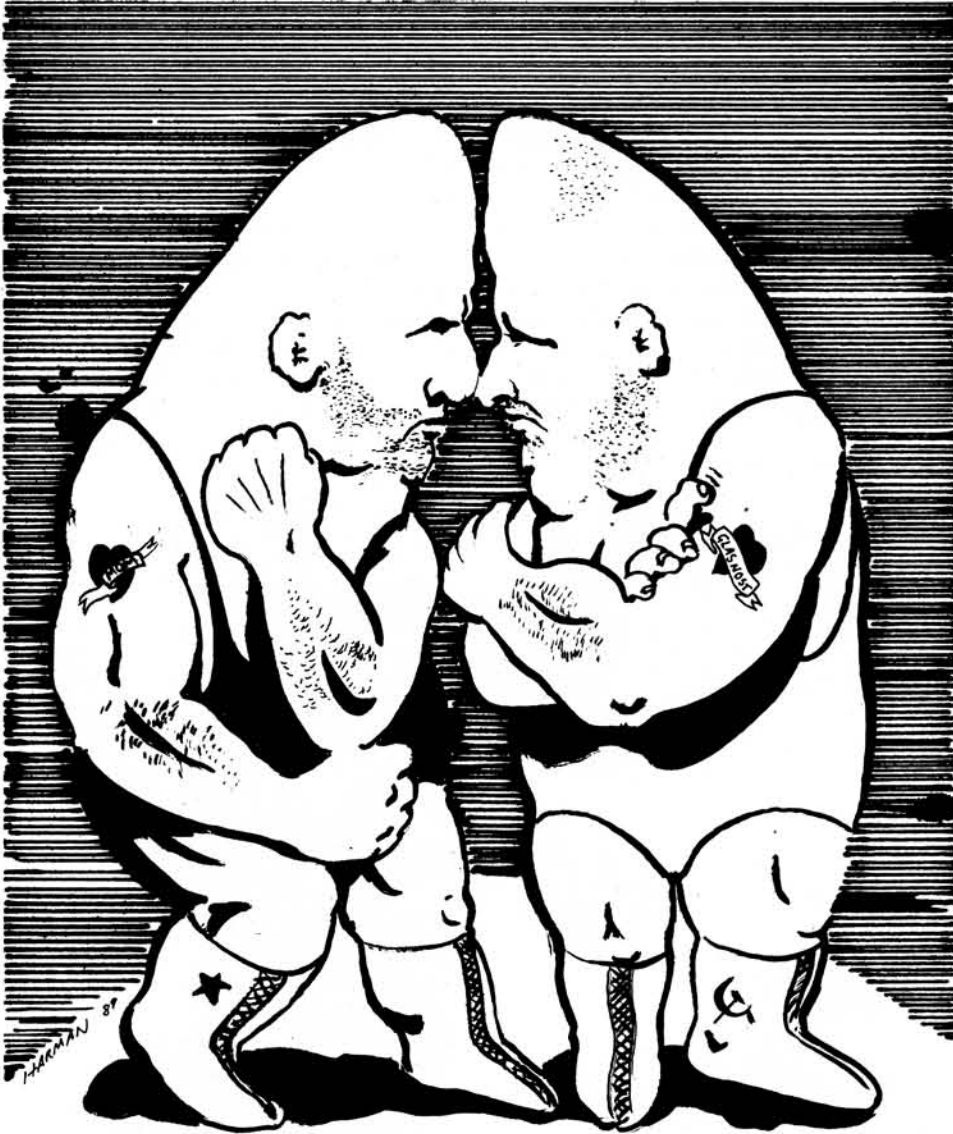
According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Warsaw Pact controlled 52,200 tanks in 1988 while NATO had considerably less—22,200 total. The Warsaw Pact also had an advantage of over 26,000 in artillery, rockets and anti-tank weapons.

While these figures give a rough approximation of the military forces of the two alliances, they should be treated with some caution. For example, no differentiation is made between different models of weapons within each category. In the case of tanks, the Warsaw Pact figure includes more than 30,000 T-54/T-55 and T-62

that reductions would be implemented in phases, with cuts involving U.S. and Soviet forces. They agreed to reduce primarily by units, with foreign forces withdrawn through permanent observation points, and to refrain from increasing troops while reductions are in process.

Parallel to the MBFR talks, measures relating to conventional arms control were being discussed by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Helsinki Final Act, signed on September 1, 1975 by the 35 member states of the CSCE, contained several important confidence-building measures designed to decrease military tensions in Europe. Known as "Basket One" in the Helsinki Final Act, it included five different voluntary (not-legally binding) measures:

- 21-day notification of major military maneuvers.



BRUCE HARMAN / MONTHLY PLANET

- Notification of smaller maneuvers.
- Notification of major military movements.
- Exchange of observers (expected at all major military events, and encouraged for minor ones).
- Exchange of military delegations and attachés.

Subsequent CSCE review conferences in Belgrade (1977-78) and Madrid (1980) proposed additional measures to enhance confidence and stability. NATO, in particular, favored earlier notification of military activities, and wanted to extend notification requirements to exercises involving smaller numbers of troops. NATO also called for intrusive inspections and other more stringent verification measures. The Warsaw Pact wanted ceilings placed on exercises such as the annual "Reforger" exercise that involves American troops flown in from the United States. The Pact also sought to commit both alliances to policies such as no first use of nuclear weapons.

Another development in the Helsinki process was the 1978 French proposal to create a Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE) involving the CSCE member states. The Conference on Disarmament began in 1983, and led eventually to the Stockholm Accords of 1986. The Stockholm Accords were signed by the 35 member countries of the CSCE on September 19, 1986, and covered four main areas:

- Pre-notification of major military exercises: All pre-notification must now be made 42 days in advance, up from 21 days as set by the Helsinki Final Act.

- Observation of exercises: All CSCE states are required to invite on-site observers when hosting any land-force or transfer exercises exceeding 17,000 troops, or any amphibious or paratroop maneuver in excess of 5,000 troops.

- Annual calendar: Each state must make available, in November, a list of all notifiable activities for the coming year.

- Constraints on maneuver size: Any

activity involving over 40,000 troops requires a two-year advance notice.

### The CFE Talks

In the mid-1980's, participants at the Third CSCE Review Conference in Vienna agreed to create a new forum to negotiate reductions in conventional forces. Prompted by greater Soviet flexibility, by budgetary and demographic problems, and by the general sense that East-West relations were on a new and better course, the CSCE countries recognized the need and opportunity to switch tracks and leave behind the lagging MBFR talks.

The Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks began last month, between all 16 NATO members (including France) and the seven Warsaw Pact states. The stated objectives of the talks are to strengthen security through the establishment of a more stable conventional balance at lower levels of forces in Europe and to eliminate the ability of either side to launch a surprise attack or a large-scale offensive. The CFE talks will now become the centerpiece of conventional arms control.

NATO put forth an initial proposal setting limits on three main arms categories—tanks, artillery and armored personnel carriers. In the Atlantic to the Urals (ATTU) region, NATO proposes that each side be limited to 20,000 tanks, 28,000 armored personnel carriers, and 16,500 artillery. Under these limits, no one country could have more than 30 percent of the total arms held by both sides. In addition, this plan would limit the number of active weapons each side could deploy on an ally's territory. This would result in a much lower level of Soviet tanks in Eastern Europe.

The Warsaw Pact proposal suggests attaining limits through a step-by-step process where each of the first two steps would last two to three years. The first step would eliminate imbalances in troop numbers and in the main arms categories considered the most destabilizing by the Warsaw Pact. Each side would reduce its

armed forces and conventional arms by 10 to 15 percent of the lowest levels of either side. The proposal would also establish a zone along the border of the two alliances where arms levels would be lowered and short-range nuclear arms would be withdrawn. The second step would require each side to reduce armed forces, and the weapons assigned to those forces, by another 25 percent. The third step would radically restructure armed forces in Europe to abandon their offensive stance and become solely defensive.

### The Fifth Decade

Although the military confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is about to enter its fifth decade, there are tangible signs that progress will be made through diplomatic initiatives, arms control, and unilateral measures. The new CFE talks now underway may provide a framework for the most significant arms control agreements in years. Mikhail Gorbachev continues to surprise the world with bold proposals to reduce the militarization of Europe, and President George Bush, while slow to respond to Soviet initiatives, is expected to be less hostile toward arms control than the Reagan Administration was. But real breakthroughs will probably not occur until world leaders, particularly President Bush, take steps to fulfill the overwhelming mandate of public opinion polls to redefine national, and international, security—in more than just military terms.

*Material for this article was excerpted from Countdown on Conventional Forces in Europe: A Briefing Book, written by Jeffrey Boutwell, International Security Studies Program, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; William Ayres, Williams College; John P. Holdren, Energy and Resources Program, U.C. Berkeley; and Catherine McArdle Kelleher, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland. Monthly Planet writer Leslie Crenna also contributed to this article.*

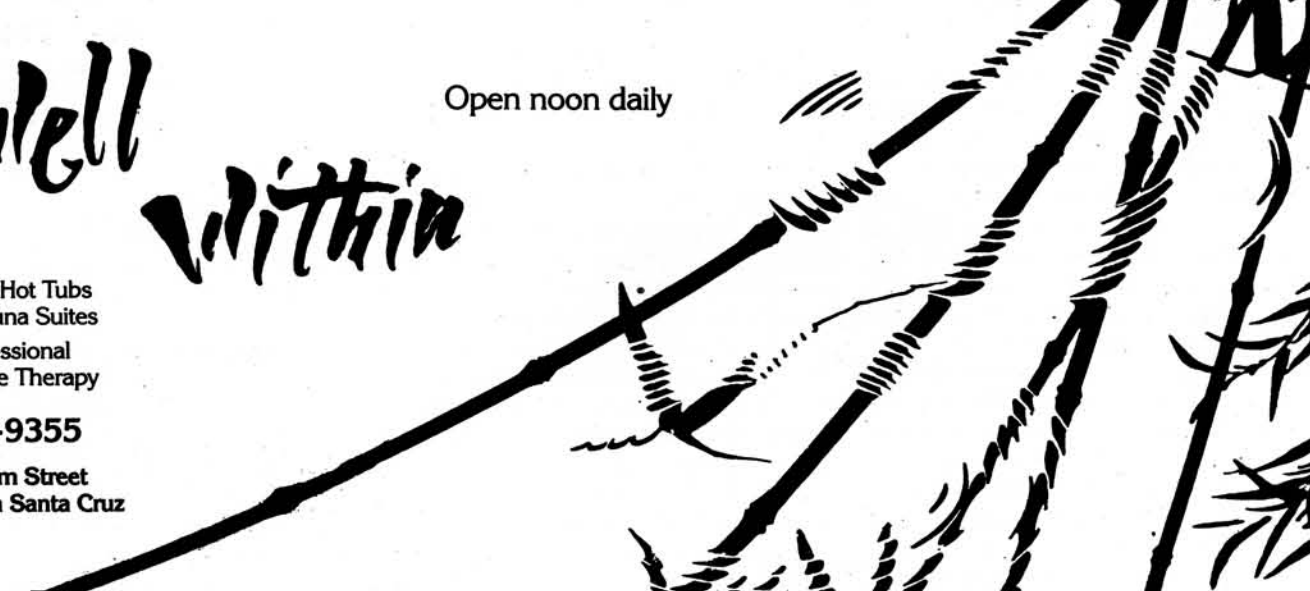
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# The Warsaw Pact's Unilateral Cuts

by Rob Leavitt

The force reductions and military reforms announced by the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies on (and after) December 7, 1988, represent a significant decrease of military capabilities and of the potential threat of the Warsaw Pact to the West. On that date Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev unveiled a plan for sweeping, unilateral arms cuts.

But in the days just after Gorbachev's U.N. speech announcing major Soviet reductions, it was predicted that only the oldest Soviet tanks would be cut; that only units far back from the West German border would be withdrawn; that none of the weapons would actually be destroyed; that, in short, the initiative was merely a propaganda ploy. As details have emerged, however, and as Eastern European leaders have joined forces, even the conservative critics have begun to relent. Phillip Karber, a conventional forces expert at the BDM Corporation and a prominent early skeptic, explains: He [Gorbachev] is doing it exactly the way we would have wanted him to do it.

Essentially, the Warsaw Pact has singled out for reduction those forces perceived in the West as most threatening: tanks, generally, and specific offensive units stationed near the West German border. These are the forces most capable of launching a surprise attack on the West, and thus the ones most feared by Western military analysts. As claimed by Major General Yuri Lebedev of the Soviet General Staff, "the Soviet Union is putting words into deeds to prove its commitment to defensive-based defense."

## Soviet Reductions

**Personnel:** Cut 500,000 from a total military of roughly five million, thus about 10 percent. Of these reductions, 240,000 will come from Soviet forces in Eastern Europe and the Western districts of the U.S.S.R. (those oriented toward Europe); 60,000 will come from the Southern U.S.S.R. districts; and 200,000 will come from the Far Eastern districts. Included in the withdrawals from the Far East will be about 75 percent of the 75,000 Soviet troops now stationed in Mongolia.

