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Number 7

# THE MONTHLY PLANET



## Who Are the Greens?

CHRISTOPHER PALERMO/MONTHLY PLANET

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c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze  
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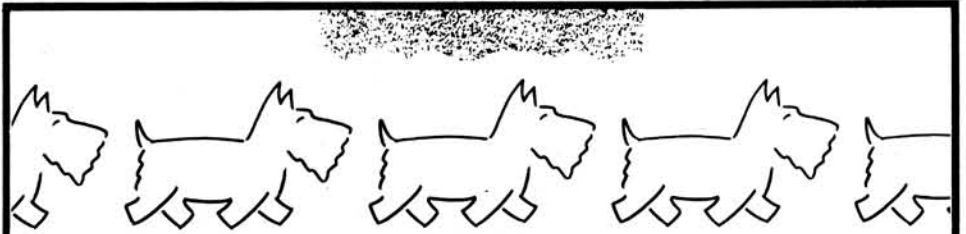
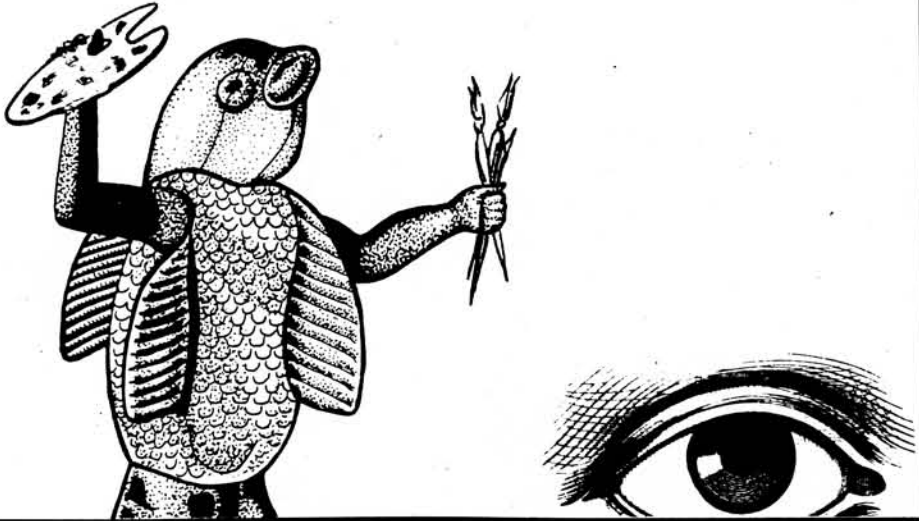
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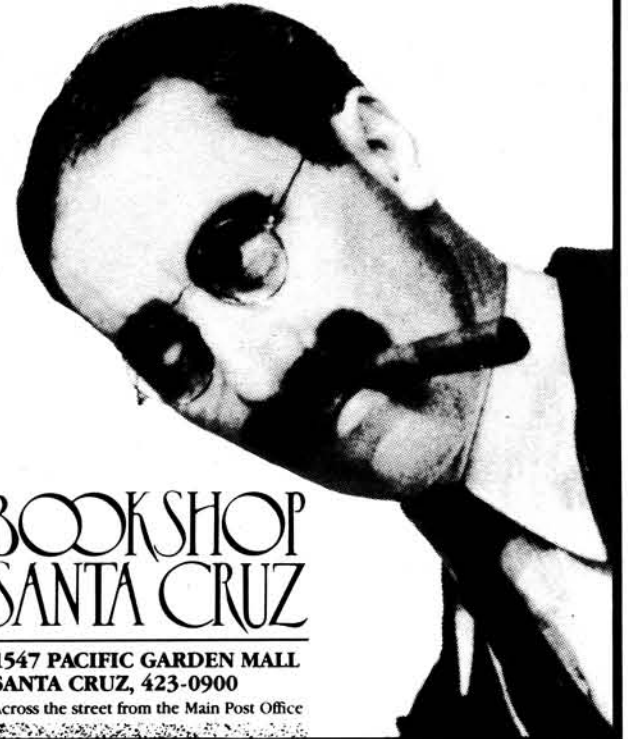
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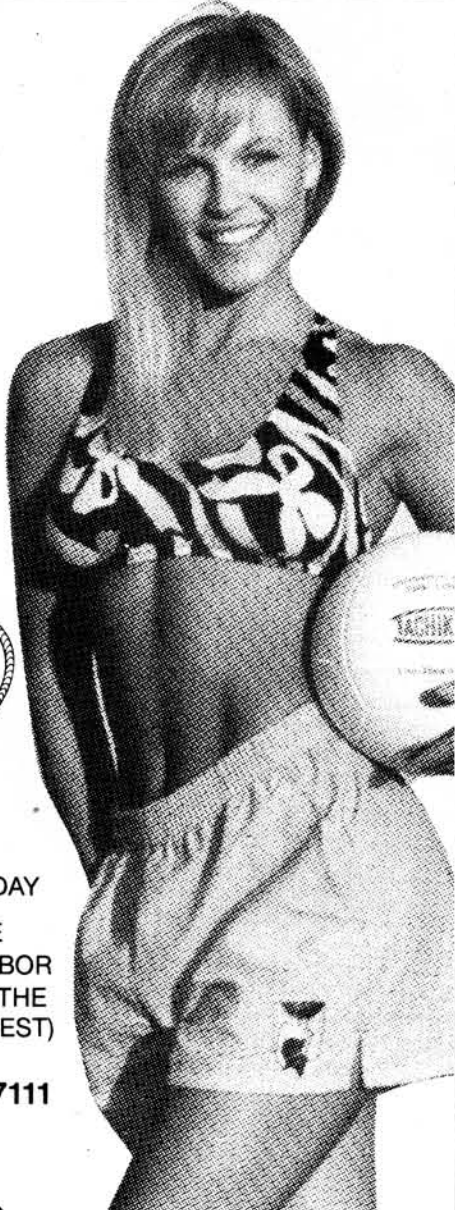


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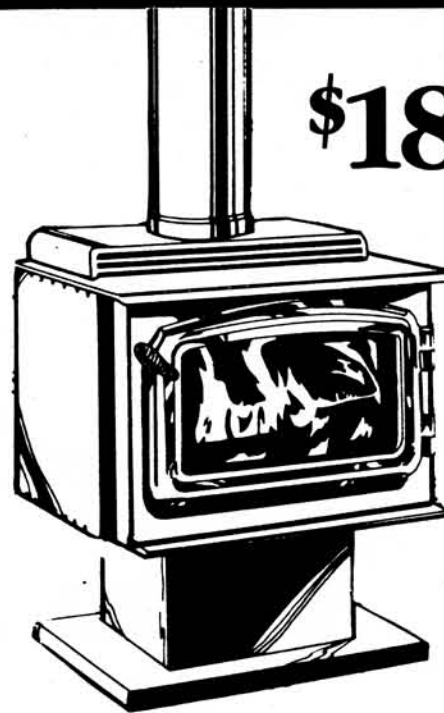
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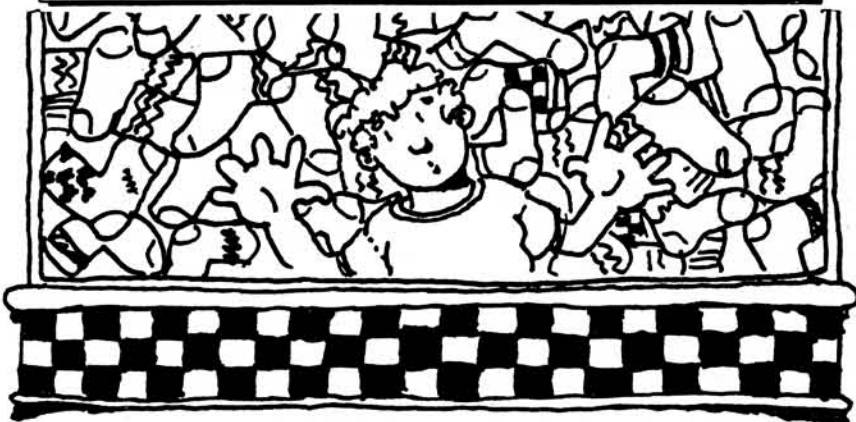


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DAVE EASON/MONTHLY PLANET

### DEADLINES

for the September *Monthly Planet*

#### Publication date:

Thursday, August 31

#### Letters to the editor:

Tuesday, August 22, 5 p.m.

#### Calendar listings:

Tuesday, August 22, 5 p.m.

(no phone calls please)

#### Display ads:

Thursday, August 24, 5 p.m.

(call Risa at 426-3792)

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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.

### Don't Let Crazy Laws Repress Desire to Feed the Poor

Today in Italy the family I'm staying with showed me a newspaper article about Santa Cruz. How wonderful to hear about my small and dear hometown so far away! In the years I've been abroad I've never seen Santa Cruz mentioned in a newspaper, so I was quite surprised. The article, however, was quite disturbing. It was about the arrest of a woman who had fed the poor without a permit. Often when I travel and think of home, Santa Cruz seems like paradise to me, but this article jolted that vision and showed me that Santa Cruz, in its own way, can be as repressive as some other places in the world I've visited.

In a few days I'll go to Berlin where the craziness of man's laws is pitifully apparent. The East Germans are forced to remain within the boundaries of their country. Their basic human desire to go where they choose is restricted. I see a parallel with the law in Santa Cruz which restricts a basic human desire to help the poor. The need for a permit to feed the hungry creates a symbolic wall restricting people's freedom to help each other.

In this part of Italy the favorite saint is Saint Francis, a person who desired a simpler way of life where more care would be given not only to human beings but to animals and nature as well. If he had let permits stop him he would not be a saint today. If we put people in jail for feeding the hungry, we are going backward from the time of St. Francis, not forward.



ELIZABETH WILLIAMS/MONTHLY PLANET

The desire to help the poor and the desire to have the freedom to go where one chooses are age-old human desires. Whether in Berlin or in Santa Cruz, laws that restrict these desires will never be good laws.

Sincerely Yours,  
Chandi J. Wyant  
West Berlin, Germany

### Come to August 6 Peace Day Commemoration

Each year La Selva Beach hosts a Peace Day on August 6 as a community com-

memoration of the lives sacrificed at the dawn of the Atomic Age. Rather than dwelling on the negative, however, our efforts have always been focused on education and inspiration for developing a peaceful world.

Our Peace Day was initiated seven years ago by Sylvia Gerbl, director of the Secret Garden pre-school in La Selva Beach as a result of her meeting Eleanor Coerr, author of the children's story of *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*. Sylvia was so touched by this poignant true story of the hope and courage of a young girl, a survivor of Hiroshima, that she brought this story to her children at school and in the community, and to her friends and neighbors, as well. Each year the celebration has grown! In 1987, as the culmination of a year-long project, 1000 folded cranes were sent as a gift of peace from our community to the people of Hiroshima and were hung at the statue of Sadako for their Peace Day.

