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CHRISTOPHER PALERMO/MONTHLY PLANET

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Deadlines

for the March Monthly Planet

(Publication date: Thursday, March 15)
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FROM THE GRASSROOTS

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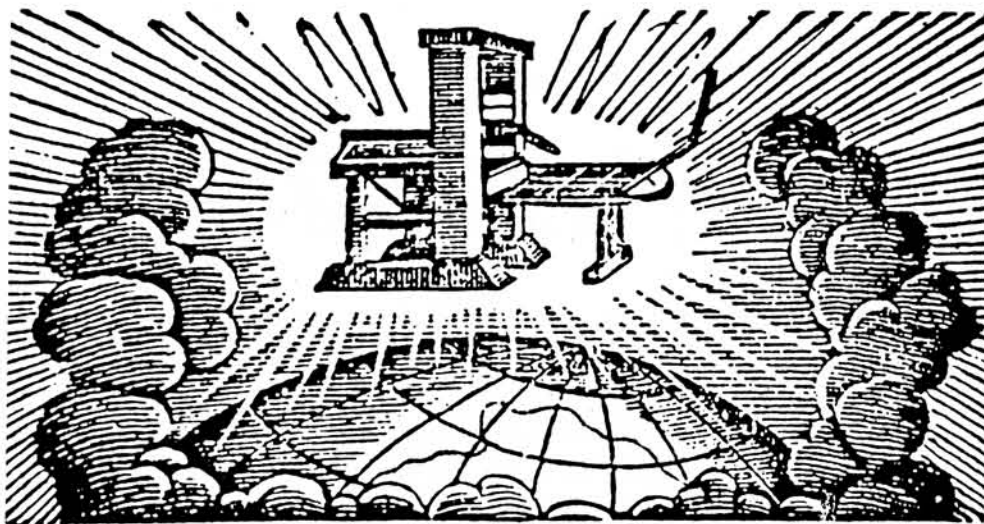
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Vets Thanks

The Veterans Peace Action Teams would like to thank the following businesses for the food they donated to the Thanksgiving food drive for the Navajo and Hopi Indians at Big Mountain: Cafe De Palma, Camp Joy, Cash and Carry, Community Foods, Falcon Trading Co., Food Bin - Herb Room, Four Sisters Farms, Greensward, Hobe's S.C., India Joze, Indian Summer Deli, Kresge Food Co-op, Kresge College, David Meaks, Pacific Roasting Company, Pasqual Farms, Pontiac Grill, the Pumpkin Patch, Saturn Cafe, Shermans (41st) Sluggers, Staff of Life, St. Vincent de Paul, Stapelton's, True Nature Foods, The Bread Shop, Unity, Upper Crust, Way of Life, Westside Community Market, Whole Earth Restaurant. I'd also like to thank Keith Decher (KAZU), Elizabeth Gips (KKUP) and the other DJ's who announced our P.R. and to anyone else we might have forgotten.

Although these businesses already gave to Earthquake Survivors, they still gave to the Natives of this land in a true thanksgiving spirit.

Thank you,
Ella Seneres
Ben Lomond

**Get Personal**

We've been fascinated by your newspaper since inception. It is a shame you cannot take over where the Sun left off, and instead will not see you until February.

May I encourage you to get more personal?

As you know, many of our congressmembers from California, and certainly our president, are elected by less than a 51 percent vote of the electorate. This makes them illegitimate. Fifty-two percent of the electorate refused to vote 11/88. You tend to legitimize them.

Second — you seem to ignore the role of Senator Mello and Assemblyperson Farr, Governor Deukmejian and the state legislature in our nuclear madness. By interviewing Panetta, Campbell, Cranston, Wilson and state/county/city elected officials and report-

ing their words directly to us, we could get a more realistic approach to the chaos. Interview them in person. Nuclear is a very embarrassing subject to them.

Third — your November/December 1989 issue was by far your best because it covered issues touching us (10/17/89) into the rest of our lives in California. I am amazed that you and all media slide over the anarchy we're now in by our elected officials abdicating from state legislature (closed until 1990) to mayor and city council, who all have human sacrifice blood which won't wash off from 10/17/89. The same applies to Cranston and Panetta.

You hint that federal freeways, bridges and overpasses collapsed because tax money is wasted in mock warfare so our infrastructure is neglected. What really is happening is criminal manslaughter negligence at all elected official levels and these people in

good conscience should voluntarily resign. Keep up the good work. We love you.

Harry John Resoner
Santa Cruz

Racism Network

On November 18, the Ecumenical Peace Institute in Oakland held a workshop with the goal of "Building a Racism Response Network in the Bay Area." The Rev. Daniel Buford had organized this workshop; it was facilitated by Ron Chisom, co-founder of the "People's Institute for Survival and Beyond," New Orleans. About 40 individuals and representatives of religious and political organizations from throughout the region attended. Ron Chisom led with great clarity and a refreshing sense of directness and humor.

The network has the goal to create lasting and dependable safety for all people, empowerment of all people, knowledge, respect and appreciation of the cultures of and equal opportunities for all people in our region and beyond. The network meeting of 1-11-90 issued the following draft of principles of unity:

"We are a multiracial network of individuals and groups concerned about racism in the Bay Area. We have come together to expose and undo racism in all areas of society by responding quickly and effectively to specific incidents increasing awareness through education and action and working to build community and harmony."

The network has set itself the following tasks:

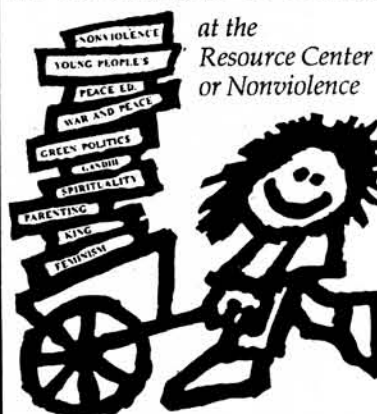
1. Set up a coordinated response to racist incidents.
2. Develop and communicate the vision: acknowledgement that racism exists and that the members of the network seek to undo racism in the Bay Area on all levels — interpersonal, institutional, political, economic and in education — and in overt and covert forms.
3. Define racism as racial prejudice plus power of white people over people of color.
4. Acknowledge that racism has become deeply entrenched and accepted to the point of being a "way of life" for this society.

Members of the network are now contacting further groups to strengthen its base. This is where individuals and organizations in the Monterey Bay Area are called upon to join the effort. Please contact Roland Saher at 429-9155 for further information and to discuss ways in which we can support and expand the network.