**Tanks:** Cut 10,000 from a total of roughly 50,000, thus about 20 percent. Half of these tanks will come from those stationed in three front-line Eastern European countries: East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. This represents about 50 percent of total Soviet tanks in Eastern Europe. The other 5,000 will come from the Western districts of the U.S.S.R. In all, these cuts will comprise almost 30 percent of Soviet tanks in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU) region for which new conventional forces negotiations between East and West are beginning. According to Gorbachev, the cuts will consist mainly of the most advanced of Soviet tanks (contrary to initial Western suspicions). Five thousand will be destroyed; 5,000 will be converted for civilian use (tractors and towing vehicles, for example).

**Other Weapons:** Cut 8,500 artillery and 800 combat aircraft from Eastern Europe and the European districts of the U.S.S.R. This represents about 17 percent of Soviet combat aircraft in the ATTU region. According to the Deputy Chief of the Soviet Air Force, most of the aircraft will be ground attack planes (versus air defense). The Soviets will also withdraw 24 short-range nuclear missiles from Eastern Europe.

**Offensive Units:** Cut six tank divisions from Eastern Europe, including four from East Germany, and one each from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Each tank division includes about 12,000 troops and 325 tanks (among other weapons); to Western analysts these are the most threatening of all Warsaw Pact units. Notes former SALT negotiator Raymond Garthoff of the Brookings Institution: "Anytime you take out six tank divisions, you are removing a very important part of a striking force." Most significantly, the four tank divisions to be withdrawn from East Germany are all based close to the West German border, facing NATO's most vulnerable areas, according to Phillip Karber. They are among the most highly capable units in the entire Soviet military. All six of these tank divisions will be disbanded, not simply re-deployed on Soviet territory.

The Soviets will also remove and disband the only air assault brigade they now have stationed in East Germany (this is a highly mobile, specialized unit trained to lead a surprise attack by seizing key bridges, command posts, and port facilities); the only assault battalion now in Hungary; and a variety of additional units from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and (although not announced by Gorbachev at the U.N.) Poland.

The number of tanks in a tank division (325) means that the disbandment of six tank divisions will reduce only about 2,000 tanks from Eastern Europe, while Gorbachev has pledged to cut 5,000. This means that another 3,000 tanks will be stripped from the remaining Soviet tank and other mechanized divisions there. As Gorbachev has asserted, the remaining Soviet forces will thus necessarily be reconfigured to assume a much more defensive character. Just prior to Gorbachev's U.N. speech, House Armed Services Committee Chair Les Aspin released a study concluding that Warsaw Pact capabilities for surprise attack were extremely limited, due mainly to the lack of "ready" offensive units. The dramatic reductions and restructuring of existing offensive units will lessen those capabilities that much more. Says moderate analyst Barry Blechman, "This should put an end to fears that they could mount a successful surprise attack, or even one with a one- or two-week mobilization period."

**Military Spending:** Cut the military budget by 14.2 percent and spending for weapons production by 19.5 percent. It is very difficult to assess these announced reductions because the Soviets have never published detailed information on

their military spending. It does seem likely, however, that military spending will decline in the wake of such significant reductions in overall forces and military presence in Eastern Europe (not to mention Afghanistan). Since withdrawn units will be disbanded, troop strength permanently reduced, and thousands of weapons destroyed, the Soviets should be able to make serious savings in expen-

the U.S.S.R. previously required of all newly conscripted soldiers; introduce alternative non-military service for conscientious objectors; reduce military spending, troops, and exercises to a level of indispensable defense.

**Bulgaria:** Cut 10,000 active duty troops; withdrawing 200 tanks, 200 artillery systems, and 20 combat aircraft; reduce military spending by 12 percent.



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ditures for personnel and weapons production. Already, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, a number of Soviet factories have begun to shift production from military systems to consumer goods.

## Non-Soviet Reductions and Reforms

**East Germany:** Cut 10,000 active duty troops from the current total of 170,000; destroy or convert to civilian use 600 of 3,000 tanks (20 percent); deactivate 50 of 350 combat aircraft (14 percent); reduce overall military spending by 10 percent. East Germany has the most capable military in the Warsaw Pact aside from the Soviet Union; these reductions will cut further into the offensive capacity of the Pact at the front lines.

**Czechoslovakia:** Cut 12,000 active duty troops from the current 145,000; reduce reserve forces by 15,000 troops; deactivate 850 tanks, 165 armored vehicles, and 51 combat aircraft; cut in half the number of military maneuvers; reduce military spending by 15 percent.

**Hungary:** Reduce military spending by 17 percent; reduce length of military service from 18 to 12 months; introduce non-military alternative service for conscientious objectors. Cut 9,300 active duty troops; withdraw 251 tanks; and reduce other military equipment.

**Poland:** Eliminate an oath of loyalty to

## Verification

According to Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn, the Soviet initiative will provide an extremely significant reduction in Soviet capabilities "provided the cuts are fully and honestly implemented." Verification, always the bugaboo of arms control negotiations, may be even more difficult in the case of unilateral steps since no formal agreements are signed. Conventional forces and especially personnel numbers are very hard to monitor with precision with national technical means alone. But full verification would certainly seem to be in the interests of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. The political benefits of reductions derive mainly from a Western perception that the Eastern threat has diminished. Going back on such public commitments would obviously push Western politics in the opposite direction. It therefore seems reasonable to believe Major General Lebedev, who has asserted that "all measures related to troop reductions will be carried out openly, with adequate media coverage. Foreign observers will be invited to the sites where military technology will be destroyed."

Rob Leavitt is the education director at the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, an independent research center based in Brookline, MA.

# NATO's "Modernization" Plan

by Daniel T. Plesch

Over the next few years, NATO will introduce over 2,000 new nuclear weapons such as air-launched missiles, ground-launched ballistic missiles, and atomic artillery shells as part of a "modernization" program. The idea is to move from short- to longer-range systems. At the same time, NATO is removing 3,500 nuclear weapons, some of which are old

quests for new nuclear artillery. A new nuclear 155 mm shell is being produced for deployment in the beginning of the 1990's. The United States has already deployed a modernized nuclear shell for its 8-inch guns. Nuclear artillery has been a particularly divisive issue in NATO, with the Belgian and Dutch governments continuing to reject the deployments. Public opinion in West Germany is also strongly

missile system. Both of these are conventional systems which will need little change to become nuclear. When the MLRS systems are finally deployed, NATO will have a 2:1 advantage in short-range missile launchers on the central front of the two Germans and Czechoslovakia, Poland and the low countries, although the Warsaw Pact will retain an advantage of 1,700 to 1,000 worldwide.