This year our celebration takes another step forward as we host a fundraising luncheon for the creation of an animated film of *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes* being produced locally by George Levenson and "Informed Democracy." It is narrated by Liv Ullmann, with music by George Winston and animation by artist Ed Young, noted illustrator of children's books. Thanks to the generous contributions of such area businesses as Crow's Nest Restaurant and Gayle's Rosticceria, our luncheon promises to be truly gourmet, featuring barbecued chicken with plum sauce for \$6.50 and a children's hot dog lunch for \$3.50. Both include salad, corn-on-the-cob, watermelon and beverage. There will be an auction of spectacular desserts and many free activities, as well—music and other entertainment, a peace balloon carrying our messages aloft, crane folding, face-painting, etc.

The day's activities begin with an interfaith worship service at 11 a.m. in the La Selva Beach Community Church to focus on the spiritual aspects of peace. Following the service, and again at 3 p.m., the

sound track of Sadako will be played in the church. The luncheon and other activities will take place in Triangle Park, at the corner of Vista and Playa in "downtown" La Selva Beach. Join us in support of this project and in a celebration of peace.

The story of Sadako has the power to touch the hearts of people of all ages, even those seduced by technology and power, for it translates megatons and casualty figures from cold abstraction into human terms that cannot be denied. For more information about our August 6 "Sunday in the Park" or for reservations for the luncheon, (suggested but not required), please call 688-7790 or 688-0221.

With prayers and hopes for a peaceful world,  
Brian and Ann Miller  
LSB Peace Day Planning Committee  
La Selva Beach

### Worried About Ecology

The news about the ecology of our planet is very disturbing and frightening:

- Holes in the ozone,
- Acid rain,
- Rapid depletion of life-protecting rain forests,
- Air, soil and water pollution,
- Thoughtless depletion of natural resources—oil, coal, etc.
- Thousands of tons of hazardous waste and no safe place to put it.

Clearly, the problem is global and is 99 percent human made. So it should be humans who have to correct it. It has been reported that we, the U.S., are only 6 percent of the world's population, yet we use, abuse and overuse 45 percent of the Earth's resources. Does it not follow that we should assume the major part in at least trying to stop the deadly process and clean up the mess we humans have created?

We could begin by taking a good hard look at our so-called high standard of living. Do we really need the mindless, endless proliferation of cars coming at us like an avalanche? Cars are demanding more and more roads and freeways that end up displacing people while polluting the air.

Do we really need jet planes every hour on the hour for distances of 500 miles or less? Planes spew out fumes of deadly stuff into the atmosphere. Have we as a people become so enamored of and bamboozled by "Brain Wash Gulch"—the advertising industry—that we constantly pursue new gadgets which instantly become "necessities"?

Do we really need—or do we just want—more energy, forcing us to resort to the yet-to-be-proven-safe nuclear power plants. Have we become so thoughtlessly addicted to having everything easy, instant and convenient, even pain remedies?

"The reconstruction of nature could well become the industry of the 21st century" (Saul Landau, *The Monthly Planet*, Jan./Feb. 1989). In the process, this reconstruction could convert billions of jobs that are now producing products that add to the problem to useful constructive jobs that help life.

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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, August 22, 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, Evell G. Rader of Soquel.)

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### Multiple Choice

Who said, "They must be smoking something over there if anybody thinks that we're going to spend \$8 billion in one year on a single weapons system":

- a) Leon Panetta.
- b) Oliver North.
- c) Les Aspin.
- d) Margaret Thatcher.
- e) Col. Noriega.

A former U.S. ambassador once called Robert D'Aubisson (the head of ARENA, the party now in power in El Salvador), a:

- a) renowned environmental activist.
- b) commie bastard.
- c) happy camper.
- d) real nice guy.
- e) pathological killer.

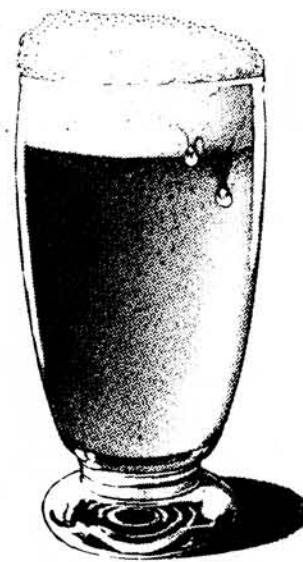
The federal government would like to channel money through the National Endowment for Democracy to:

- a) fund a literacy campaign in Nicaragua.
- b) establish medical clinics in Nicaragua.
- c) purchase textbooks for Nicaraguan schools.
- d) secretly influence Nicaragua's upcoming election.
- e) support free elections in Panama.



### True/False

- \_\_\_\_\_ Oliver North was sentenced to 1200 hours of community service in the war on drugs.
- \_\_\_\_\_ According to the Environmental Policy Institute, at current funding levels it will take hundreds of years to clean up radioactive waste at U.S. weapon facilities.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Greens believe that strong, centralized decision-making is the most effective route to social change.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Dan Quayle chided those who balked at the Stealth bomber's \$70 billion price tag as having a case of "sticker shock."



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## Legislative Update

## Congress Weakens Plutonium Control Act

by Shelly D'Amour

While the maiden voyage of the Stealth bomber grabbed media headlines this past month, an issue of more significant consequence was being discussed by Congress in relative anonymity.

The future direction of U.S. plutonium production and the clean up of radioactive waste from the nation's existing plants was debated as a series of Department of Energy (DOE) funding measures made their way through the House.

The most promising of these, the International Plutonium Control Act (H.R. 2403), was gutted by House leadership. Introduced in the House on May 18, the bill originally called for the United States to enact an immediate, verifiable ban on the production of additional plutonium for nuclear weapons (as long as the Soviets also refrained from production), while the two superpowers worked toward a permanent agreement.

However, after House subcommittees got hold of it, the bill was watered down until it was meaningless. Principally, the binding nature of the bill was changed to a non-binding resolution. In place of the original language which mandated a cutoff of funds for U.S. plutonium and enriched uranium production, the bill now merely suggests that the president propose a bilateral halt to the Soviet Union, and set up a U.S.-U.S.S.R. working group to study the technical aspects of such a ban. The original legislation had over 146 sponsors. The full House approved the bill on July 27 by a vote of 284 to 138.

Senators Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Timothy Wirth (D-OR) have proposed a similar measure (S. 1047) in the Senate, which has not been debated yet. It is not likely to fare as well as the House version.

In a more encouraging move, the Nuclear Facilities Panel of the House Armed Services Committee voted to cut



\$75 million out of the Pentagon's request for \$115 million in construction funds for a Special Isotope Separation (SIS) plant to be built in Idaho. The panel further mandated that the remaining \$40 million could not be used for construction purposes. Also, a subcommittee of House Appropriations passed an identical measure. In the Senate, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) will offer an amendment to the Defense Authorizations Bill to delete all monies for the SIS. The SIS plant would refine plutonium for use in nuclear weapons facilities. It is estimated to cost \$3 billion by the time it is in operation.

All U.S. nuclear weapons reactor plants are currently shut down due to contamination and unsafe conditions. Congress will have to spend tens of billions of dollars for

years to adequately clean and repair them for possible reopening. Even with the plants closed, there is plenty of plutonium available from older, retired weapons. The current situation affords a rare opportunity for the U.S. to work with the Soviet Union to deal a serious blow to the arms race. However, the DOE is more interested in pressing ahead with plans to open new facilities.

The 1990 defense bill contains a \$303 million request toward research, development and construction of two new production reactors—one in Idaho and the other in Savannah River, South Carolina. Attempts to reduce or delete this money failed. The facilities are projected to cost \$7.7 billion when completed.

Cleanup of radioactive waste at the nation's weapons facilities found strong support in Congress, with the House approving over \$700 million for this purpose—an increase of approximately \$400 million over President Bush's request. However, this is still completely inadequate. The Environmental Policy Institute estimates that if the present level of funding for cleanup continues, it will take hundreds of years to clean up the waste produced to-date.

As we go to press, the House completed its deliberations on the fiscal year 1990 Defense Authorizations Bill. The authorizations process sets spending limits on line items within the budget. The House voted 261-162 to approve a \$305 billion military budget for the coming fiscal year, which begins October 1, 1989. In addition to nuclear weapons facilities, the bill also addresses specific weapon systems. The Senate will take up its deliberations in August. As of this writing, this is the information we have:

## Stealth (B-2) Bomber

Following a dramatic and successful first flight and a \$60,000 ad campaign aimed at winning congressional support, the controversial Stealth bomber program survived for another year. Clearly enamored of the technology, but appalled at the price, Congress tentatively threw its



## Contact Your Representatives

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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

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

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



Illustration  
Graphic Design

Brooke Matteson  
338-2072



weight behind the program while instructing the Pentagon to find ways to reduce the cost.

The Senate voted 98-1 on July 25 to proceed with the program. Senate Armed Services Committee chair Sam Nunn (D-GA) and ranking Republican member John Warner (R-VA), both strong supporters of the B-2, drafted a series of conditions that must be met if funding is to continue.

The Stealth is a tailless, boomerang-shaped plane designed to escape radar detection. From its inception, the plane's unusual design has raised concerns about its stability in the air. Equally unusual is the fact that the Pentagon has placed an order with Northrop Corporation, the

than the latest new car on the lot. "It staggers the imagination," countered Rep. Dellums, "what we could do to save the children of America with this money." My favorite though, belongs to House Armed Services chair Les Aspin (D-WI), himself a supporter of the B-2: "They must be smoking something over there if anybody thinks that we're going to spend \$8 billion in one year on a single weapons system." Maybe. And it looks like they've been passing it around.

### MX/Midgetman

In a surprise move, the House voted 224 to 197 on July 26 to cut funding for the MX

*"It staggers the imagination what we could do to save the children of America with this money."  
—Ron Dellums on Stealth funding*

plane's designer and contractor, for Stealth bombers before prototypes have been developed and tested, essentially buying them off the drawing board.

The Senate amendment on Stealth shaves a mere \$470 million off the president's initial \$4.7 billion request, allocating \$4.4 billion for production and testing of three planes in the coming year. The funds will be frozen, however, pending successful completion of the current round of initial testing. Beyond that, the Pentagon may only spend 25 percent of its production funds until all tests have been completed and the plane's ability to evade radar has been proven—a process that could take up to two years. Finally, the Senate stipulated that the Pentagon work up a scaled back version of the program and report to Congress in the new year. The administration and the Pentagon would eventually like to have 132 bombers. At current cost projections of almost \$600 million each, that comes to over \$70 billion for the entire program. The government has already invested \$22 billion in Stealth.