Roland Saher
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**Staff Opening at the Resource Center for Nonviolence**

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Thank you for your moral support and financial assistance.

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We would also like to thank

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Jim Driscoll of Operation Real Security
Bob and Doreen Lissner*

for their invaluable contributions toward keeping us going.

Bush Proposes Another Cold War Budget

by Shelly D'Amour

President Bush presented a \$307 billion request for military expenditures to Congress last month in a budget that largely ignores the political changes sweeping Europe and the Soviet Union.

The fiscal year 1991 Department of Defense (DOD) budget request calls for increased spending levels for all U.S. strategic nuclear systems, with no significant cutbacks in any major military program.

The Pentagon funding request comes in the context of a \$1.17 trillion federal budget that would provide capital gains tax cuts to the wealthy while raising social security payroll taxes for working people. The actual DOD budget calls for \$306.9 in budget authority, and \$296 billion in actual outlays for the coming year. An additional \$7 billion in outlays should be figured in here from the Department of Energy budget. The DOE funds nuclear weapons production facilities, and weapons testing.

With the current administration projecting a defense figure of \$318 billion by 1995, it's clear that federal spending priorities will not reflect the changes taking hold in the world. Senate Budget Committee Chair Jim Sasser (D-TN) termed the latest Bush offering a "budget of low aspirations." Even such pro-military bastions as *The Wall Street Journal* deem the Bush budget as full of accounting gimmickry and unwilling to consider meaningful reductions in military spending.

The most controversial item is a proposal to close 21 military installations in the United States, 10 of them in California. Nineteen are in districts represented by Democrats. Of special note is the inclusion on this list of the 7th Infantry Division, headquartered at Fort Ord in Monterey County, home of House Budget Committee Chair and 16th district Representative Leon Panetta. Should in fact the base eventually close, over 2200 civilian jobs will be lost and army troops will relocate to Fort Lewis in Washington state. The reason: inadequate aircraft and landing strip facilities at Fort Ord, and the high cost of

housing soldiers and their families in the Monterey Bay area, according to Pentagon spokespersons. The division currently occupying Fort Lewis will be disbanded entirely.

The administration maintains that base closings and personnel reductions are in response to the changes occurring in the East Bloc. In fact, base closings have been on the Pentagon agenda for at least two years. Discussions concerning specific sites, including Fort Ord, have been in the works for quite some time. The recent announcement is opportunisticly timed to the benefit of the Republican Administration, which must be enjoying the spectacle of liberal Democrats scurrying to avoid closures in their districts.

There are other reasons to doubt the administration's motivations behind base closings in the continental United States. Fort Ord's 7th Infantry Division, for example, is a so-called "light" division of foot soldiers, specifically designed for rapid deployment. The 7th Infantry most recently distinguished itself in the U.S. invasion of Panama. In 1987, it was involved in a two-week deployment to the Nicaragua-Honduras border area for what the Reagan Administration termed "military exercises." As is the case with most such installations in the U.S., Fort Ord's primary military focus lies south of the border, not over the sea. Its relocation to Fort Lewis will actually make it more efficient in that regard, since airstrip facilities at Fort Lewis are capable of transporting troops directly from the base. In the Panama invasion, troops housed at Fort Ord had to be transported 150 miles to Travis Air Force Base.

What the Pentagon is referring to as "reductions" in bases and personnel is quite likely nothing more than a "shell game," as Leon Panetta termed it recently. For example, a number of divisions are not being eliminated, so much as they are being transferred or consolidated with other units. The planned reduction of 38,000 military personnel is largely projected to come about by attrition in the armed forces.

The real losses will be those felt by the



communities that have grown up around the bases, that have depended on them for civilian jobs and for supporting the local economies. Economic conversion is apparently not part of Bush's "vision thing," and so thousands of civilians and communities will be left stranded without the kind of careful planning that would make moving into a peacetime economy plausible and welcome.

The closing of U.S. bases, as currently proposed, will cost thousands of U.S. civilian jobs. It will leave local communities (in predominantly Democratic districts) in seriational economic straits. It will not contribute to U.S. troop reduction in any significant sense. It will save some money, but nowhere near what could be saved if strategic nuclear programs were cut or eliminated. Philosophically, it has little or nothing to do with the changing political landscape of Europe. The main question, then, is "why?" Why at this time, and why in this way?

One need not spend hours pouring over the proposed 1991 military budget to conclude that the administration is less than enthusiastic about redefining our national defense. The president's strongest ideological supporters on the hill feel likewise. "The [peace] dividend will be peace, not money," declared California Senator Pete Wilson. It was Senate Armed Services Committee member John Warner (R-VA), who summed it up best for the administration: "We cannot let

dramatic changes in Europe completely turn upside down our defense planning." How then to convince the American public that cutting the military budget might not be in their best interest? By focusing reductions in ways that directly impact local communities, the administration is perhaps attempting to give communities a taste of "defense cuts" in a way that might mobilize citizens against them. If that is indeed the strategy, it does not appear to be working. Recent polls indicate that most Americans believe the military budget can and should be cut, with the savings going to fight drugs and homelessness.

Administration supporters point to the president's recent offer to the Soviet Union to cut the number of troops in Europe on both sides to 195,000 (there are currently 305,000 U.S. troops stationed in Western Europe.) This is certainly a positive step. However, the motivations are hardly altruistic. The offer to cut troop numbers should be examined against the backdrop of the president's nuclear program. The 1991 budget calls for increased funding for, and expansion of, every major strategic weapons system, specifically: the MX, the Trident II, and Star Wars. Bilateral reductions of conventional forces is indeed an important step toward peace. However, while the president is seemingly extending one hand in a gesture of peacemaking, he is preparing for war with the other.

House Democrats, led by Armed Services chair Les Aspin (D-WI), will attempt to establish a bi-partisan commission to examine the base closings and make recommendations. Since most Democrats believe that political motivations are at work behind the selection of bases, they want to have a say in the process. Aspin is drafting legislation for this purpose that will probably be heard sometime this month.

What follows is a list of budget requests for the key U.S. nuclear systems:

- **MX Missile:** The Pentagon would like to get \$2.2 billion for the rail garrison program next year. The figure includes procurement funds for 12 MX missiles and seven trains. This year's budget is \$1.6 billion.