The Soviet Union is understood to be offering a zero option—eliminating these missiles without the expense of more weapons being deployed first. Both the Lance and its successor are explicitly "first-use" weapons. They are designed to be used if NATO feels it is losing a conventional conflict. Because they are deployed so close to the central front, there will be a strong temptation to "use them or lose them," dangerously lowering the nuclear threshold. NATO claims it needs a modernized short-range nuclear missile to offset the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority. But now that negotiations on conventional force reductions (the CFE talks) have begun, NATO has a chance to remove the theoretical need for such a system by reducing conventional force levels on both sides.

**Air-Launched Missiles:** Plans to modernize NATO's air-launched missiles pose a particular threat to any emerging detente. The Defense Department has requested funds for the development of a tactical-air-to-surface missile (TASM) also known as the short-range-attack-missile [tactical] (SRAM-T). These weapons, when carried on fighter-bombers, have the capacity to hit the Soviet Union. Thus these systems explicitly bring back the INF threat to the Soviet Union that the INF Treaty was designed to remove. Stephen Meyer of MIT warned in the Fall 1988 issue of *International Security* that deploying such systems could seriously undermine the "new thinking" in the Soviet Union and give strength to Gorbachev's domestic opposition among the military.

The TASM is also a barrier to progress on the START treaty. The US-NATO position is that fighter-bombers with missiles of ranges up to 1,500 km should be kept

out of the START treaty, while the Soviet Union wants the missile range threshold dropped down to 600 km. While it is true that the INF Treaty only bans land-based INF systems, the deployment of the TASM would certainly be seen by the Soviets and others as a violation of the spirit of the accord.

**Aircraft:** The deployment of the new F-15E deep strike-nuclear bomber is likely to be seen as highly provocative at a time when the Warsaw Pact has announced the removal of almost 1,000 warplanes. Cancellation of the program would save some \$10 billion.

## The CFE Talks

The Conventional Forces in Europe negotiations, which just started last month, cover conventional ground forces and dual-capable missile launchers and aircraft. The CFE talks hold a great deal of promise. They involve all of the members of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact and cover the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals. The NATO negotiating position calls for achieving parity at only 95 percent of current NATO force levels. While this will achieve the objective of eliminating the Warsaw Pact's conventional advantage, it does not reduce NATO's financial burden of \$30 million an hour nor does it address the increased public pressure in the United States for a more equitable distribution of the defense burden among the NATO nations.

Much of the resistance to a more flexible position in the talks comes from Europe, especially from France and Germany. Some Senate staff have suggested that a U.S. declaration to pull troops out of Europe unless NATO comes up with a more reasonable negotiating position would be a good way to bring pressure on the more obstinate members of the alliance. In a time of U.S. budget and trade deficits and a perception that the military threat from the Warsaw Pact is declining, the arguments for such a declaration would be easy to make.

Daniel T. Plesch is the director of the Washington, DC- and London-based British American Security Council.



and some of which must be removed in accordance with the INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) Treaty. NATO has made a great deal of the fact that these moves will reduce its overall nuclear stockpile numbers by over 1,000 from 4,600 to 3,500 or less, but replacing older, shorter-range weapons with fewer numbers of newer, more sophisticated longer-range ones may not convince the public that progress is being made in arms control.

**Nuclear Artillery:** The Department of Defense and Department of Energy budgets for fiscal year 1990 contain funding re-

opposed to such a move.

**Ground Launched Ballistic Missiles:** The current Pentagon plan will increase NATO's force from 90 to 750—an eightfold increase. The range will also increase from the current 75 miles to 300—the limit set by the INF Treaty. The decision to modernize the Lance short-range nuclear missile has produced a great deal of controversy in Europe, especially in Germany. The current plan calls for use of the multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) launcher, which will most likely be armed with a nuclear version of the army tactical

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## Cover Theme

# After 40 Years, It's Time for New Thinking on NATO

by Rob Leavitt

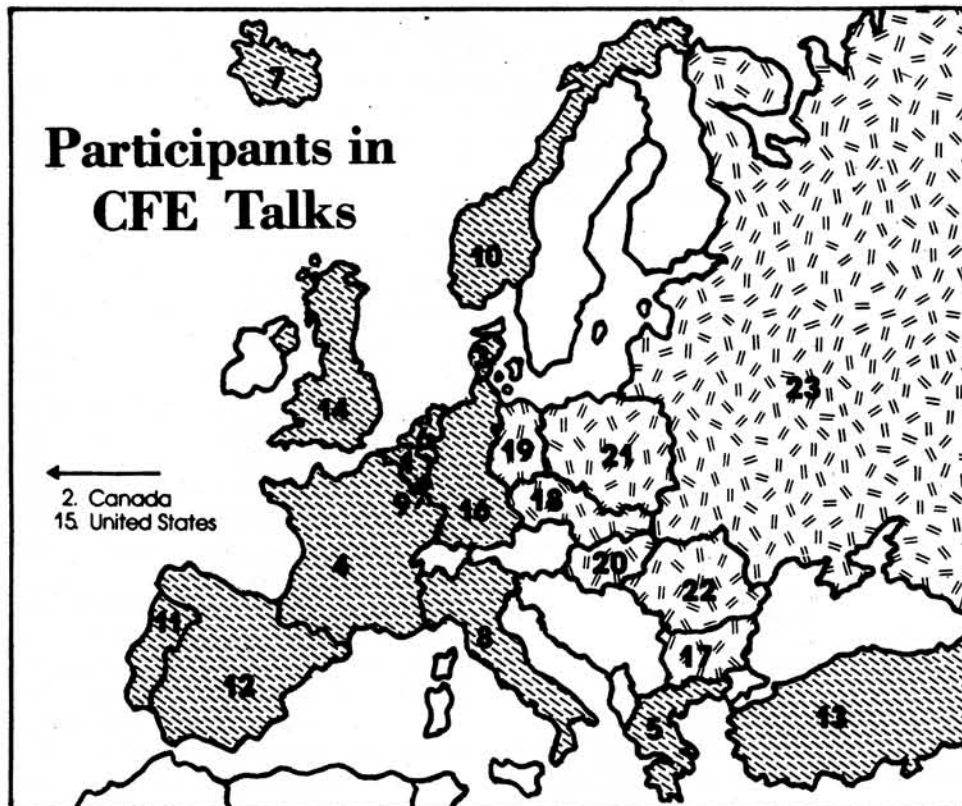
When Mikhail Gorbachev stunned the world with his speech at the United Nations last December, pundits across the political spectrum in Washington were almost unanimous in counseling caution. Rhetoric is fine, they said, but we need to see action. After all, the "massive superiority" of Soviet conventional forces remains the main threat to peace and security.