In acting on the administration's request, the House went a good deal further than the Senate. On a 257-160 vote, the House approved \$3.7 billion for fiscal year 1990, and cut production in half by authorizing only four of the eight planes requested. All monies for production will be suspended pending an agreement between Congress and the administration on a revised proposal. Locally, 16th district Representative and House Budget chair Leon Panetta voted for the amendment. Representative Tom Campbell (12th district) voted against it.

An amendment which didn't make it was offered by Reps. Ron Dellums (D-Oakland), John Kasich (R-OH), and John Rowland (R-CT) to eliminate the program completely after the 13 planes currently in production are completed. The amendment lost on a vote of 279-144.

The recent debates in Congress on the B-2 have been colorful. Senator Nunn and, later, Vice President Dan Quayle, chided those who balked at the \$70 billion price tag as having a case of "sticker shock," as though the Stealth were nothing more

program in half, and to delay work on the rail garrison basing mode for another year. The following day the House voted 176-90 to scrap the entire Midgetman program.

The Senate has yet to take any action on the MX or Midgetman. Differences between the two Houses on this issue will be resolved in a House/Senate conference committee. At that time, it is entirely pos-

*continued on next page*

## 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

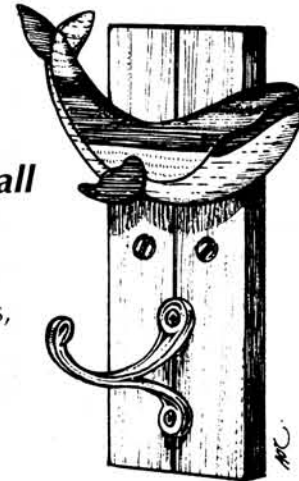
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## Legislative Update

### Congress

*continued from previous page*

sible that some level of funding will be restored to one or both of the systems.

#### Star Wars

The House trimmed \$1.8 billion off the Pentagon's \$4.9 billion funding request for next year. Senate action is pending. The amendment, sponsored by Reps. Charles Bennett (D-FL) and Thomas Ridge (R-PA), garnered a healthy 248-175 majority.

#### Anti-Satellite (ASAT) Weapons

On a voice vote, the House passed a non-binding resolution sponsored by Reps. George Brown (D-CA) and Lawrence Coughlin (R-PA) calling on the president to initiate ASAT negotiations with the Soviet Union. In the Senate, Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) will offer an amendment to cut off funds for ASAT testing as long as the Soviets also refrain from testing. The ASAT moratorium has enjoyed broad support in Congress since 1985.

#### Trident II (D-5)

The House defeated an amendment offered by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) to cut funding for the Trident II missile system. The Senate Armed Services Committee voted to increase President Bush's request for Trident II missiles from \$1.6 billion to \$1.7 billion.

#### Economic Conversion

The Defense Economic Adjustment Act (H.R. 101), sponsored by Rep. Weiss, is still in need of additional sponsors. To date, there is no companion piece in the Senate. The act contains the following provisions:

- It would establish an Alternative Use Committee at each military production site. Comprised of equal representatives of labor and management, the committee would develop a plan for the conversion of their facility for non-military purposes.

- It would require plants to receive a one-year advance notification of cutbacks, in order to implement their alternative use plans.

- It would provide income maintenance funds for employees and economic support funds for communities during the transitional period, with a goal of preventing economic dislocation.

Provisions of this act which are adopted in committee will be attached to the Defense Production Act (H.R.486).

**ACTION:** Contact your local representative and ask him/her to co-sponsor H.R. 101. (Your local SANE/FREEZE office can tell you whether s/he already is a co-sponsor.) If your senator is a member of the Senate Banking Committee, ask him/her to adopt the economic conversion provisions contained in H.R. 101. If you live in California, you should contact Senator Alan Cranston in this regard.

### Foreign Aid

On a 329-69 vote, the House approved a \$14.3 billion foreign aid authorizations measure for fiscal year 1990. Of that amount, \$5.5 billion is earmarked for military assistance worldwide, and \$6.3 billion for direct economic assistance.

The House rejected an amendment aimed at strengthening congressional oversight on U.S. aid to El Salvador. The McHugh amendment would have given Congress the power to review the president's determination on human rights progress in El Salvador, prior to the release of aid. Certification of human rights progress by the president has been little more than rubber stamp formality over the last eight years. In rejecting the McHugh amendment, the House undercut its own ability to monitor whether the conditions it set on foreign aid to El Salvador are being met by the administration.

In a related matter, 43 House members, including 16th district Representative Leon Panetta, have co-sponsored H. Res. 54, to cut off all direct military aid to El Salvador, and withdraw all U.S. military personnel from that country.

### CIA/Nicaragua

As Nicaragua moves toward its national elections next February, the Bush Administration is lobbying Congress for funding for opposition candidates in those elections. The government would like to provide aid in the form of covert assistance, administered through the CIA, and in the form of cash donations funneled through the National Endowment for Democracy, a group with a right-wing agenda that is closely tied to the federal government. The Endowment is registered as a non-profit corporation, and receives most of its funding from the U.S. government. Congress has already sent \$2 million to opposition groups in Nicaragua through the Endowment.

The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence is hammering out the authorizations bill for the CIA for next year. Three members of this committee have sent a letter to committee chair Anthony Beilenson (D-CA) requesting that the bill contain specific language barring CIA interference in Nicaragua's elections. If the committee takes no action on the request, the three representatives will take it before the full House.

Congress approved a \$50 million "humanitarian" aid package to the Contras in April on condition that they cease military attacks against Nicaragua. A July 27 *New York Times* article reported that 58 attacks by the Contras against civilian targets have occurred since April. As they have in the past, the Contras continue to target schools, health centers, cooperatives and hydroelectric plants. In one instance, Contras attacked a baseball game, wounding three and kidnaping 15. The *Times* reported that 83 members of Congress have sent a letter to Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, demanding an investigation into these attacks.

Shelly D'Amour is the legislative editor of *The Monthly Planet*.

## A Closer Look

# The Fallout Formula

by Susan C. Strong

On Hiroshima Day this year we need to think about "fallout" in new ways. The word "fallout" signifies universal damage from which no one, rich or poor, no matter where they live, can possibly escape. That is also the formula for generating maximum political power. We saw its effectiveness in 1963, when fear of general damage to human health succeeded in bringing about an atmospheric nuclear test ban treaty. We saw it again in the freeze movement of the early 1980's, when fear of nuclear war reawakened. Its latest manifestation as a general political formula appears in the new global ecological awareness. We all fear the danger from heat and ozone destruction equally.

But now that the Cold War appears to be over, the American public is not worried about the radioactive fallout of nuclear superpower conflict. It also doesn't seem to worry about the rapid proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout volatile but remote regions of the third and second world. Nor is it paying much attention to the fact that the administration is planning continued plutonium production based on a renewed commitment to deterrence theory. It looks as if we are right back in the late '1970s rejection or denial mood. Either "no one would be stupid enough to use a nuclear bomb" or "I don't want to think about it." We desperately need a new "fallout formula" by which to reawaken the American public once more.

Do we have one yet? Nuclear pollution in the areas surrounding U.S. plutonium producing facilities all over the country is generating high levels of local outrage. The



SOBHAN CAREY/MONTHLY PLANET

health truly have that kind of power? There does seem to be a wide gap here between the public's concerns and the administration's nuclear plans for the future.

If the issue were only domestic, costs and health alone would probably be adequate levers for the political task of shutting off continued plutonium production. But the international nuclear proliferation situation is indeed a grim one. So far, the administration's response is just more of the same old stuff—nuclear standoff. They have 'em, so we'll have 'em. It is estimated that there are now at least nine nuclear nations—Israel, India, Pakistan, South Africa, as well as the old five, the U.S., China, the U.S.S.R., France, and Britain. The first four did not sign the

everything else we have done so far.

Forty nations that have signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 now agree with this kind of political analysis. They are calling for an amendment conference to make the test ban comprehensive. U.S. activists have already registered their support for this move. Now more pressure will be needed to compel the president to comply speedily by calling such a meeting and negotiat-

ing in good faith.

But there is a new vehicle for U.S. grassroots action even closer to hand: the International Plutonium Control Act, H.R. 2403, currently taking the form of an amendment to the fiscal year 1990 Defense Authorizations Bill, introduced May 18, 1989, by Representatives Wyden (OR), Fascal (FL), Tauke (IA). Although H.R. 2403 (and S. 1047 in the Senate) calls only on the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to negotiate a verifiable ban on the production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium ("fissile materials") for nuclear weapons, such a step is also demanded for progress on international nuclear treaties. H.R. 2403, or the Wyden-Fascal Amendment, gives us a perfect opportunity to start educating the public more intensively about today's multilateral nuclear risks and our role in creating them.

The fact is we really do have a "fallout formula" today. Global nuclear proliferation means that we are all, still, truly at risk. But the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have the power, together, to begin leading us out of this planetary danger.

Susan C. Strong represents Northern California on the SANE/FREEZE National Board.

*We desperately need a new "fallout formula" by which to awaken the American public once more.*

costs of clean up promise to be astronomical. Moreover, there is the spectacle of our government's criminal record of management of these plants, the cavalier disregard of workers' health and safety and of the surrounding environment. The expenses and attitudes of such a government certainly have the potential to affect us all.

The power of "economic fallout" may have already been demonstrated in the recent decision by the voters of Sacramento, California to close the troubled Rancho Seco Nuclear Power Plant. After losing one election focussed largely on the danger of nuclear pollution, the anti-nuclear power forces regrouped. The winning second round was based on criticism of the plant's excessive costs.

But does the Rancho Seco case really indicate the potential for a vigorous new level of political activity in regard to nuclear weapons production? Will "economic fallout," the cost of cleaning up after the plutonium plants, combined with anger over government disregard of public

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968 because at the time the five other major nuclear powers had made no progress toward the comprehensive test ban called for by Article VI of that treaty. Now, even signer nations claim they are no longer bound by it, since the superpowers neither stopped testing (with the exception of the 18-month Soviet moratorium) nor did they stop the flow of nuclear weapons material and technology. Additional nations seeking nuclear weapons are North Korea, Brazil, Argentina, Libya, Iran, Iraq and Kuwait.