- **Midgetman Missile:** \$202.2 million is in the 1991 budget request for research and development, even though nobody, including the Pentagon, particularly wants the program. \$100 million was appropriated in fiscal year 1990.

- **Trident II:** \$1.5 billion for the construction of a single submarine. \$1.7 billion for the purchase of 52 missiles. This is just a shade over the current budget of \$1.3 billion for submarine construction and \$1.6 billion for missiles.

- **Star Wars:** \$4.7 billion for research and development. This year's budget is \$3.8 billion.

- **Stealth (B-2) Bomber:** \$5.5 billion for the production of five Stealth bombers. This year's budget is \$4.3 billion.

According to a budget analysis produced by Council for a Livable World, military spending has increased by 126 percent over the past 10 years. In 1980, total military budget authority (the amount authorized for expenditure) was \$143.9 billion. Outlays (the amount actually spent) was \$134 billion. Compare that with the proposed budget for 1991 at \$306.9 billion in budget authority

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LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

and a projected \$303 billion in outlays. SANE/FREEZE reports that the average congressional district lost \$600 million in federal social programs over the last 10 years, while paying \$431 million more for defense programs.

Where will the money come from? According to figures developed by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 81 percent will come from individual and payroll taxes, and 11 percent from corporate taxes. In terms of overall expenditures for next year, the budget pie currently projects 26.1 percent in military spending, 40.5 percent for the elderly and disabled (including Social Security payments), 6 percent for poverty programs, 9 percent for education and so-called economy "stimulators," 14 percent for interest payments on the national debt, and 4.3 percent for all other programs.

National SANE/FREEZE has issued a press release calling for a 50 percent reduction in military spending over the next five years. In the House, Reps. Barney Frank (D-MA), Jim Moody (D-WI), and Barbara Boxer (D-CA) are sponsoring the "Budget for a Strong America," which would cut military spending by \$18 to \$20 billion. It is currently in need of co-sponsors. The Congressional Black Caucus is developing its annual "Quality of Life Budget," which will contain even deeper military cuts.

ACTION: Congress will be meeting over the next month to work out a response to the Bush Budget. There has never been a more important time to make your voice heard. Call your representative's office today and find out when they will hold constituent hours. Plan to visit your representative when s/he is in town. Let him/her know where you think our federal spending priorities should be placed. If you live in California's 16th congressional district, plan to visit, write or call Rep. Panetta. Let him know you want him to lead the charge for a significant change in military spending. Urge him to become a co-signer to the Budget for a Strong America as a step toward reordering our national priorities. For copies of the Budget for a Strong America contact SANE/FREEZE, 1819 H Street, NW, Suite 1000, Washington, D.C. 20006 ; (202) 862-9740.

DOE NOMINATION

Confirmation hearings have been postponed for nominee Victor J. Stello to the post of DOE Assistant Secretary for Defense Programs. An investigation is underway, looking into charges that Stello lied to Congress during his tenure at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. If Mr. Stello receives his appointment, he will be given charge of the nation's nuclear weapons facilities, and rank second only to Energy Secretary James D. Watkins.

While at the NRC, Stello distinguished himself by his reckless disregard of human health and safety at the aging facilities. In testimony submitted to the Senate confirmation committee, SANE/FREEZE detailed Mr. Stello's record, calling him "the single least qualified candidate for the task at hand."

For example, with regard to the construc-

tion of CG&E Zimmer nuclear power plant, Stello (to quote the testimony) "said there were no hardware problems at the plant, despite over 600 allegations voiced by CG&E Zimmer employees and subcontractors." The plant eventually had to be converted into a coal-fired power plant. Additionally, Mr. Stello was so committed to restarting Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island plant, that he waved aside evidence that would have indicated a problem with an early restart. Again, to quote the testimony, "Julian Greenspan of the Department of Justice stated that Stello felt that an investigation at TMI would be bad for operator's morale."

EL SALVADOR

On November 20th, the House approved \$85 million in military aid to the government of El Salvador. This just four days after the brutal murder of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her 15-year-old daughter by Salvadoran security forces. An additional \$12 million was approved for police training. Following this vote, the House passed a resolution 409-3 condemning the murders. At the time of the appropriation, the killers were technically unknown, but widely presumed to be members of the armed forces. The congressional vote sent an unmistakable signal to the government and people of El Salvador that as far as the U.S. Congress is concerned, justice and human rights take a back seat to U.S. policy goals in the region.

In January, the Cristiani government broke down and admitted that members of the elite Atlacatl battalion had killed the priests. In the weeks following the murders, more than

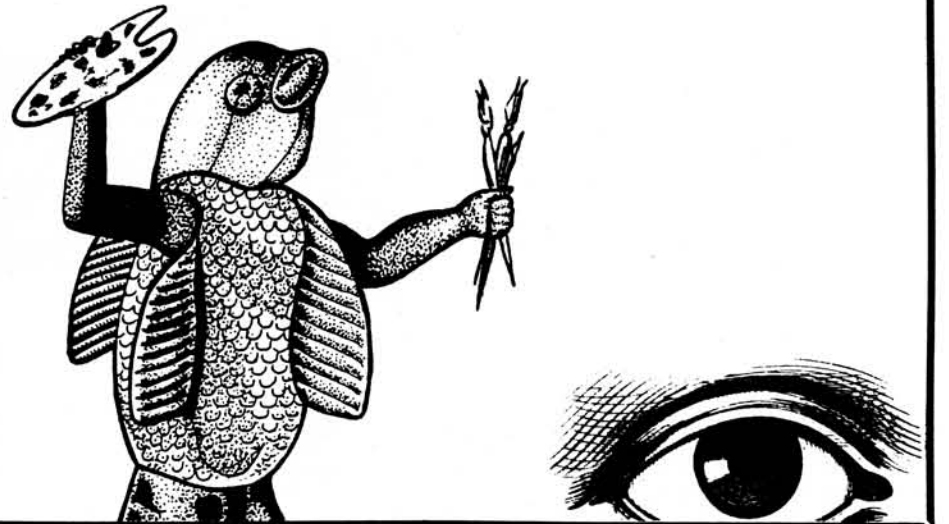
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Hotlines

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

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(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

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

Nicaragua Network
(202) 223-NICA

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

Witness for Peace
(reports on the Contra war)
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Another Cold War Budget