## Commentary

With the bloom of spring, caution threatens to become paralysis. As details have emerged from the East, all but the most obstinate of politicians and analysts have accepted that the Soviet military reductions will indeed cut deeply into the offensive power of the Warsaw Pact. Yet most U.S. leaders continue to promote the old thinking: more military spending, more nuclear weapons, more outlandish high technology systems to counter the Russian hordes. As for the new NATO-Warsaw Pact negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, well, let's hope that the Soviets keep cutting; we cannot afford to reduce anything.

Such old thinking implies that all is well on the home front. But of course we have our own problems. For one thing, our \$300 billion annual military spending has become a serious economic burden, adding substantially to swollen budget and trade deficits. Diversion of our best scientists and engineers to build weapons means that we compete internationally (against allies whose defense we subsidize heavily) with one hand tied behind our back. We continue to shortchange critical domestic priorities, such as education, environmental cleanup, child-care, healthcare, and affordable housing.

For another, our military strategy itself makes no sense. While the Soviet Union talks sensibly about "reasonable sufficiency," NATO is moving ahead with plans



NATO		Warsaw Pact
1. Belgium	9. Luxembourg	17. Bulgaria
2. Canada	10. Norway	18. Czechoslovakia
3. Denmark	11. Portugal	19. East Germany
4. France	12. Spain	20. Hungary
5. Greece	13. Turkey	21. Poland
6. Holland	14. United Kingdom	22. Rumania
7. Iceland	15. United States	23. Soviet Union
8. Italy	16. West Germany	

for thousands of extravagant, provocative new nuclear and conventional weapon systems to enable Pearl Harbor-type strikes at the outset of any military confrontation. Not only do such plans send the worst political signals about Western intentions to Gorbachev (and to his hard-line opposition), they also aggravate the danger that military "logic" will rapidly overtake clear thinking in a crisis and pull us into a war that nobody wants.

Finally, political tensions within NATO have grown dramatically in the last several years. Public and congressional pressure

in the U.S. to shift the NATO spending burden more onto European shoulders runs directly counter to the diminished sense of threat in Western Europe. Recent polls in West Germany, the militarily strongest member of the alliance besides the U.S., show the lowest level of public commitment to military spending in 25 years. As a result, even conservative political leaders in West Germany are resisting U.S. pressure to approve new nuclear weapons on German soil.

Rather than sit on our hands and hope that Gorbachev continues with his remarkable high wire act, it's time to formulate a new deal for NATO that will reckon with new realities. The "new thinking" in NATO should include at least four main elements:

(1) Tell the truth about the military balance in Europe. After 40 years, the Soviets have finally admitted that they have some significant military advantages. But NATO won't admit, for example, that the much-trumpeted "tank gap" disappears as soon as 30-year-old Soviet tanks (that NATO would have scrapped) are discounted. In fact, NATO has more modern (post-1965) tanks in Central Europe than the Warsaw Pact. NATO also has tremendous advantages in attack aircraft, naval forces, overall technology, combat training and readiness of frontline soldiers, and political reliability of allies. Serious analysts know that the balance is quite adequate to prevent Soviet confi-

dence of successful attack, even prior to the Soviet reductions announced last December. Those cuts, emphasizing precisely the most offensive and threatening Soviet forces (tanks and armored divisions deployed in East Germany), make the Warsaw Pact that much less capable of offensive operations.

(2) Put forward a serious vision of a demilitarized and politically "healed" Europe. The Western alliance, designed and sold to the public as a bulwark against the Stalinist threat from the East, should never become an end in itself. NATO's ultimate political goals must be to end the massive militarization of a divided continent and to promote the social, cultural, and economic integration of Eastern and Western Europe.

(3) Be ambitious about conventional arms control. The current NATO position in the new CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) negotiations calls for both sides to reduce in those particular areas where the Warsaw Pact is far ahead to equal levels just below existing NATO levels. According to NATO estimates, this would require Warsaw Pact-NATO reductions at ratios of 27:1 in tanks, 27:1 in armored personnel carriers, 55:1 in artillery pieces, and 24:1 in troops. Even if the Soviets were to accept such an absurd proposal (which calls for no cuts at all in areas like attack aircraft where NATO is ahead), NATO would get no economic savings. The military situation might improve; the economic problems would worsen. Instead, NATO should propose something like reductions by both sides in a broad range of military categories to equal levels 50 percent below whichever side now has less. Remaining forces should be restructured to create non-threatening postures, as proposed by a growing number of "alternative defense" advocates. This would make the situation far more stable, and enable sizeable economic savings.

(4) Take immediate action to demonstrate that the old thinking is dead. The easiest initiatives would be those that are likely to come about through political and economic pressures anyway, such as a moratorium on new tactical nuclear weapons for NATO and a reduction of U.S. troops based in Europe. Neither step would be risky in terms of military security; if taken quickly, both would send strong signals to keep the demilitarization momentum alive. Two more dramatic but perfectly reasonable initiatives would be the declaration of a nuclear no first use policy for NATO (who really believes we would actually initiate nuclear war in Europe?) and the reorientation of military planning along the lines of nonprovocative, defensive defense.

This 40th anniversary of NATO is the ideal time to announce a new deal for NATO. Unlikely as it may seem that the "new thinking" outlined here will take hold anytime soon, we really have little choice. We simply can't afford the risks and costs of the status quo.