Clearly, nuclear deterrence policy and arms race psychology are no more sensible ways to deal with this situation than they have been in the case of the Soviets. And this time the risks are infinitely greater. Try multiplying the famous U.S.-U.S.S.R. Cold War by nine or more! The global economic costs and health hazards of mere nuclear preparations alone are just as unacceptable as any of today's ecological threats. We are poised on the brink of a global stupidity that dwarfs

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Cover Theme

# Who Are the Greens? A Report on the North American

by Noel Sturgeon



You're watching the MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour. Coverage of the Exxon oil spill has been followed by rain forest destruction and the greenhouse effect. Upcoming is a piece on funding for the Stealth bomber and an essay on homelessness. Suddenly, you're overwhelmed with despair and anger and you switch off the TV, lean back in your chair, and imagine:

You're living in a small, but culturally diverse community that produces much of its own food, but is connected through bioregional networks to a global economy. This economy is made up of sustainable, diverse, and socially responsible cooperatives that produce a wide array of goods. Your standard of living is simple, but food is plentiful, appropriate technologies widely available and material goods equitably distributed. Food is grown organically and consumption of animals is minimal.

Jobs are easy to get, low-stress, creative, and cooperative; options for part-time work and job-sharing are common. Health care is guaranteed for everyone, including holistic methods. Child care is provided for all children, paid one-year parental leave is available for all parents; and if someone in the family or community is sick, you can get paid leave to take care of them. Families consist of organized groupings of same- or multi-gender adult caretakers of children. Universally available education continues throughout the life cycle. Foods, celebrations, literature, clothing, skills and the art of diverse cultures are part of the web of work, family, and politics at the community level.

Technologies are evaluated on their environmental and social merits, rather than the "purely" scientific. Because there is full employ-

ment, full recycling of "waste," low-cost housing, and cheap alternative energy, you can give work and play equal emphasis in your daily life. Various forms of spirituality and religion are integrated into individual and community concerns. Your community is based in, and responsible to, its local natural environment.

At the same time, bioregional, continental, and global concerns are negotiated by decision-making bodies that equitably empower all citizens. In order to be as democratically decentralist as possible, most economic, political, and social concerns are decided at the community level, with the upper levels primarily involved in coordinating the cross-regional needs of communities, mediating disputes, and maintaining global environmental integrity and universal human rights. There is no militarism or war, given the need for global cooperation to achieve environ-

(or the Southern Willamette Valley of the Pacific Cascadia Bioregion) to work out plans and strategies for reaching this goal of global transformation.

## Meeting in Green Eugene

Part of a process formally initiated in Kansas City in August 1987, the Eugene Gathering was also attended by representatives of international Green organizations from Canada, West Germany, Argentina, Japan, the U.S.S.R., and India, in addition to the many interested U.S. observers. Everyone was given a button identifying them by their name and bioregion. Organized into 22 working groups, attendees spent three days of intensive discussion, debate, and writing to pro-

overview was provided by a daily conference newsletter, *Green Tidings*. The only visible Greens during the day were people in wildly diverse attire, involved in deep conversation in the shade of trees or in the many Eugene coffee shops. In the evenings well-attended forums were held on subjects such as Green Economics and Agriculture, as well as performances of drama, comedy, and music.

But, in a final plenary spanning the last two days, the work of the subgroups took center stage in a large auditorium where Green delegates heard, amended and approved each subgroup report. After the conference, these position papers will return to the local Green groups, to be

*Tatiana Borrissova from Moscow pointed out that "environmental problems can only be solved by international cooperation, which is impossible without peace."*

mental sustainability and social justice for all. Your community considers itself part of an interlocking, dynamic, and fragile biosphere: the Earth.

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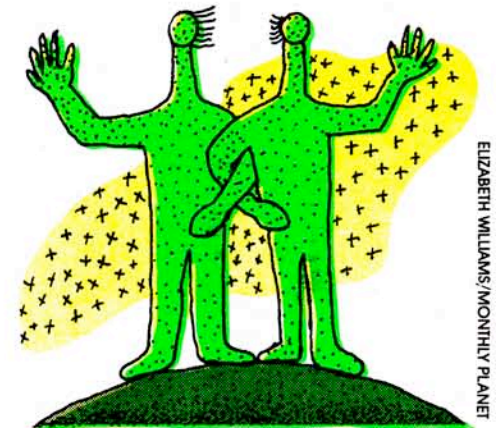


haps, but this is the world the North American Greens would like to see come about. In June delegates from the over 200 U.S. Green groups met in Eugene, Oregon

duce position statements in several "strategy and policy approaches in key areas": energy, forests, life forms, water/air, waste, general economics, finance, land use, politics, social justice, eco-philosophy, spirituality, education, food, health, peace/nonviolence, community, organization, and strategy.

These subgroups met in the morning in various rooms on the pleasantly green University of Oregon campus. Afternoons were left free for "fun and frolic" activities such as field trips to the local hot springs or recycling center. This unusually relaxed schedule for a national conference grew out of the Greens' desire to "maintain a balance between left brain and right brain activities." Yet, most subgroups met in the afternoon anyway to continue working out the fine points of their position papers, or to caucus with other subgroups.

For an observer unattached to a subgroup, the decentralized and intense discussions of the first three days seemed scattered and mostly invisible. Some



ELIZABETH WILLIAMS/MONTHLY PLANET

discussed and further refined, some of them on the computer network, EcoNet. The goal of this lengthy process is to produce a national Green program through the most democratic means possible, which then can be formally ratified by delegates from Green locals at the Greens' next national convention in Boulder, Colorado in the fall of 1990.

## Who Are the Greens?

As the subgroup topics listed above show, the Greens see themselves as far more than an environmental group. It is clear that they think that the problems of the environment are intertwined with problems of poverty, racism, sexism, imperialism, militarism, and a host of other issues. The Eugene Gathering was an attempt to produce agreed-upon

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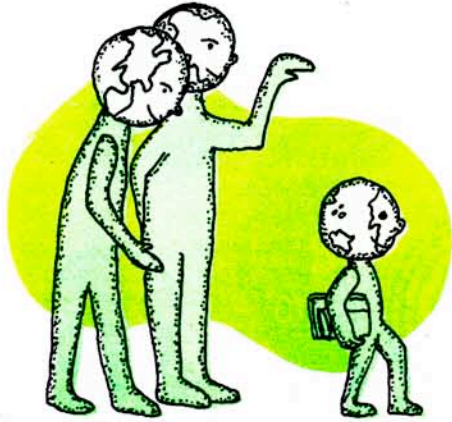
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# American Greens Gathering at Eugene, Oregon



principles and strategies which would allow the Greens to articulate the deadly connections between the environmental disasters which threaten our planet, and the assumptions behind business as usual for most governments presently in power. The position papers and the discussions which led up to them, it was hoped, would provide a plan for action to halt these destructive processes and to begin to build a better world.

To do this, the Greens seemed to favor a dual strategy, both electoral and community-building, both activist and philosophical, both oppositional and prefigurative. Certainly, the local Green groups are involved in a multitude of projects.

In a sampling of regional Green responses to a questionnaire distributed during the conference, local Green activities included direct actions protesting apartheid, rain forest destruction, waste incinerators, fast-food styrofoam use, discrimination against gays and lesbians, toxic contamination of waterways, the massacre of Chinese students at Tiananmen Square, and the exploitation of Native American lands for uranium mining.

Additionally, Green involvement in local and municipal electoral campaigns across the country has had small but significant positive results. Sometimes this means that a local Green group participates in helping a candidate from another party (either the Rainbow Coalition or the Democratic Party) to form their platforms. In a few areas, Greens have run their own candidates for local elections. The

greatest success so far in electoral politics has been in Wisconsin, where three candidates who were members of a Green CoC affiliate (Greens call their local groups "Committees of Correspondence," a name taken from the small local groups formed during the American Revolution) won seats on the Madison City Council, and a Green candidate, Fred Koehn, was elected as a county supervisor of Bayfield County.

Greens across the country are also involved in creating positive alternatives to the problems they are protesting, such as making community organic gardens, developing educational projects on nutrition and how to help prevent global warming, starting recycling programs, creating loan programs for rural development, working in coalition with peace



groups to support Nuclear-Free Zone initiatives, and many other projects.

## Greening the Peace Movement?

Clearly, many Greens consider anti-militarism of primary importance in combating environmental destruction and social injustice. Jeff Land, the conference coordinator, feels that the peace movement and the Greens should become one and the same. "I think there should be a kind of reciprocal effect. The Greens need to become more militant and more political about peace. On the other hand, as someone who has spent the last two years working in the peace movement, I feel that if it doesn't become more Green, it has very little future."

The international Green guests at the Eugene Gathering seemed to agree about the necessity of the peace movements and the Green movements to join forces. Wilhelm Knabe, a Green in the West German Parliament, and Giovanni Merola from Venezuela agreed that the two movements are becoming inseparable in

their countries. And Tatiana Borrissova from Moscow pointed out that "environmental problems can only be solved by international cooperation, which is impossible without peace." In addressing these issues, the subgroup on Peace and

*continued on next page*

## Excerpts from Green Position Statements on Peace and Nonviolence

"Means and ends are inseparable. Nonviolent means are always preferable to violent ones. Green politics challenges direct and structural violence of all kinds: assaults against the integrity of the individual, the family, the bioregion, the nation and the biosphere. The structural violence of poverty is directly linked with the rapacious demands of another kind of violence: militarism, which drains financial and ecological resources [and terrorizes] the peoples of the worlds.

"We in the first world have the most control over the means of violence, and have special responsibility to work to overcome the conditions which promote violence. The power of the nation state derives from patriarchy and militarism . . .

"Greens need to take active responsibility for creating nonviolent structures and alternatives and making them known. Greens must affirm the need for major structural changes to eliminate the sources of violence in modern culture . . .

"Since the U.S. corporate and governmental (and academic) elite perpetuate circumstances which create violent activities and...the model of violent conflict resolution (cold-war mentality) domestically and abroad, we as U.S. citizens have a responsibility to do the following:

"Greens need to address the circumstances in which violence is appropriate (if ever), noting the case of struggles for self-determination and the case of battered women. This discussion should also include all aspects of coercive intervention . . .

"Greens need to define violence to include situations in which people are precluded from access to land, food, meaningful work, justice, and education. Violence must also be defined as age, ethnic, and gender relationships which are institutionalized and oppressive . . .

"Greens must actively work in education and research, to set up counter-institutions and to work with current institutions (such as schools) to promote nonviolence . . .

"Ecology should be the science and philosophy which informs public policy, rather than the military sciences . . .

"We should use the opportunities provided by the current system in order to limit the damage done by that system, but realize that such activity is not transformational . . .

Greens must not be afraid of power. But we need to remember that power over [others] is the agent of violence; power with and within are the means towards a nonviolent society."