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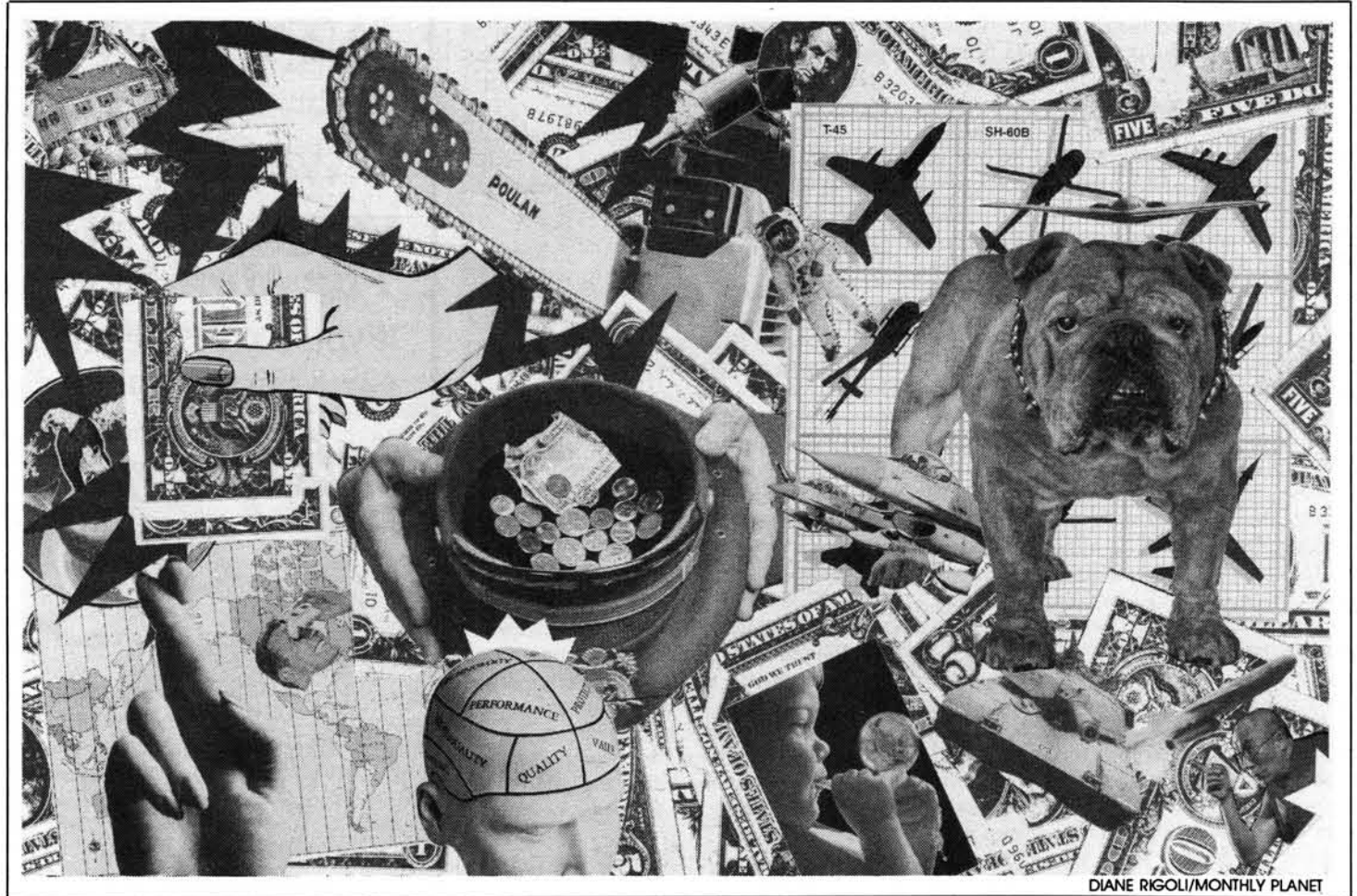
200 arrests and abductions of church workers by army and treasury police occurred. Foreign church workers were especially targeted. The Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches are currently under heavy repression by the Salvadoran military, which publicly lauded the Jesuits' deaths. The Lutheran bishop of San Salvador has since left the country because of death threats, and is living in exile in Guatemala.

Although a token number of lower-echelon soldiers have been indicted in the killings, all evidence points to the orders as coming from high up in the Salvadoran command. A January 19 article in *The National Catholic Reporter* details the intricate Salvadoran system of *tanda*, a mafia-like brotherhood which binds graduates of the military academy together for life. Officers trained in the academy regard one another as family, but are taught to despise and be suspicious of civilians. Networks within the Salvadoran military are so tight, the article maintains, that it would have been impossible for low-ranking officers to have orchestrated the murders without the express knowledge and approval of their superiors.

Ironically, the reason Congress approved the concept of police training aid to begin with (at least the publicly-stated reason), was to "professionalize" the Salvadoran armed forces with the expectation that a professionally-trained military would respect human rights. They were half right. The Salvadoran military is now one of the most "professional" armies in Latin America. Well-equipped, well-funded, and well-trained through U.S. tax dollars, they have perfected their craft, to the tune of 70,000 Salvadorans dead since 1980.

In the House, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) has drafted legislation (H.R.3733) calling for a cut off of all aid to the government of El Salvador until: those responsible for the murders are prosecuted; those connected with death squad activity are removed from public office; the Salvadoran judiciary can operate freely, without fear or intimidation; and the highest levels of authority on both sides of the conflict call for a cease fire.

In the Senate, John Kerry (D-MA), Patrick Leahy (D-VT), Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Mark Hatfield (R-OR) have authored similar legislation. S.R. 1188 calls for an end to all aid to El Salvador until: all measures limit-



ing freedom of speech, religion, press, and unions are repealed; the repression of the churches has ceased; the security forces are purged of all persons responsible for the torture and murder of Salvadoran citizens; a cease fire is negotiated.

House Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) has appointed a task force to monitor the situation. Chaired by Rep. Joe Moakley (D-MA), the group will hold private hearings, visit El Salvador in February, and make recommendations to Congress.

ACTION: Call or write your representative and senators today and tell them to support legislation to cut off military aid to El Salvador. If you live in California's 12th district, Rep. Tom Campbell (R) needs to hear from you. For an excellent, brief analysis of the current situation, contact Quest for Peace, Congressional Education Project, P.O. Box

5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782; (202) 699-0042. Ask for their December newsletter.