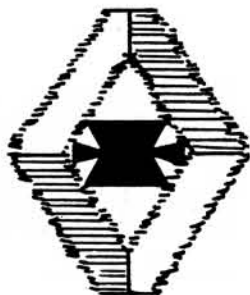
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- Santa Cruz Indian Council** ..... 475-0185  
Box 1443, Soquel, 95073
- Santa Cruz SPCA** ..... 475-6454  
2200 7th Ave., Santa Cruz 95062
- Santa Cruz Westside Community Health Center** ..... 425-5028  
1700 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060
- Santana Chirino Amaya Central American  
Refugee Committee** ..... 426-4467  
509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060
- Save Our Shores (SOS)** ..... 425-1769  
Box 1560, Santa Cruz 95061 Dan Haifley
- Save Soquel** ..... 476-1871  
4453 Fairway Dr., Soquel 95073 Judy Parsons
- Save the Gray Whale Ranch Parklands** ..... 425-1146  
Box 604, Santa Cruz 95061
- School of Spiritual Impeccability** ..... 338-7139  
14197 Hwy 9, Boulder Creek 95018 Kythera Ann
- Senior Citizens Legal Services, Santa Cruz** ..... 426-8824  
343 Church St., Santa Cruz 95060
- Senior Citizens Legal Services, Watsonville** ..... 728-4711  
127 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076
- Seniors Council** ..... 688-0400  
234 Santa Cruz Ave., Aptos 95003
- Sierra Club** ..... 426-4453  
Box 604, Santa Cruz 95061
- Somos Hermanas** ..... 722-5614  
Box 467, Santa Cruz 95061 Marcia Rincon
- The Sun** ..... 429-8033  
118 Union St., Santa Cruz 95060
- Sunray Meditation Society** ..... 726-2444  
309 Cedar St., Suite 41, Santa Cruz 95060
- UCSC Women's Center** ..... 429-2072  
UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064
- Uhuru Solidarity Committee** ..... 458-0802  
Box 2002, Santa Cruz 95063
- Union of North American Women for Peace  
and Justice in Central America (UNA)** ..... 426-3452  
Box 467, Santa Cruz 95061 Martha Duenas
- Union of Peace Professionals (UPP)**  
Box 8463, Santa Cruz 95061
- Unitarian/Universalist Fellowship**  
**Social Action Committee** ..... 684-0506  
6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos 95003 Beth Coats
- United Farmworkers of America** ..... 724-1308  
406 Main St., Watsonville 95076
- VFW Post 5888, Bill Motto** ..... 429-8345  
Box 664, Santa Cruz 95061 Richard Moran
- Volunteer Center of S.C. Co.** ..... 423-0554  
1110 Emeline Ave., Santa Cruz 95060
- Voter Revolt/Yes on 103** ..... 427-3848  
501 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060
- War Tax Resistance Fund** ..... 423-1626  
316 King St., Santa Cruz 95060
- Welfare Parents Support Group** ..... 458-9070  
509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060
- Women Against Rape** ..... 426-7273  
Box 711, Santa Cruz 95061
- Women for International Peace and Arbitration** ..... 427-0278  
106 Comstock Lane, Santa Cruz 95060 Jackie Rochelle
- Women's Crisis Support & Shelter Services** ..... 425-5525  
1025 Center St., Santa Cruz 95060
- Women's Health Center** ..... 427-3500  
250 Locust St., Santa Cruz 95060
- Women's International League for Peace & Freedom  
(WILPF)** ..... 425-7618  
Box 61, Santa Cruz 95063
- YWCA, Santa Cruz** ..... 426-3062  
303 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060



This list was compiled by the Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN) for Lively Connections, an informal network of Santa Cruz County peace, social justice, and community organizations. To update information on the Lively Connections list, or to add your organization, call 458-9425. Mailing labels for this list are available for \$1.00. SCAN has recently published the fifth edition of the *People's Yellow Pages*, which includes all the groups listed above as well as hundreds of other listings of community groups, clubs, non-profits, and governmental agencies. Each listing includes a description of what the group does in both English and Spanish, with information about where the organization is located, their phone number, hours, and bus route they are on. Pick up your PYP at local bookstores and other retail outlets. For more information, call 458-9425.

## Peace & Justice Calendar

All events listed are in Santa Cruz, unless otherwise noted.

Calendar items must be typed, double spaced, and sent (along with any photos) to *The Monthly Planet*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

We must receive your listing no later than **5 p.m. Tuesday, April 25** for inclusion in the May issue (publication date: Thursday, May 4).

### THURSDAY, APRIL 6

**Dr. C. C. Bailey, Cabrillo College instructor, will discuss his new book, "The Aftermath of Chernobyl."** Dr. Bailey will share recent findings about the ongoing effects of the nuclear accident at Chernobyl. Presented by the Social Action Committee of the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship. Program begins at 7 p.m., following a 6 p.m. no-host potluck. Unitarian-

Universalist Fellowship, 6401 Freedom Boulevard, Aptos. Info: 684-1401.

**"War and Peace in the Nuclear Age,"** a new 13-part public television series airing Thursdays (series began Jan. 26) at 9 p.m. on KTEH Channel 54. Info: 437-5454.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization which takes no position on issues and endorses no affiliations. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m. and 9 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street. Info: 947-1606.

### FRIDAY, APRIL 7 -

### SUNDAY, APRIL 16

**"Reclaim the Test Site II" — Grassroots Nonviolent Resistance at the Nevada Test Site.** The American Peace Test is sponsoring a large direct action to protest continued nuclear testing and the need for a comprehensive test ban. Each of the ten days of the action has been given a

designated theme, which will be reflected in workshops and activities culminating in a tax day rally on April 15 entitled "No Taxation for Annihilation." Info for nonviolence preps: Gaia House 426-1062; info for backcountry training: Lockheed Action Collective/Stop First Strike 426-7645; general info on the action: American Peace Test (702) 731-9644.

### SATURDAY, APRIL 8

**"News You Can Use,"** a KKUP (91.5 FM) call-in radio show with host Dan Miller presents updates on peace and social justice issues from the alternative press and has guests and occasionally tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. A tape of the lecture at UCSC by Lloyd Dumas, Economic Professor at University of Texas, will be played. Dumas presents a clear and easily understood description of the root causes of our trade deficit and economic decay. 8-9 a.m. Call-in numbers: 253-6000 and 253-0303.

### RECLAIM THE TEST SITE II planned activities or theme days\*

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| April 7  | Opening Ceremony and Welcome by the Shoshone Elders                    |
| April 8  | Multi-Cultural Day, includes Buddha's Birthday Celebration             |
| April 9  | Radiation Survivors Day  |
| April 10 | Peacemaking Skills Day, including a nonviolence training for trainers  |
| April 11 | People's Empowerment Day   |
| April 12 | War Tax Resistance Day   |
| April 13 | No First Strike Day  |
| April 14 | Youth Day  |
| April 15 | "No Taxation for Annihilation" Rally and Mass Action                   |
| April 16 | Caravan to Yucca Mountain; Interfaith Seder; Shoshone Closing Ceremony |

\* Other workshops will be offered throughout the ten days; contact the APT office in Las Vegas for more information, or if you wish to offer a workshop.



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7 a.m.-2:30 p.m. Tuesday-Sunday  
819 Pacific Ave. 427-0646

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization which takes no position on issues and endorses no affiliations. Free, donation requested. 4 p.m., Cafezinho, 1547B Pacific Avenue. Info: 947-1606.