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# Cover Theme

## Greens

continued from previous page

Nonviolence was an example of the ways in which the Greens' multi-issue approach was integrated into their position statements.

### To Be or Not to Be a Green Party?

It was clear throughout the conference that different Greens had different ideas

### The Ten Key Values of the North American Greens

1. Ecological wisdom
2. Grassroots democracy
3. Personal and social responsibility
4. Nonviolence
5. Decentralization of power
6. Community-based economics
7. Post-patriarchal values
8. Respect for diversity
9. Global responsibility
10. Future focus and sustainability

of what creating a national program meant for the Greens. One assumption seemed to be that the program would merely serve as a guide for local Green groups. In contrast, some Greens clearly wanted the national program to serve as a party platform for a North American Green party, perhaps one able to run candidates in the 1992 presidential election.

The desire to form a national third party seems to stem partly from the desire of the U.S. Greens to reproduce the successes of such European Green parties as the West German Die Grunen, and more recently, the French and British Greens. Inspired initially in 1984 by the German Greens, the U.S. Greens have tried to emulate them in many ways, while operating within the totally different electoral system, political climate and size of the United States. Expanding from the German Greens' "four pillars" ("ecology, grassroots democracy, nonviolence, and social responsibility"), the U.S. Greens developed "ten key values" similarly embracing anti-militarism, ecology, participatory democracy, feminism, and anti-

corporate politics. Since 1984, new Green Committees of Correspondence have been steadily appearing, and are presently active in every major region of the U.S.

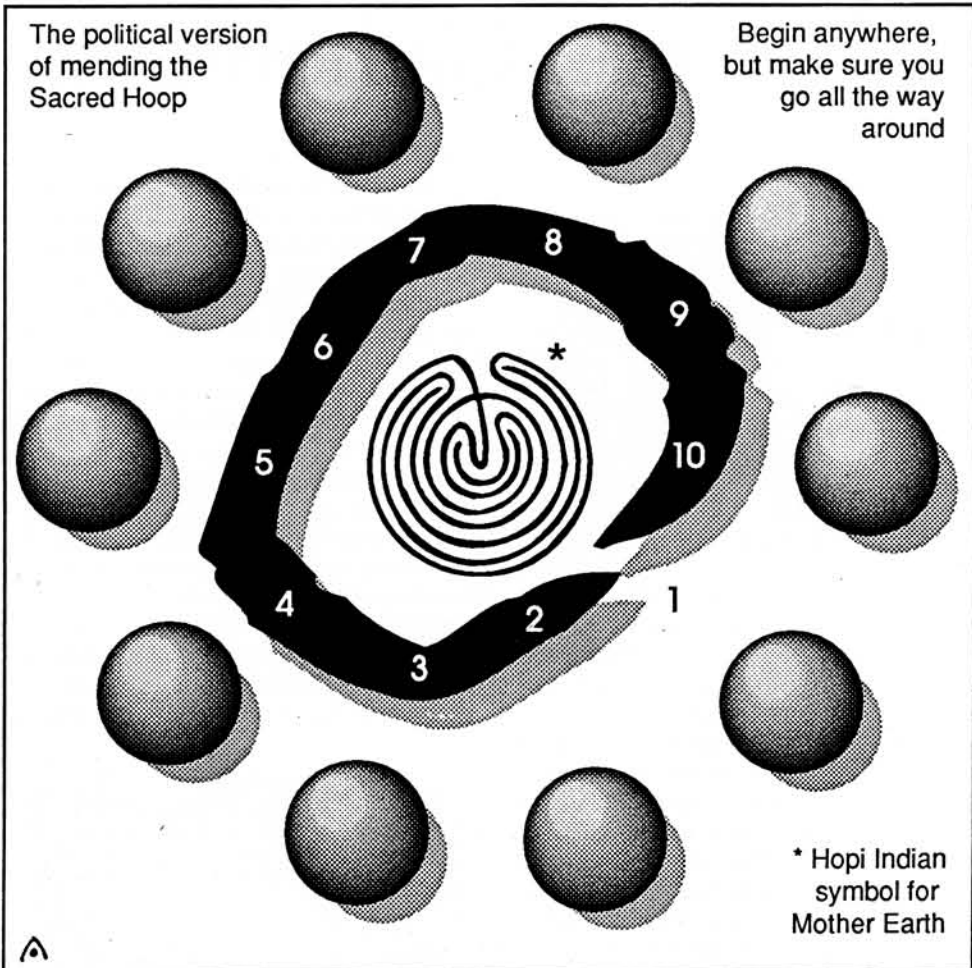
Yet the U.S. Greens face significant barriers to achieving third-party status, primarily because, unlike almost all other Western democracies, the U.S. does not have a proportional electoral system. Third parties in the U.S. face tremendous financial, technical and legal hurdles in order to compete with the Democratic and Republican parties. This means that dissenting voices cannot directly participate in policy-making, but must be routed through the "moderating" influence of one of the two major parties.

Besides the technical difficulties, some Greens were wary of the internal toll taken on grassroots groups when they attempt to take part in national electoral politics. In its final statement to the plenary in Eugene, the Politics subgroup expressed concern that trying to field a national candidate before establishing a widespread, solid foundation of local Green groups and a series of electoral successes at the local and municipal level (and then perhaps state level) would strain the scarce resources of the Greens and their commitment to democratic decentralization. Citing Barry Commoner's failed 1980 campaign for the presidency, the Politics subgroup concluded that "lone candidates or skeletal parties risk marginalization, dilution of identity and cooptation... [for] these reasons, we cannot sanction at this time the establishment of a national Green electoral party." This

*The U.S. Greens face significant barriers to achieving third-party status, primarily because, unlike almost all other Western democracies, the U.S. does not have a proportional electoral system.*

statement, while clearly a disappointment to some Greens, was accepted during Sunday's plenary by all the delegates.

Yet, while rejecting major involvement in national elections at this time, the Greens still believe it is important to engage in electoral politics in their communities. The Politics, Strategy, and Organizing subgroups all spent a major



part of their position papers dealing with various local electoral strategies and ways to ensure the accountability of Green candidates to their grassroots. And there was lively discussion within several groups about the Greens' relation to the Rainbow Coalition. The Strategy subgroup sug-

Sixties" just before the plenary, UCSC professor Barbara Epstein cautioned the Greens not to be afraid of taking the time to theorize and to carefully analyze the causes of contemporary problems before forming strategies. During the Gathering, it certainly seemed as though the Greens were taking her advice, as subgroups slowly worked through their assigned problem areas in detail.

On the one hand, the interests of the Greens seemed so ambitious as to border on the utopian, giving their policy statements something of an abstract, moralizing tone. On the other hand, the statements clearly served as a form of internal education — for example, the statements analyzed the relationship between good education and eliminating racism, between community-based economics and preventing deforestation, and between the abuse of animals in factory farming and global food shortages. Several lively internal debates also seemed to serve as opportunities for the

gested the Greens think of themselves as "rainbow Greens with a small 'r,'" and stressed the importance of Green electoral and non-electoral coalitions with activists of color.

### From Eco-philosophy to Eco-action?

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Greens to learn from the diversity of views present, as they were carried on with remarkable tolerance, humor, and mutual respect. Caucuses such as the Eco-feminists, Left Green Network, Youth Greens, and Native Americans ensured that questions concerning sexism, anti-capitalism, heterosexism, and racism were given equal weight to environmental concerns.

As the position papers and statements followed one after the other during the last two plenary days, waves of exhaustion and excitement seemed to buffet the assembly. After five days of continuous meetings, discussions, and revisions, the exhaustion was palpable. But the excitement was also undeniable, as everyone listened to the many concrete proposals for attaining Utopia, and the descriptions of the severity of the problems which we, as a global community, face. With the potential to harness the outrage of millions at the environmental destruction we are experiencing, the Greens hope that their hard work will provide the foundation for a new kind of politics of peace, justice, diversity, and ecological harmony.

For more information on the Greens in Santa Cruz, contact the Santa Cruz Green Alliance, P.O. Box 7011, Santa Cruz, CA 95061 or the Green City Program, P.O. Box 906, Capitola, CA 95010, 479-0702.

Noel Sturgeon is an activist in and student of the anti-militarist direct action movement. For their assistance on this article, she thanks Ilene Rose, Elizabeth Bird, and T.V. Reed.

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## Feature

# The Salvador Bind

by Saul Landau

The administration is initiating its yearly El Salvador aid ritual with Congress, requesting some \$360 million for the Salvadoran military and to prop up its economy. Instead of a clear and imaginative proposal to help bring peace, stability and sane development to this war-ravaged nation the State Department inspires members to think of Yogi Berra: "It's deja vu all over again." The purveyors of the aid request will try to convince Congress to spend—or else. It's time that we consider "or else" as the better alternative.

Look at what \$3.5 billion in U.S. aid brought to El Salvador. The economy is ruined, the ecology is in a state of disaster, the fabric of society has been torn apart. Yet, the administration pleads for more money to carry out more of the same policies that have not only failed but brought about gross violations of human rights. In

Duarte, however, could not fulfill his promises: settle the war, revive the economy or rationalize a land reform program. Instead, his administration was beset by corruption and incompetence, in part because U.S. advisors handled affairs that Salvadorans should have assumed.

Since the elections some of the murder tactics that characterized the early 1980s are being used again. Corpses of slain labor leaders, and members of a refugee support group and a human rights group were discovered with the familiar death squad patterns recurring: a public warning, followed by "professional" assassination. The unpunished perpetrators of murder in the early 1980's have set an example for the new death squads. In 1989, however, these killers enjoy not only a cloak of immunity but of legitimacy inside the ARENA Party.

Using his electoral victory as leverage,

guerrillas and winning over the population through reform. The policy dogma then was that Soviet subversion strategically threatened our traditional U.S. sphere.

Almost ten years later Secretary of State James Baker repeats the same stale credo, citing Marxist-Leninist threats and Soviet aggression in "our back yard." This does not correspond to reality, given Soviet President Gorbachev's and Cuban President Castro's declarations at the March Havana meeting. Both declared their lack of strategic or economic interest in the region, their insistence that revolution could not and should not be exported and their willingness to abide by the five nation accords to achieve a political settlement. When Gorbachev made clear that even should the guerrillas triumph in El Salvador the Soviets would send little more than a congratulatory telegram, the foundation of U.S. policy there became shaky. At least Secretary Baker could indicate that the Soviet and Cuban assertion offers the basis for new U.S. policy guidelines. Instead, he behaves as if all were the same as ten years ago.