NICARAGUA

Ten political parties are competing in the upcoming February 25th national elections. At stake is the presidency and the composition of the national congress. The main contenders for the presidency are incumbent Daniel Ortega Saavedra, of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and Violetta Chamorro, of UNO (United Nicaraguan Opposition). Chamorro's candidacy is supported by the Bush Administration, which has promised to lift the 5-year-old embargo against Nicaragua if she is elected. Thirty minutes prior to a nationally televised debate in Nicaragua, UNO backed out, stating that it would broadcast its own TV appeal instead, presumably with some of the \$9 million that the

U.S. has funnelled to it.

According to Quest for Peace, an unidentified source sponsored an opinion poll in Nicaragua, the results of which indicated Chamorro leading Ortega 2 to 1. The Jesuit-run University of Central America in Managua conducted its own poll, and came up with precisely the opposite information.

At press time, it is unclear whether a 20-member congressional delegation selected by President Bush will be given visas to monitor the elections. The Nicaraguan government has indicated it may deny the visas, in retaliation for Congress' refusing to act to prevent the final installment of Contra aid from going through on November 30th. The ban, if it occurs, will not effect Organization of American States or United Nations observers, or members of former President Jimmy Carter's delegation. The Bush Administration has

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LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

hinted that it might not accept the outcome of the election if the delegation team is not permitted to monitor it. In reply, foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto wrote that the U.S.-backed Contras "continue infiltrating armed troops into Nicaragua, murdering our people and attempting to disrupt our electoral process...President Bush and the Congress cannot have it both ways. They cannot attempt to buy the election for one candidate and then present themselves to us as impartial election observers."

In a related story, America's Watch, a New York-based human rights group, has published a report on the January 1 ambush of a van full of church workers, which resulted in the deaths of two nuns, one of which was an American. The report states that the evidence conclusively points to a Contra patrol which was active in the region. Two young people who were abducted by the Contra unit earlier that day witnessed the attack, and escaped in the confusion. They were interviewed separately a number of times, and their testimony, replete with explicit details about their abductors, was deemed credible. Contra leaders deny responsibility.

On this the eve of their national elections, Nicaraguans will reflect on the 10 years since the triumph of July 1979. Everything that Washington could possibly do to break the government in Managua, short of the introduction of U.S. troops, has been done. After nine years of war and a shattered economy, courtesy of the Reagan/Bush Administrations, Nicaraguan citizens will now go to the polls to decide their future. Whatever course they embark upon, it will be the Nicaraguan people, and not the White House, that will decide.

Shelly D'Amour is the Legislative Editor of The Monthly Planet.



Contact Your Representatives

- President George Bush**
The White House
Washington, DC 20500
(202) 456-1414
- Senator Alan Cranston**
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-3553 / (415) 556-8440
- Senator Pete Wilson**
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-3841 / (415) 556-4307
- Congressmember Leon Panetta**
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-2861 / (408) 429-1976
(16th congressional district)
- Congressmember Tom Campbell**
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
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Do you think they'd ever consider repeating the last when twenty million were slaughtered by Nazi invasion?
They died fighting on our side you know.
In a fight to defend human kind against Nazi terror and hatred.

In the name of humanity bitterly torn.
In the name of our children as yet to be born.
Before we do that which can never be undone.
I beg of you.
Please think again.
And again and again and again and again.

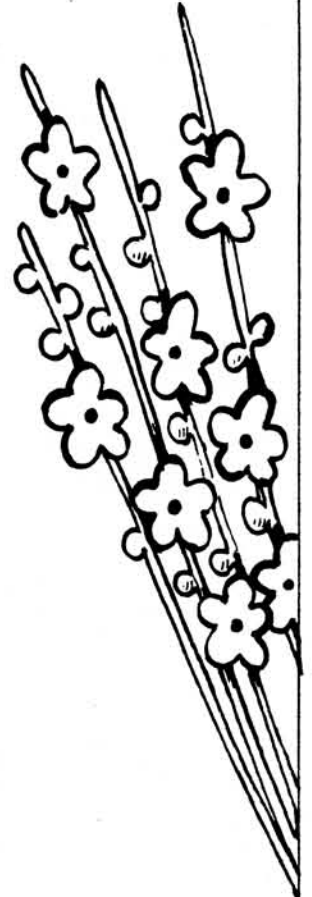
Do you think that the Russians want war?
These are the parents of children who died in the last one.
Do you think that they want to go through that again?
The destruction and bloodshed, the suffering and pain
In the second world war out of every three dead one was Russian.
If we try with all of our power
Can we not find a way to peacefully settle our difference?

In the name of humanity bitterly torn.
In the name of our children as yet to be born.
Before we do that which can never be undone.
I beg of you.
Please think again.
And again and again and again and again.

Do you think that the Russians want war?
Will the voice of insanity lead you to total destruction?
Will you stumble to death as though you were blind?
Will you cause the destruction of all human kind?
Will you die because you don't like their political system?
There will be no survivors you know.
No one left to scream in the night to condemn our stupidity.

In the name of humanity bitterly torn.
In the name of our children as yet to be born.
Before we do that which can never be undone.
I beg of you.
Please think, think again,
and again and again and again and again.

Billy Bragg
Help Save The Youth of America
Elektra/Asylum 1988



Peace on Earth—The American Dream

Yes, We Can Get a Peace Dividend

by Terry Teitelbaum

What is the "Peace Dividend and how do we get it? Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary defines a dividend as "the number or quantity to be divided." The term "Peace Dividend" has been used to describe money that is saved by ending a war and can be divided up for other purposes. I suppose the war that is ending which has prompted today's re-introduction of this concept is the Cold War. It has been this undeclared war that has provided the dubious justification for the largest military buildup in the peace-time history of the United States. Now that it has "ended," everyone from Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to the editors of *Business Week* are talking about military budget cuts and possible beneficial savings.

For the most part this is welcome news. Yet many people felt that military spending was out of control even before the Berlin Wall tumbled. Most Americans already believed that the Soviet threat had been exaggerated, that we had enough nuclear weapons and that it was time to stop nuclear weapons testing. Now that "peace has broken out," the Pentagon can save face while doing what economics and public opinion have been demanding for years.

It is certainly a remarkable event when the Secretary of Defense talks about cutting his own budget. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the military budget should never have gotten so huge to begin with. The cost to our country in terms of unmet human needs, economic decay and environmental degradation were too high for such a false sense of security. This military buildup actually robbed domestic programs because of an overrated external threat. During the last decade, military spending doubled and now stands at \$300 billion. During that

same period, social spending was slashed by \$295 billion.