**Mothersong to perform in children's concert, as part of Planned Parenthood's benefit series of Concerts for Kids.** Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 320 Cedar Street, 11 a.m. Donation \$5 adults, \$3 children. Advance tickets at Planned Parenthood offices in Santa Cruz and Watsonville, Trader Tots, Cotton Tales, Jacoby's Baby News, and Teddy Bear Toys. Info: 425-1551.

**The Guarneri String Quartet, presented by IDRIART** (Institute for the Development of Intercultural Relations through the Arts). Sponsored partially by grants from the City Arts Commission and the Cultural Council of Santa Cruz County. Tickets: \$15 general, \$10 students, available at IDRIART 438-1284, Cymbaline Records 423-3949 and 462-0600, or at the door.

### SUNDAY, APRIL 9

**Wine-Tasting Benefit for the Santa Cruz Lesbian and Gay Community Center.** Hosted by Mardi Wormhoudt, Mayor of Santa Cruz and Gary Patton, Santa Cruz County Supervisor. India Joze Restaurant, 1001 Center Street. \$15 - \$50 donation (\$10 in advance, available by mail). Hors d'oeuvres by India Joze, alcoholic and non-alcoholic wines being served, musical entertainment, and door prizes. Info: 475-6268.

**An Evening with Martha Honey.** Sponsored by the Christic Institute Volunteer Network and the Church and Society Committee of the First Presbyterian Church of Palo Alto. Honey, a U.S. journalist living in Costa Rica, will be discussing the La Penca case, and attempts to derail the suit; obstruction of



justice, drug connections, and subversion of democracy in the name of "National Security"; and her personal role in the massive effort to expose the activities of the "Secret Team." 7:30 p.m., First Presbyterian Church of Palo Alto, 1140 Cowper (at Lincoln). \$8 suggested donation at the door. Info: Christic Institute Volunteer Network (415) 851-5246.

**"Setting a New Course: Admiral Gene La Rocque," a Consider the Alternatives radio program** on KAZU (90.3 FM). La Roque was once a nuclear war planner for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and after 32 years of Naval service, he retired from the military. Along with other retired officers, La Roque established the Center for Defense Information. The Center has emerged as an important Pentagon critic on requests for new weapons systems, on the debate over conventional and nuclear force reductions, on military spending and on our overall defense strategy. 9 - 9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

**MONDAY, APRIL 10**  
**Stephen Schwartz of Greenpeace will speak on the Department of Energy Weapons Production Complex in crisis.** Sponsored by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Free and open to the public. 3:30 - 5:00 p.m., Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC. Info: 429-2833.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 11**  
**Progressive Animal Rights Alliance weekly meeting.** 7:30 p.m., 409 Washington Street (behind Loudon Nelson Community Center). Info: 438-PARA.

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12**  
**Paul Rice will talk on "What difference could a revolution make? After ten years of change, where is Nicaragua Now?"** Sponsored by the Coalition for Nicaragua. Reception before the event to meet with Paul Rice. 303 Walnut (corner of Walnut and Chestnut at the Y building), \$2 at the door. Info: 458-0303.

**Weekly Santa Cruz Town Clock Disarmament Vigil.** Sponsored by Quakers, Nevada Desert Experience and the



*Mothersong will perform Saturday, April 8, 11 a.m. at the Kuumbwa Jazz Center in a benefit for Planned Parenthood. See the calendar listing for details.*

Nuclear Weapons Freeze. 4-5 p.m. Info: 458-9975.

**YWCA Parents Support Group.** Ongoing parents support group is offering sessions on different parenting issues. \$3 per week for YWCA members, \$5 per week non-members. Fee includes childcare. 7-9 p.m. Info and to register: 426-3062.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 13**  
**"War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," a new 13-part public television series** airing Thursdays (series began Jan. 26) at 9 p.m. on KTEH Channel 54. Info: 437-5454.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization which takes no position on issues and endorses no affiliations. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m. and 9 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street. Info: 947-1606.

**Film showing, "On Company Business" (Part 1), and Santa Cruz Christic Action Team Community Resource Center Open House.** 90 minute documentary

about the CIA's philosophy, and the precipitating incidents which caused Philip Agee to leave "The Company" in the mid-70's and later expose its activities. In preparation for Philip Agee's April 17 talk at UCSC. 7:30 p.m., 515 Broadway. Info: 426-5371 or 427-3857.

**"Wargames." Film sponsored by Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy.** Free and open to the public. 8 p.m., Porter D148, UCSC. Info: 429-2833.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 14 - SATURDAY, APRIL 15**  
**"Social Psychology and Large-Scale Democratic Social Change (or: toward greater equality and participation in America)." The Fourth Annual University of California Conference on Applied Social Psychology.** UCSC, Stevenson College. Info: 429-4607.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 15 - SUNDAY, APRIL 16**  
**Northern California Convasser Gathering** sponsored by Denny and Hank. Sam P. Taylor State Park, Madrone Group Camp,

Lagunitas. Info: 423-2808 or (415) 841-6163.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 15**  
**Tax Day Protest to Re-Order National Priorities and Call for Economic Conversion.** 12 - 1:30 p.m. on the Main Santa Cruz Post Office steps. Co-sponsored by the Economic Conversion Educational Project, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Speakers will include: Terry Teitelbaum, Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County; Cruz Gomez, Migrant Media/Abante; Francile Hill, NAACP president; Dan Miller, Lively Connections; Pat Arnold, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Luther Wallace, Rainbow Coalition; and Representative from Labor. (Organizations for identification only). Entertainment will include Aileen Vance, singer and Tom Noddy, Bush Bubble Magic. WILPF will hold a "Schools Not Bombs" bake sale from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Info: 425-7618 or 423-1626.

**"News You Can Use," a KKUP (91.5 FM) call-in radio show** with host Dan Miller presents updates on peace and social justice issues from the alternative press and has guests and occasionally tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. Dan and Pat Miller will present key information from a recent lecture by Werner Fornos of the Population Institute, Washington D.C. on his lecture "Gaining People, Losing Ground." Information from other population studies

*continued on next page*



*Needed: a truck or van to serve as a Chuck-wagon for the Women's Convoy to Central America. I will be leaving this vehicle with a women's community project in Nicaragua. The convoy leaves June 10th and will deliver medical and material aid to women's groups in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua. Please write or call:  
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 Big Sur, CA. 93920  
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with spurring the War on Poverty in the 1960's. This program combines an interview with excerpts from a speech at Temple University, and gives listeners a chance to hear Michael Harrington's ideas at fuller length. 9 - 9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

**L. C. Hebel of the Center for International Security and Arms Control will speak on Controlling and Reducing Nuclear Weapon Materials** after START. Sponsored by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Free and open to the public. 3:30 - 5:00 p.m., Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC. Info: 429-2833.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 25**  
**Progressive Animal Rights Alliance weekly meeting.** 7:30 p.m., 409 Washington Street (behind Loudon Nelson Community Center). Info: 438-PARA.