The Salvadoran guerrillas, the FMLN, have also changed over the course of the war, partly because their leaders realize that without Soviet backing a victory could not be sustained. They have recently renounced terrorist actions and declared that henceforth they will not assassinate government officials or mine civilian roadways. They have moderated their political demands and foregone power sharing as a principle. Indeed, there could be serious peace negotiations, especially if Congress made it a condition of any future aid.

The past aid has yielded unpleasant consequences: some 80,000 Salvadorans have died, more than one million refugees have fled, most of them now located inside or seeking to enter the United States. Refugee camps in neighboring countries continue to swell. When the U.S. began its aid program El Salvador had 17,000 troops and police; now it has some 50,000. The country has a formidable air force that, when the war finally ends, will have no function except to terrify its neighbors.

It is time to own up to failure and not invest more into the same formula in El



DIANE RIGOLI/MONTHLY PLANET

*The administration pleads for more money to carry out more of the same policies that have not only failed but brought about gross violations of human rights.*

the early 1980's military and police personnel unofficially killed three U.S. Catholic nuns and a lay sister, those political opponents who did not flee or join the guerrillas, (some of whose corpses were discovered in mass graves), and the Archbishop of San Salvador. America's Watch estimates that some 50,000 civilians have been killed during the course of the nine-year-old war, the vast majority by the armed forces and death squads. A former U.S. Ambassador identified the assassins as members of right-wing death squads, led by a cashiered officer, Robert D'Aubisson, whom he labeled a pathological killer. D'Aubisson, is also founder and president for life of ARENA, the right-wing political party that won political power in the March elections.

U.S. policy makers envisioned the ballot as the way to erect the ongoing dominance of the political center, personified by former President Jose Napoleon Duarte.

incoming Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani of ARENA appeals to the U.S. government for more aid and less interference in the way military leaders carry on their campaign against the guerrillas. Some members of the Salvadoran military want to wage all out war, which could mean the renewal of death squads as instruments to intimidate non-combatant sympathizers or suspected supporters of the left.

Instead of re-evaluating a stale policy, the Bush Administration simply asks Congress for more money, as if nothing serious had changed in the Salvador formula. Congress would do well to recall the origins and premises of the U.S. operation in El Salvador. In late 1979, President Carter, fearing a radical revolution in El Salvador, a la Nicaragua, began military aid to El Salvador on the assumption that a reformist officer group would be able to finesse revolution by both stopping the

Salvador. As world and regional power arrangements have changed, U.S. policy toward El Salvador has remained fixed. Central American presidents have offered a salubrious exit to the apparent dilemma, but it would require a change in the axioms of policy. For almost a century the U.S. has treated Central America as "our back yard." Over the past decade, however, there has been no consensus for the continued and costly intervention in Central America. Congress can help the administration by suggesting that it explore other ways to achieve our national interest in the region.

Saul Landau is a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC.

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Feature

# Fighting the Drug War, Ollie-Style

by Ken Kulak

When sentencing former White House aide Oliver North on July 5, Judge Gesell declared that jail would only harden the constitutional "misconceptions" which led North and his "cynical superiors" to lie to Congress, raise money for the Contras by selling arms to Iran, and then cover up their misdeeds by shredding and altering government documents. Judge Gesell ruled that North, unlike key figures in the Watergate scandal, could avoid prison by performing 1200 hours of community service in the war on drugs.

The Contra supply network's involvement in drug trafficking is a jarring reality that many in Washington refuse to accept. Confronting Reagan Administration complicity in drug trafficking would blow the lid off a scandal that has been contained with made-for-TV congressional hearings and prosecutions in which key charges are dropped because of Bush Administration claims of "national security."

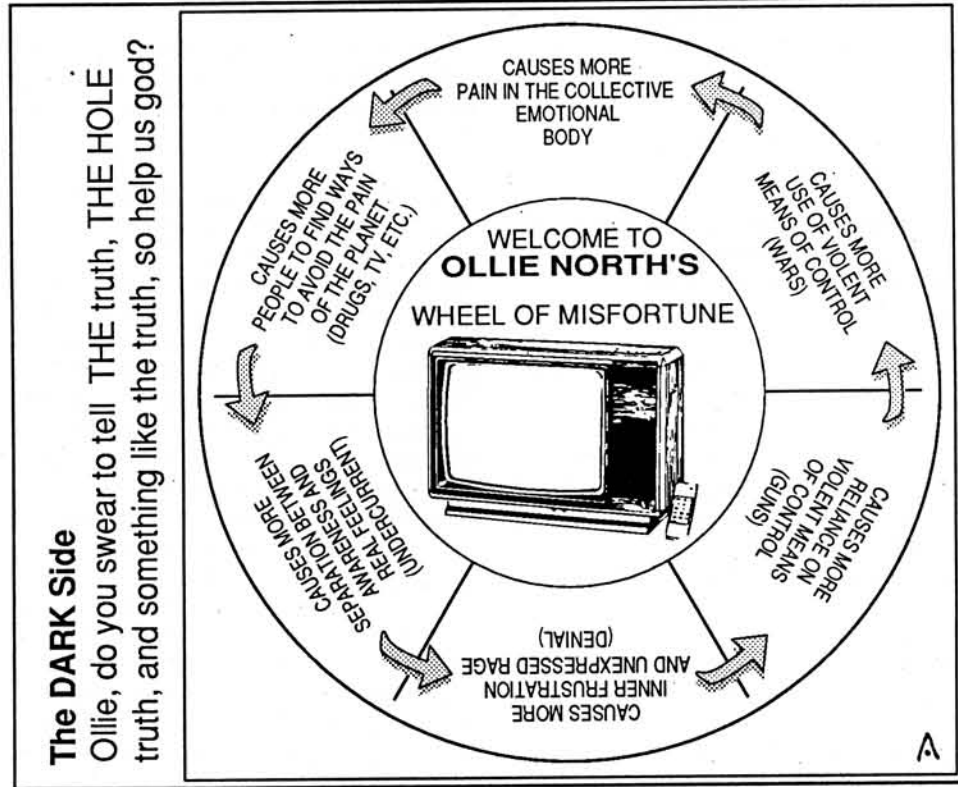
It is not difficult to find evidence supporting a truth that, if more widely known, would stun a nation that recent polls show is more concerned about fighting the drug war than any other issue.

On April 13, while Oliver North testified in Gesell's courtroom, the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Narcotics, Terrorism, and International Operations published a 1196-page report on "Drugs, Law Enforcement, and U.S. Foreign Policy." After summarizing the threats posed by the drug crisis and the cocaine cartels, the subcommittee report describes ways in which efforts by the Drug Enforcement Agency in South America, the Caribbean, Central America, and the United States were often stymied by other U.S. agencies—for reasons of national security.

In a chapter entitled "Narcotics Traffickers and the Contras," the report reviews congressional investigations and bluntly states: "On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that individuals who provided support for the Contras were involved in drug trafficking, the supply network of the Contras was used by drug trafficking organizations, and elements of the Contras themselves knowingly received financial and material assistance from drug traffickers. In each case, one or another agency of the U.S. government had information regarding the involvement either while it was occurring, or immediately thereafter."

According to the report, available from the office of every senator: "The logic of having drug money pay for the pressing needs of the Contras appealed to a number of people who became involved in the covert war. Indeed, senior U.S. policy makers were not immune to the idea that drug money was a perfect solution to the Contras' funding problems."

Oliver North was one of those senior U.S. policy makers. In fact, the Senate report has an entire section on "Narcotics and the North Notebooks." North took notes of his many meetings and phone calls, and 543 of 2,848 pages contain ref-



erences to drugs and drug trafficking. The Iran-Contra committees let North censor the pages he released to congressional investigators, and he still refuses to turn over his uncensored notebooks to Congress—but what has already been released is damning. Two examples:

- July 12, 1985—" \$14 million to finance [Contra arms] came from drugs."
- August 9, 1985—" DC-6 which is being used for runs out of New Orleans is probably being used for drug runs into U.S."

Memos to North from his courier, Rob Owen, repeatedly described the involvement of Contras in drug trafficking, yet there is no evidence North did anything to stop it.

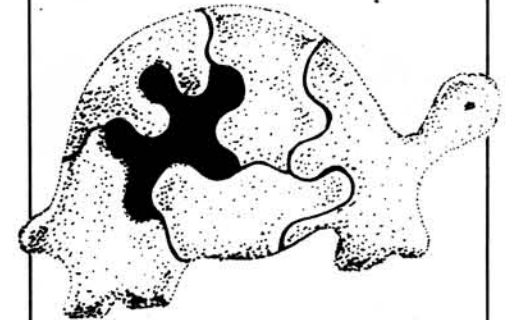
The Contra-drug connection was described by the Christic Institute when it filed a civil lawsuit against Richard Secord, Albert Hakim, Rob Owen, and 26 other members of the secret Contra resupply network in May 1986—six months before the Iran-Contra scandal broke. Now the

Senate has confirmed many of those early allegations, but even its investigators couldn't get all their questions answered. To this day, the Senate can't figure out why the State Department gave more than \$200,000 in Contra "humanitarian aid" to a shrimp importing company under investigation for drug trafficking by the DEA.

Just like the rest of the Iran-Contra scandal, a lot of people in Washington would like to see the links between drugs and foreign policy just fade back into the shadows. But unless we examine how and why our government has allowed cocaine into this country, and ensure that all those responsible are brought to trial, then the Administration's war on drugs will become a cruel joke—and cocaine will continue to destroy our communities.

Ken Kulak is the associate outreach director of the Christic Institute, a law firm and public policy center in Washington, DC.

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## Feature

# Rev. Daniel Buford: "Militarism Is Applied Racism"

interview by Steve Homer

Rev. Daniel Buford is the Executive Director of the Ecumenical Peace Institute in Berkeley and associate pastor of a Baptist Church in Oakland. He was in Santa Cruz on June 27 to participate in a panel discussion on "Militarism and Racism" at the Resource Center for Non-violence. Shortly before his talk, Steve Homer interviewed Rev. Buford for The Monthly Planet.

**Monthly Planet: Your talk tonight will be on militarism and racism. Could you start out by defining these terms?**

Daniel Buford: Militarism is actually applied racism. Looking at the countries that have been militaristic in the 20th

## Interview

century, all of them have used their military against a particular racial group of people, and they have used propaganda to justify the use of that hardware against those people. I'll be dealing with militarism from the standpoint of racism in U.S. foreign policy goals, and how the military buildup is by and large justified from a

perceived threat from third world countries—countries of people of color.

In terms of racism, the working definition that I usually deal with is racial prejudice plus power.

**MP: Are militarism and racism separate problems? Could we abolish one without abolishing the other?**

DB: No, because in the U.S. the way that racism is expressed has been through militaristic means. I see them as interconnected. If you look at the so-called "enemies" of the U.S. and see what the racial composition of those enemies is, you would see an amazing thing. Even though the Soviet Union has been defined as the enemy, when you look at who has died as a result of military conflict with the U.S., you see that it's overwhelmingly people of color.