Now that a modicum of reason is emerging in the national debate over military spending we must seize the moment and demand not just a "share" of some "dividend," but an entire re-prioritization of federal spending. At the very least, we should expect the same level of federal commitment to human care programs that we had before the military buildup began under Ronald Reagan in 1980.

We are going to hear a lot over the next few years about how it won't be that easy to transfer savings from military budget cuts to domestic programs.

According to House Budget Committee Chair Leon Panetta, "There is an awful lot of pressure...to say there is a pot of gold here and that is just not the case under any scenario." (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 1/16/90). One reason is that Congress is desperate to reduce the federal deficit. Republicans and Democrats alike will be eager to use any savings from cutting military spending in this way. Representative Leon Panetta, among others, has publicly expressed that we shouldn't expect a big shift in priorities next year. In fact, in order to meet federal budget deficit targets mandated by the Gramm-Rudman legislation, he supports cutting social spending as well as military spending.

This doesn't seem fair, considering that Ronald Reagan was elected to the presidency with promises of reducing the large deficit accrued under President Carter. While in office, Reagan doubled the existing level of military spending and created the largest deficit in this country's history, all the while blaming exorbitant spending levels on Congress. Major social programs and state revenue sharing funds were cut drastically during this time. Now, when it is clear to everyone that we have nowhere near the need for such a high level of military spending and we can

reverse the buildup, we're told that we can't cut very much and that we must continue to cut social programs equally. If military spending cuts for the 1991 federal budget are not enough to immediately help decrease the deficit as well as increase social spending, then Congress must admit that the cuts just aren't big enough. Now that the perceived Soviet threat is so greatly diminished, our representatives can certainly go much further in cutting spending, especially for NATO and the defense of Western Europe.

Over the years, many members of Congress, including Leon Panetta, have voted for amendments to the Department of Defense budgets which would have deleted funds for particular weapons systems and nuclear testing. For example, since 1982, Representative Panetta has voted against the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, anti-satellite weapons, Star Wars, and for a nuclear freeze. He has also consistently voted for a comprehensive nuclear test ban, and, beginning in 1985, he has voted against the Trident II. Yet, since 1982, budgets including these programs were always passed by both houses of Congress; budgets that, in the final vote, were accepted by many of the same members of Congress who had earlier voted for arms control measures.

It's time to demand bold initiatives from our own leaders. We shouldn't accept warnings of caution about Soviet capabilities or intentions from members of Congress who voted for arms control even before sweeping changes were brought about by Mikhail Gorbachev — in fact, even before Gorbachev came into power. If Leon Panetta and his colleagues are serious about their prior commitments to a nuclear freeze and a test ban, then now is the perfect time for them to take a stand when voting on President Bush's budget for fiscal year 1991. They should not accept any budget with less than a 10 percent cut in military spending, after inflation. There are many ways these cuts could occur without endangering our national defense.

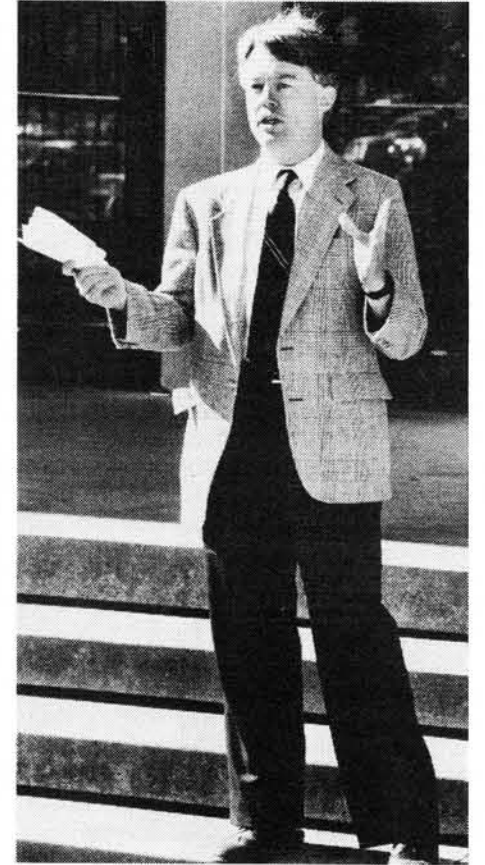
Since the Cold War is officially over, it's time to get more serious about examining what we really need in terms of military defense. There are many military programs which can be cut and many more which can be eliminated entirely. Suppose, for example, we enacted a bilateral, comprehensive nuclear weapons freeze, a measure strongly supported by Leon Panetta and passed several times by the entire House of Representatives. Keep in mind that Congress and Panetta voted for a freeze before the end of the Cold War, while Reagan was still exhorting us to beware of the "evil empire." If it made sense to support a freeze then, they can certainly do it now. The following nuclear weapons programs would be immediately halted with a freeze, saving nearly \$12 billion in 1991:

- The MX missile @\$2.84 billion.
- The Trident 2 submarine launched missile @\$1.75 billion.
- Trident 2 submarine @\$1.45 billion.
- The Stealth Bomber @\$5.54 billion.
- The Midgetman nuclear missile @\$202 million.

Additionally, if we eliminated Star Wars, we would save \$4.66 billion.

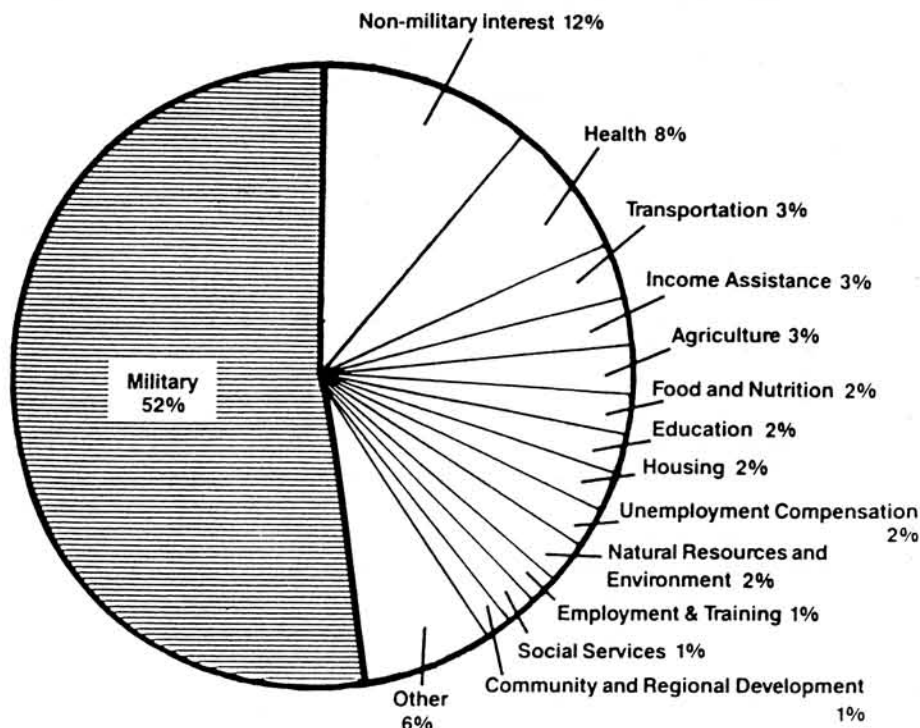
Furthermore, we can save money by re-considering our country's role in defending Western Europe through the NATO alliance from a very unlikely Soviet invasion. Approximately half of our \$300 billion Department of Defense budget funds NATO. Even