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26**  
**Weekly Santa Cruz Town Clock Disarmament Vigil.** Sponsored by Quakers, Nevada Desert Experience and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. 4 - 5 p.m. Info: 458-9975.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 27**  
**"The Arms Race, Arms Control and Peace Studies."** Film sponsored by Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Free and open to the public. 8 p.m., Porter D148, UCSC. Info: 429-2833.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization which takes no position on issues and endorses no affiliations. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m. and 9 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street. Info: 947-1606.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 28**  
**Communications and conflict resolution 24-hour training session.** Offered by the Conflict Resolution Program (CRP) of Santa Cruz County. Sliding scale fee with scholarships available. Info and registration: 427-3234.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 29**  
**"News You Can Use,"** a KKUP (91.5 FM) call-in radio show with host Dan Miller presents updates on peace and social justice issues from the alternative press and has guests and occasionally tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. Dr. Sigrid McLaughlin of UCSC will talk about "Women in the Soviet Union." 8 - 9 a.m. Call-in numbers: 253-6000 and 253-0303.

**Linda Arnold, composer and performer of children's music.** Concerts for Kids benefit for Planned Parenthood. Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 320 Cedar Street, 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. Donation \$5, \$3 children. Advance tickets at Planned Parenthood offices in Santa Cruz and Watsonville, Trader Tots, Cotton Tales, Jacoby's Baby News, and Teddy Bear Toys. Info: 425-1551.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization which takes no position on issues and endorses no affiliations. Free, donation requested. 4 p.m., Cafezinho, 1547B Pacific Avenue. Info: 947-1606.

**SUNDAY, APRIL 30**  
**"Dr. Betty Lall on the START Treaty,"** a

**Consider the Alternatives radio program** on KAZU (90.3 FM). A "START" treaty, limiting the long-range nuclear weapons of the superpowers, would change the world — and free up billions of dollars. Veteran arms control expert, Dr. Betty Lall, demystifies START. 9 - 9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

**Resource Center for Nonviolence 1989 Annual Dinner and Program with Thich Nhat Hanh,** Vietnamese Buddhist monk, poet, author, peace worker and human rights activist. First Congregational Church, 900 High Street. Dinner 5:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. Donation \$15 - \$25 (sliding scale). Program only: \$3 - \$5. Childcare available if arranged 24 hours in advance. Info: 423-1626.

**5K/10K Peace Run, a 1989 Peace Day Project event.** "Kick-off" for May, the Month of Peace. West Cliff Drive. Co-sponsored by Santa Cruz City Department of Parks and Recreation; Santa Cruz

County Parks, Open Space and Cultural Services; and Odwalla Juices. Info: 479-8905.

**MONDAY, MAY 1**  
**Perry Robinson of the Science Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex, England, will speak on the Proliferation of Chemical Weapons.** Sponsored by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Free and open to the public. 3:30 - 5:00 p.m., Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC. Info: 429-2833.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 3**  
**Women's International League for Peace and Freedom celebrates Cinco De Mayo,** honoring our Mexican neighbors. Cruz Gomez will speak on the INS and Chicano representation in South County. Trinity Presbyterian Church, Poplar at Melrose. Info: 425-7618.

**THURSDAY, MAY 4**  
**Paulien Geitenbeek, a member of Women for Peace in Holland and a**

**veteran of the 1986 Great Peace March, will speak on "A European Perspective on the Nuclear Arms Race."** Presented by the Unitarian-Universalist Social Action Committee. Paulien Geitenbeek is leading a delegation of Women for Peace to the Nevada Test Site and then conducting a limited speaking tour. 7 p.m., Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship, 6401 Freedom Boulevard, Aptos. Info: 427-3494.

**"Soviet Threat."** Film sponsored by Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Free and open to the public. 8 p.m., Porter D148, UCSC. Info: 429-2833.

**SUNDAY, MAY 7**  
**Dedication of the Community Peace Garden in Hugh DeLacy Memorial Park, County Courthouse.** Co-sponsored by Hugh DeLacy Memorial Committee and Santa Cruz County Parks, Open Space, and Cultural Services. A 1989 Peace Day Project event installed by community volunteers.



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Cable Channel 29 (Scotts Valley Channel 6)

**2**



The channel for kids! There's "Super Sloppy Double Dare," plus, we've got "Looney Tunes" and "Don't Just Sit There" — because Nickelodeon is the place where kids can be themselves!  
Cable Channel 35

**3**



Cable News Network is cable's 24-hour news channel. "PrimeNews" keeps you up on developments; "Moneyline" gives you information you can bank on. Also, see the King of talk shows on Larry King Live, only on CNN.  
Cable Channel 30

**4**



Arts & Entertainment features comedy, drama, documentaries and the performing arts. Enjoy "Nancy Wilson: Live at Carnegie Hall," "A&E's an Evening at the Improv" and the delightful "All Creatures Great and Small."  
Cable Channel 27 (Scotts Valley Channel 29)

**5**



Watch "Santa Cruz Report," which deals with local news issues, or "Sportsline," to get field reports on community, high school, and local professional sporting events.  
Cable Channel 5

**6**



The Learning Channel is Cable TV's premiere educational channel. Watch "State to State: Tax Line '89," where IRS experts answer questions as you prepare your 1988 tax returns.  
Cable Channel 27

**7**



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**8**



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Cable Channel 31

**9**



The Lifetime Network is committed to bringing the quality entertainment and information today's women want to see! Watch "Attitudes," a daily hour-long show featuring today's styles, fashions, women's issues and new trends.  
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USA presents programs for the whole family. Don't miss the USA World Premiere Movie, "The Forgotten" with Stacy Keach and David Carradine. Plus, here you will find exclusive early round coverage of The Masters.  
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**11**



The Nashville Network offers a unique line-up of celebrity interviews, live concerts and the latest entertainment news. Don't miss the encore performance of "Some Enchanted Evening" with Willie Nelson in April.  
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**12**



There's something for everyone in the family on The Family Channel. Watch an hour of romance and intrigue with "Remington Steele" or "Week-end Westerns." Also, kids will love "Kidsworld," the news show for kids.  
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