Take for instance the saturation bombing of Korea, and the same thing with Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. It's the Asians that have been victimized most by U.S. military aggression. Also people in Africa, like in Angola for instance, and in some of the wars the U.S. has promoted there without really telling the public

about them. Many of these wars tend to be wars of attrition, surrogate wars to depopulate the areas of the people who are there.

**MP: How does militarism hurt people of color, particularly soldiers?**

DB: The way it hurts soldiers is that the prime U.S. forces that are on the battlefields are people of color. Most of the people going into the service are going in because of high unemployment and lack of opportunities in higher education. You find people of color—African-Americans, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans—joining in high numbers. What happens is, when these forces get deployed in Grenada or Panama or Beirut, they are the forces that tend to get killed quicker than other people. They don't have higher training, so of course they are put in the battlefield position of a grunt, carrying a weapon.

Of course, militarism has hurt these soldiers even before they joined the military. Militarization has hit the civilian sector with cutbacks in social service programs. The fact that senior citizens are not able to get the kind of housing or medical attention they were once able to get, or the fact that young people can't get into educational programs even prior to college—these things are a manifestation of a militaristic society where the budgetary priorities have shifted to military applications from civilian applications.

**MP: In what ways can groups who focus on militarism make sure their work also helps end racism?**

DB: I'm thinking now of people of African descent being pushed into the infantry. We often look at weapons stockpiling as if that was an immoral thing, but do not realize that when you train someone to kill, after they come back into society, that training never leaves. They become a walking time bomb after they've been conditioned in that way. There's a lot of residual violence in many veterans that I've talked to—violence that becomes manifested in the way they treat their mate (if it's a man, beating his wife or children) or in the way he begins to act out his anger because he's been trained to actualize his anger in the form of actually killing someone. Then you add to this the fact that this person may be unemployed, or has experienced job discrimination. This allows them to become a walking time bomb. But many groups that focus on weapons stockpiling don't seem to notice these consequences of militarism.

**MP: There seem to be very few really multi-racial, anti-militarist organizations. Why aren't there more?**

DB: First of all, there are many white peace movement people who have limited their concept of what the peace movement actually is, and have not included within their definition of peace the justice dimension, and so have not

included the movements for human rights and civil rights and so forth. Also, white peace movement organizations tend to want to focus on a single issue. When people of color are invited in to work with them and they bring a multiplicity of issues, they are told that "We only deal with the nuclear freeze" or "We only deal with the environment." Yet the Black or Chicano or Native American communities experience a multiplicity of problems simultaneously. Our organizations tend to deal with a number of issues.

Another problem has to do with a lack of understanding regarding the barrier of racism and cultural differences. Many people in the white peace movement don't understand that they cannot just invite people of color in until they come to an understanding of racism within their own organizational structures and their own cultural ways of working together. Until those things are understood, there will always be a lot of difficulty. Another part of this problem is that racism is not seen as an important part of the peace movement agenda by white people. But for African-Americans, Chicanos, and Asian Americans, racism would be a high priority in terms of looking at peace issues.

I think many peace groups want to answer the composition question but not deal with the question of intent. You have to look at how groups who say they're concerned about racism actualize that concern.

**MP: I've worked in a lot of all-white peace groups, and I've heard many people say that organizations like this are necessarily racist. Do you think this is the case? Is there a role for white peace groups in the fight against racism?**

DB: I think that white peace organizations need to seriously look at racism within Euro-American culture, because the people doing the effective grassroots community organizing are the racists. This is the same constituency that can really revitalize the white peace movement. Look at the skinheads, and the KKK and the Nazis: they're reaching out to the alienated and disenfranchised segments of the white community. They're reaching out with poison, but they are reaching out. I think the white peace movement has indulged in the luxury of writing off whole segments of the white community, and would rather go into a black or Native American community to do organizing. They have to start in their own backyard.

**MP: Aside from nodding our heads up and down and saying we want more people of color to join our organizations, what can white peace activists do to promote multi-racial organizing?**

DB: Take for instance people that call themselves community organizers. Many people call themselves organizers without a sense of participating in the life of a

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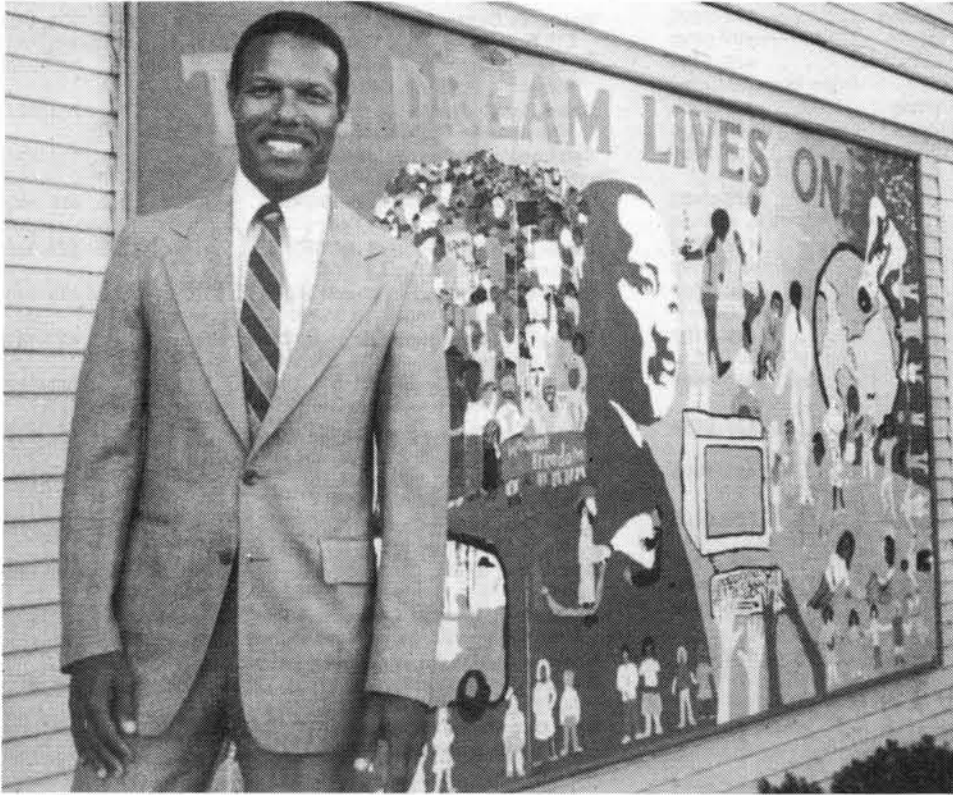
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Rev. Daniel Buford in front of the Resource Center for Nonviolence.

community. Without this sense those people don't have a sense of accountability to the community. They speak in a unilateral manner rather than with the concerns of the people they are a part of. The first step is to ask, What is the community and what are its concerns? particularly regarding human rights and racial justice types of things.

Let me give you an example. I just came from Eugene, Oregon, where I was participating in a conference given by environmentalists. I think that many of them, although they would like to see more people of color participate in what they do, only see that as an afterthought. "Oh, yeah, we've got to invite them." I think white organizers don't understand that there are cultural differences and that organizing cannot happen apart from participating in the culture you seek to organize. If they don't understand African-American culture or Native American culture or Chicano culture, then they won't be able to attract people from those communities to their agenda.

I think the white groups that are serious about these things ought to get training on undoing racism and ought to get training

in becoming better social scientists. There has to be an examination of cultural differences. Rather than dealing with racism, they want to talk about prejudice reduction. But the fact is that racism is the barrier that keeps these groups from doing the next step. Talking about racism makes people feel uncomfortable, but until people look at these things in a more realistic manner, they haven't grasped what racism is and how to undo it in their lives and their organizations.

I think that people need to not only unlearn racism, because it's manifested in the way we treat one another, but that we have to take the next step and take responsibility to undo racism in the social apparatus and the social relationships that are prevalent in the cities and communities. We've got to unlearn racism on the interpersonal level and then take responsibility for an apparatus that has been set up to preserve skin privilege. Rather than being a privilege for white skin, good jobs and good housing ought to be a right. I don't think that many people in white peace groups understand the idea of white skin privilege and the part it plays in their silence regarding racism.

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# 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, August 22** for inclusion in the September issue (publication date: Thursday, August 31).

## SATURDAY, JULY 29- SUNDAY, AUGUST 20

**America's Connections — A North/South Exchange.** National chapters of Servicio Paz y Justicia invite North American non-violent movement activists to visit Latin America, learn about their struggles, exchange experiences, and build future collaboration. Sponsored by The Fellowship of Reconciliation Task Force on Latin America and the Caribbean and the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Info: 423-1626.

## THURSDAY, AUGUST 3

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street; 9 p.m., Cafe Camelion, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

## FRIDAY, AUGUST 4-

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9

**"The Bomb: Political and Moral Fallout" will be the theme of the Nevada Desert Experience annual commemoration of Hiroshima/Nagasaki.** Memorial services and civil resistance actions calling for a comprehensive test ban treaty will be held on Sunday and Wednesday, August 6 and 9, at the test site. Co-sponsored by Nevada Desert Experience and Pace e Bene, a Franciscan nonviolence center. On the same weekend, a group calling itself the "Nevada Movement" in the U.S.S.R. will be protesting at the Soviet test site in Kazakstan. Info: (702) 646-4814.

## FRIDAY, AUGUST 4

**1989 Soviet/American Peace Child Camp and Production**—Party at the boardwalk/beach with the Santa Cruz Peace Child Chorus. Time to be announced. Info: 426-1411.



The 1989 Santa Cruz Peace Child Chorus. "Peace Child: the Environment" will be produced at the Cabrillo College Theater on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, August 18-20. See the calendar listing for more information.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 5

**"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 and occasionally airs tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. The reasons why the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be described in detail. 8-9 a.m. Call-in numbers: 253-6000 and 253-0303.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 4 p.m., Cafezinho, 1547B Pacific Avenue. Info: 947-1606.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 5-

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 12

**Skills For Change: Youth Leadership for Peace and Justice.** A national program designed to bring together young leaders to share experiences, gain organizing and leadership skills, and to become empowered to work for justice and peace in their schools and communities. \$200 lodging and advance registration. Participants will

also be expected to bring an additional \$125 to the program to cover special events, meals out and local transportation. Info: Jo Becker, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960, (914) 358-4601.