TARMO HANNULA/MONTHLY PLANET



Santa Cruz County Supervisor Gary Patton, speaking at a press conference on January 31, called for a change in federal spending priorities. The press conference was organized by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze in response to President Bush's proposed federal budget, which continues the Reagan military buildup while cutting social programs.

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This "pie chart" reflects the true division of your 1989 federal income tax dollar. This division looks different than the government's for two reasons: 1) Many military related costs which are usually kept in separate categories are combined here to reflect the costs of total military spending. These costs include the National Defense Function 050, military related interest on the debt, veterans, and International Securities Assistance. 2) Revenue from Trust Funds, such as Social Security, has been excluded from the calculation because these are paid for by taxes separate from the income tax. Prepared by: Jobs with Peace Campaign

top administration military strategists doubt that the Soviets pose much of a threat. In a recent *Los Angeles Times* interview, Admiral William J. Crowe, the recently retired chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said, "On the conventional side, the threat of a surprise attack on Western Europe is just gone. The military people say it's reduced, [but] I don't think it can be resurrected." A 25 percent reduction in U.S. forces in Europe and demobilization could yield an estimated savings of \$5.25 billion per year, starting in 1991.

Meeting the needs of a nation's people should not be something that is paid for with a dividend. The definition of national security must include not only military components, but social and economic ones as well. We must demand more than a leftover piece of the pie to be further divided up among competing needs. Real national security must be the top priority of our government.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County is spearheading an effort called the Peace Economy Campaign to make the connections between excessive military spending and unmet local human needs and to lobby for changes in federal spending priorities. To get involved or to find out more about this campaign, contact the Freeze at 458-9975. Also, write or call your representative today to demand new federal spending priorities by cutting military spending and increasing funding to meet human needs.

Terry Teitelbaum is the Executive Director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County.

Peace Groups Begin Ballot Drive

by Alex Forman

Peace groups in California are now circulating a ballot measure entitled "An Initiative to Reduce Military Spending and Rebuild America." The initiative, which needs 410,000 valid signatures before May 20, 1990 to gain ballot access for the November election, has been changed slightly since it's semi-final draft was circulated during the fall of 1989. The final version calls for both the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce military spending by at least 7 percent a year for the next seven years, leading to at least a 50 percent cut by the year 1997. The money saved is to be invested in rebuilding vital economic and environmental programs that have been drastically underfunded during the 1980's. The initiative also calls for both superpowers to end the arms race and reduce their military forces to levels consistent with actual defensive needs.

All of the above recommendations are articulated as "findings" to be endorsed by the people of California. These findings will be forwarded to all elected officials in Washington, D.C., and if passed will send a powerful message to Congress and the White House about the need for basic changes in federal budget priorities. The binding part of the initiative establishes a California commission to plan for a smooth transition to an economy based more on production for civil-



KAREN STACKPOLE / MONTHLY PLANET

campaign, peace activists were able to get 40,000 signatures in the city of Oakland, which is equivalent to 20 percent of the registered voters. This incredible success was achieved on a very low budget using many volunteer petitioners and a small number of paid signature gatherers. If other communities throughout the state are able to achieve

the effort is being led by the Santa Cruz Nuclear Freeze Campaign, and in Santa Clara County the Center for Economic Conversion has helped form a coalition with the local SANE/FREEZE group and other peace organizations.

In Southern California the effort is being led by Voters to End the Arms Race, which has gathered the support of many leading organizations and individuals. As of January 20 the list of endorsing individuals and organizations included: Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Clergy and Laity Concerned; Catholic Peace Coalition; Church Women United; Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America (Local 1421); National Council of Jewish Women; U.S. Representatives Anthony Beilenson, Barbara Boxer, Barney Frank, Ed Markey, Howard Wolpe; California Assemblymember Maxine Waters; Irvine Mayor Larry Agran; Retired Admiral Gene La Rocque; and former CIA Director William Colby.

If this campaign, based on grassroots activists acting with the support of prominent leaders, can generate the necessary enthusiasm and financial backing, then the people of California will have the historic opportunity to cast a vote directly on the issues of peace and economic conversion this November. Anyone wishing to join in this historic effort should contact their local peace organization and get involved now.

Alex Forman is the Director of Northern California SANE/FREEZE.

The initiative calls for both the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce military spending by at least 7 percent a year for the next seven years.

ian needs and less on military needs. The commission will be empowered to work directly with communities and industries that are now heavily dependent on military contracts in developing plans for economic conversion.

The strategy for gathering this massive number of signatures is based on a successful initiative campaign carried out by the Oakland Nuclear Free Zone Coalition. In that

this level of success, we will be able to gather the necessary signatures. However, this all depends on developing groups of dedicated volunteers throughout California who can duplicate the successful Oakland model.

Currently, Northern California SANE/FREEZE has organized local efforts in the following counties: Humboldt, Napa, Marin, San Francisco, Alameda, Contra Costa, Sacramento and Monterey. In Santa Cruz County

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- Suggestions for Organizers**, a handbook on actively promoting conversion planning at the local level. Contents include sections on state level efforts, community strategies and alternatives for military facilities. \$5.00.