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 6

**7th Annual La Selva Beach Peace Day Sunday in the Park.** A fund-raiser for the Sadako Project, supporting the creation of the animated film, *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*, the poignant true story of the girl who has become a symbol for our need to achieve a peaceful world. Food, music, entertainment. Triangle Park, La Selva Beach. Begins at 11 a.m. Info or reservations for the barbecue luncheon: 688-7790 or 688-0221. (Reservations suggested, but not required).

**"Beyond the Cold War: Citizen Initiatives and U.S.-Soviet Understanding," Part Two: "The Russians are Coming," a Consider the Alternatives radio program** on KAZU (90.3 FM). Part two of five-part series (re-broadcast). Reflecting the rich diversity of people-to-people contacts developed over the last decade, this program samples a range of Soviet-American

exchange, with analysis of the meaning and impact of such efforts. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 6- MONDAY, AUGUST 7

**Hiroshima/Nagasaki 1989 — Sunday, Rally at Livermore; Monday, Nonviolent Direct Action** at Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab. Co-sponsored by Bay Area Peace Test, Tri-Valley Cares, American Peace Test. Info: Bay Area Peace Test 621-0858.

## MONDAY, AUGUST 7

**Regular meeting of the Coalition for Nicaragua.** Meetings held on the second Monday of every month are educational and include both historical information and current updates. Meetings held on the fourth Monday focus on Coalition events and action. Free and open to the public. 7-9 p.m., Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street. Info: 458-0303.

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 8

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

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9 1989

**Soviet/American Peace Child Camp and Production**—Chorus Day with cast includes games, rock 'n' roll and pizza party. UCSC, 4-9:30 p.m. Info: 426-1411.

**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, AUGUST 10

**Discussion, "Panama and Panetta" with Lois and Bert Muhly.** The Muhlys have been devoted students of U.S. foreign policy and Central American affairs since 1981. The evening's discussion will juxtapose Congressman Leon Panetta's support for President Bush's sending troops to Panama's Canal Zone with voices spanning the spectrum of politics in Panama, asserting the right of the Panamanian people to national sovereignty. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, 7:30 p.m. A suggested donation of \$3-\$5 will be collected at the door. Info: 423-1626.

**1989 Soviet/American Peace Child Camp and Production**—Barbecue and cultural

*continued on next page*

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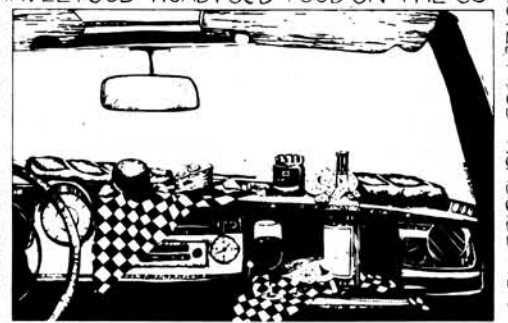
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# Peace & Justice Calendar

continued from previous page

event with UCSC English Language Program students. 6 p.m. Info: 426-1411.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street; 9 p.m., Cafe Camelion, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 11**

**Discussion with Saul Landau and Jim O'Connor** on their recent controversial articles in *Mother Jones* and *Zeta Magazine*. Reception with authentic Cuban dinner. Louden Nelson Center, 301 Center St., 5:30-7 p.m. Donation \$25, benefits the Institute for Policy Studies and the new journal *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. Reservations required: C.N.S., Box 8467, Santa Cruz, CA 95061. Info: 476-6934. (see following listing)

**Santa Cruz premiere of the film "The Uncompromising Revolution"** plus discussion with producer and director Saul Landau. Admission \$5. Louden Nelson Center, 301 Center St., 7:30-9:30 p.m. (see previous listing)

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 11 - SUNDAY, AUGUST 20**

**War Resisters League Training Program, to help activists develop skills to work more effectively.** This program gives participants a grounding in the

philosophy of nonviolence and encourages them to explore the dynamics of non-violent action. Limited to 20 participants. You do not have to be a WRL member or consider yourself a pacifist to apply. Workshops supplemented by literature, films and videos. Woolman Hill, a Quaker Center in Massachusetts' Berkshire Mountains. \$200 (\$250 for people financially sponsored by other organizations) covers food, housing, and materials. Info: (212) 228-0450.

**1989 Soviet/American Peace Child Camp and Production**—International Potluck and Talent Show, with Santa Cruz Peace Child Chorus. UCSC, 6-10 p.m. Info: 426-1411.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 12**  
**"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 and occasionally airs tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. The various Congressional "National Service" bills will be described by guest, Steve Homer, from San Francisco. Many of these bills are designed to revive the draft or to channel youth into government service. (This program has been rescheduled from July 15 when the radio transmitter was not functioning). 8-9 a.m. Call-in numbers: 253-6000 and 253-0303.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based



non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 4 p.m., Cafezinho, 1547B Pacific Avenue. Info: 947-1606.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 13**

**"Beyond the Cold War: Citizen Initiatives and U.S.-Soviet Understanding," Part Three: "Rocky Relations," a Consider the Alternatives radio program** on KAZU (90.3 FM). Part three of five-part series (re-broadcast). An entertaining and provocative look at popular culture and cold war. Using excerpts from films and children's television, this program provides some hysterical and some sobering examples of our portrayals of Russians, as well as examination of the interaction between political imagery and political reality. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 15**  
**Progressive Animal Rights Alliance weekly meeting.** 7:30 p.m., 409 Washing-

ton Street (behind Loudon Nelson Community Center). Info: 438-PARA.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 15 - WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16**

**1989 Soviet/American Peace Child Camp and Production**—Performance of "Peace Child: The Environment." Cowell Dining Hall, UCSC, 8 p.m. Info: 426-1411.

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16**

**Citizen's Action Group Public Meeting.** The Citizen's Action Group is a grassroots educational outreach organization. Loudon Nelson Community Center, 301 Center Street. 7:30-9:30 p.m. Info: 688-7021 or 475-2012.

**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, AUGUST 17**

**1989 Soviet/American Peace Child Camp and Production**—Invitational Dress Rehearsal for Cabrillo College performances, for families and press. Cabrillo College Theater, 7:30 p.m. Info: 426-1411.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street; 9 p.m., Cafe Camelion, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 18 - SUNDAY, AUGUST 20**

**"Peace Child: The Environment" performances at Cabrillo College.** Friday, 8 p.m.—Opening Night Gala with reception after performance. \$15 includes reception. Saturday, 8 p.m.—tickets \$10.50 adults, \$6 seniors and youngsters under 18. Sunday, 2 p.m.—tickets \$8 adults, \$4 seniors and youngsters under 18. Tickets go on sale August 1 at the Cabrillo Theater Box Office. Production sponsored by KCBA-TV 35, KLRS Radio 99.1, *Good Times*, Long's Drugs, Arnoldo and Joyce Gil-Osorio, Elena and Jack Baskin; and co-sponsored by Odwalla Gourmet Juices and the Santa Cruz County Parks, Open Space and Cultural Services. Info: 426-1411.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 19**

**"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 and occasionally airs tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. A tape of Saul Landau's lecture, "Is the Cold War over, and was there a victor?" will be played. Saul Landau is a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies. 8-9 a.m. Call-in numbers: 253-6000 and 253-0303.

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**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 4 p.m., Cafezinho, 1547B Pacific Avenue. Info: 947-1606.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 20**

**"Beyond the Cold War: Citizen Initiatives and U.S.-Soviet Understanding," Part Four: "All the News that Fits," a Consider the Alternatives radio program** on KAZU (90.3 FM). Part four of five-part series (re-broadcast). A thoughtful examination of the news media in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, as they report on each other. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 21**

**Regular meeting of the Coalition for Nicaragua.** Meetings held on the second Monday of every month are educational and include both historical information and current updates. Meetings held on the fourth Monday focus on Coalition events and action. Free and open to the public. 7-9 p.m., Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street. Info: 458-0303.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 22**

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

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23**

**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, AUGUST 24**

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street; 9 p.m., Cafe Camelion, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 24-**

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 27**

**War Resisters League National Conference—"Reclaiming Culture: Nonviolent Responses to Militarism in Our Lives."** World College West, Petaluma, California. Conference space is limited. Registration deadline August 1st. Info: (212) 228-0450.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 26**

**"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 and occasionally airs tapes of lectures given at Stevenson Nuclear Policy Studies, UCSC. "Military Incompetence," a taped speech by Dr. Richard Gabriel, will be played. Dr. Gabriel is consultant to the House and Senate Armed Services committees. 8-9 a.m. Call-in numbers: 253-6000 and 253-0303.

**Sierra Nevada Music and Crafts Festival.** Part of the funds generated by this event will go toward a grassroots media publication clearinghouse project. Sponsored by Planetary Endeavor Advocating Commitment and Education. 10 a.m.-8 p.m., at the Nevada County Fairgrounds near Grass Valley. Tickets are \$5 in advance; \$6 at the gate; children under 16 free. Info: (916) 265-0824.

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 4 p.m., Cafezinho, 1547B Pacific Avenue. Info: 947-1606.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 27**

**"Beyond the Cold War: Citizen Initiatives and U.S.-Soviet Understanding," Part Five: "More in Common or More in Conflict?" a Consider the Alternatives radio program** on KAZU (90.3 FM). Part five of five-part series (re-broadcast). Examines the future of U.S.-Soviet relations and efforts by citizen diplomats to have an impact on concrete policy issues and global problems, including arms control, disarmament and third world development, world health and environmental crises, and non-military development of space. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 29**

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

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30**

**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, AUGUST 31**

**Open Gatherings small group discussions.** Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street; 9 p.m., Cafe Camelion, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.



**Santa Cruz Premiere of "The Uncompromising Revolution"**

"The Uncompromising Revolution," a documentary on Castro's Cuba in the 1980's, will be screened in Santa Cruz August 11th following an authentic Cuban Dinner benefit event. Producer and director Saul Landau will be there to discuss the film. (See the calendar listing for details.)

"The Uncompromising Revolution" is about the Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro at middle age—at a stage where Fidel is attempting to steer the revolution back onto its idealistic course and away from materialism.

The film moves in and out of country and city, with Fidel quietly reflecting on the past, then loudly proclaiming his faith in communism and "the new man," modeled after Che Guevara. It explores Cuba's role in Central America, Cuban-Soviet relations, and human rights. The audience goes on a trip through a prison, a genetic engineering laboratory, and a nuclear power plant, due to go on line in 1990.

The film also examines the revolution historically, beginning with a 102-year-old woman recalling the War of Independence in 1898. A middle-aged black man compares his pre-revolutionary life as a property owner with his post-revolutionary existence as a wage earner. What emerges is a fast moving political document, a nuanced, multi-faceted portrait of Fidel and the revolution he continues to shape.

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