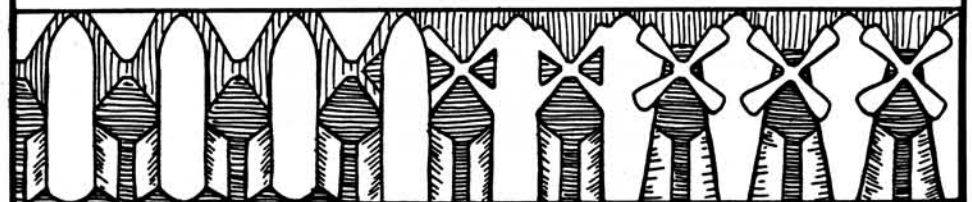
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New Pentagon Myths to Save the Cold Wa

by Jim Driscoll

When the president, the secretary of defense, and each of the armed services float rumors of military spending cuts *before* the annual budget is submitted, the peace movement faces a tremendous opportunity. In 1990, we can finally reap the rewards of a decade of successful organizing by helping transform Cold War spending priorities into a budget for "real security"...or we can watch the military-industrial complex artfully switch missions to justify continuing exorbitant spending levels. Faced with this crucial opportunity, peace activists must be wary of new military spending myths being advanced to justify perpetuating U.S. militarism despite the "enemy's" retreat.

• **There is no peace dividend.** This is absurd. The United States currently spends \$160 billion on NATO, primarily to defend West Germany from the threat of an attack mounted from Eastern Europe. Yet Eastern Europeans are emigrating to the West in droves, and Soviet troops are packing up and going home. There is no military need for U.S. armed forces in Europe — European borders should be like the U.S.-Canadian border.

NATO is the single largest expenditure in the federal budget, dwarfing spending on education, crime, the war on drugs, and environmental protection combined. The average taxpayer spends \$1,600 a year directly on NATO. A reasonable cost accounting would add another \$500 per year per taxpayer for NATO-related costs which are hidden in other federal budget categories, such as military pensions, interest, and veterans benefits such as health care.

Even the New York Times and cold warriors like former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and former NATO Commander Andrew Goodpaster recommend cutting the military budget by 50 percent. That's the size of the potential peace dividend — a cut in military spending of \$150-200 billion a year, more than \$1,500 per taxpayer. This is a genuine cut, unlike the widely-heralded \$180 billion "cut" advanced by Secretary Cheney, which simply advocates a slower rate of increase than President Bush's proposed exorbitant buildup.

• **We need a strong military to respond to a changing world** (at a cost of about \$300 billion a year). Long before the Berlin Wall came down, the Pentagon commissioned

a group of advisors (including Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski) to provide long-term military policy guidance. In a 1988 study titled "Discriminate Deterrence," they recommended reducing troop commitments in Europe in favor of building up capacity for Third World intervention. This study foreshadowed current Pentagon recommendations: continuing nuclear modernization by scrapping the obsolete Minuteman II's, emphasizing naval superiority, and shifting troops from European missions to build up Third World intervention forces. Military leaders are already pointing to the "successful" invasion of Panama as an example of that capability. Predictably, the U.S. is resisting Soviet overtures for naval arms control.

To respond to a changing world, we need a policy of real security, not a \$300 billion military budget. Gorbachev has proposed eliminating the use of force as a tool of power, and acted on that principle in Afghanistan and Eastern Europe. Japan has demonstrated that a nation can be a world power without a strong military. The U.S. drug problem will be solved by addressing the causes of drug abuse; not by stationing an aircraft carrier in Colombia to drive up the cost of one drug source.

• **Reducing military spending takes time.** In 1945, at the end of a real war, the U.S. spent 86 percent of the federal budget on the military (\$82 billion). The figure for 1947 was 35 percent (\$13 billion). The U.S. reduced its armed force from 12 million to three million in less than a year. The end of World War II ushered in an era of full employment and prosperity, as industry expanded to meet pent-up consumer demand. In the past two generations of Cold War, vast domestic needs for education, health, environmental protection, roads and infrastructure, and public transportation have accumulated. Given political will, dramatic cuts in military spending could be quickly redirected to address these needs.

• **The Pentagon is already suffering "real" cuts.** When the Pentagon increases its budget less than the rate of inflation, it's called a "cut." Yet when unions negotiate cost-of-living raises that only cover half the rate of inflation, they're termed "increases." Major budget items such as housing assistance were drastically cut during the last decade. Now it's the Pentagon's turn.

• **Any savings from NATO cuts must be**

used to reduce the deficit. Why should the fiscal policy that bolstered economic activity in the Reagan years be abandoned just because the rate of military buildup is being cut? Reagan campaigned vigorously against "Keynesian" economics, i.e. using deficit spending to stimulate economic activity. Yet his administration presided over history's largest Keynesian stimulation, spending a trillion dollars more on the military than it collected in taxes.

Unilateral pursuit of fiscal austerity by the United States would confront the increasingly interdependent world market with a serious threat of a major recession. The U.S. should instead spend its peace dividend to meet domestic needs, with a special emphasis on programs benefitting middle and lower income people, who will keep money in circulation.

• **Our allies should begin "burden-sharing."** The last thing the world needs is for West Germany and Japan to rearm. When our allies increase their military budgets, we take a step away from world peace. A "de-

fensive" or "alternative" defense policy in Europe would allow both NATO and the Warsaw Pact to reduce their forces, not just the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

• **Modernizing weapons doesn't cost much.** When this is the case, it's only true for the first year. Every decision to begin a new weapon system commits the U.S. to a series of expanding future expenditures which can't be halted quickly. The Pentagon already has accumulated a total of \$255 billion in appropriated but unspent funds. If we eliminated the military budget entirely in 1991, the U.S. would still be obliged to pay a million dollars an hour for the next 30 years!

• **We need to put economic conversion in place before we cut military spending.** Projects at the plant, community, and statewide levels all play a vital role in the shift away from a military economy. U.S. managers would be eager to shift away from mili-



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Plans to Save the Cold War Budget

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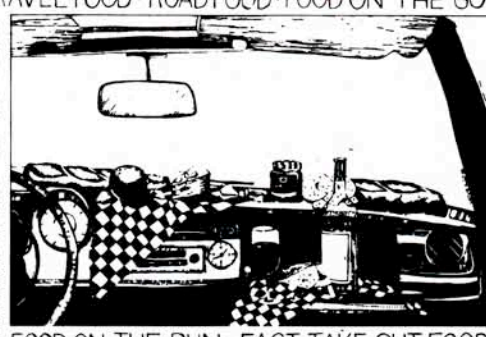


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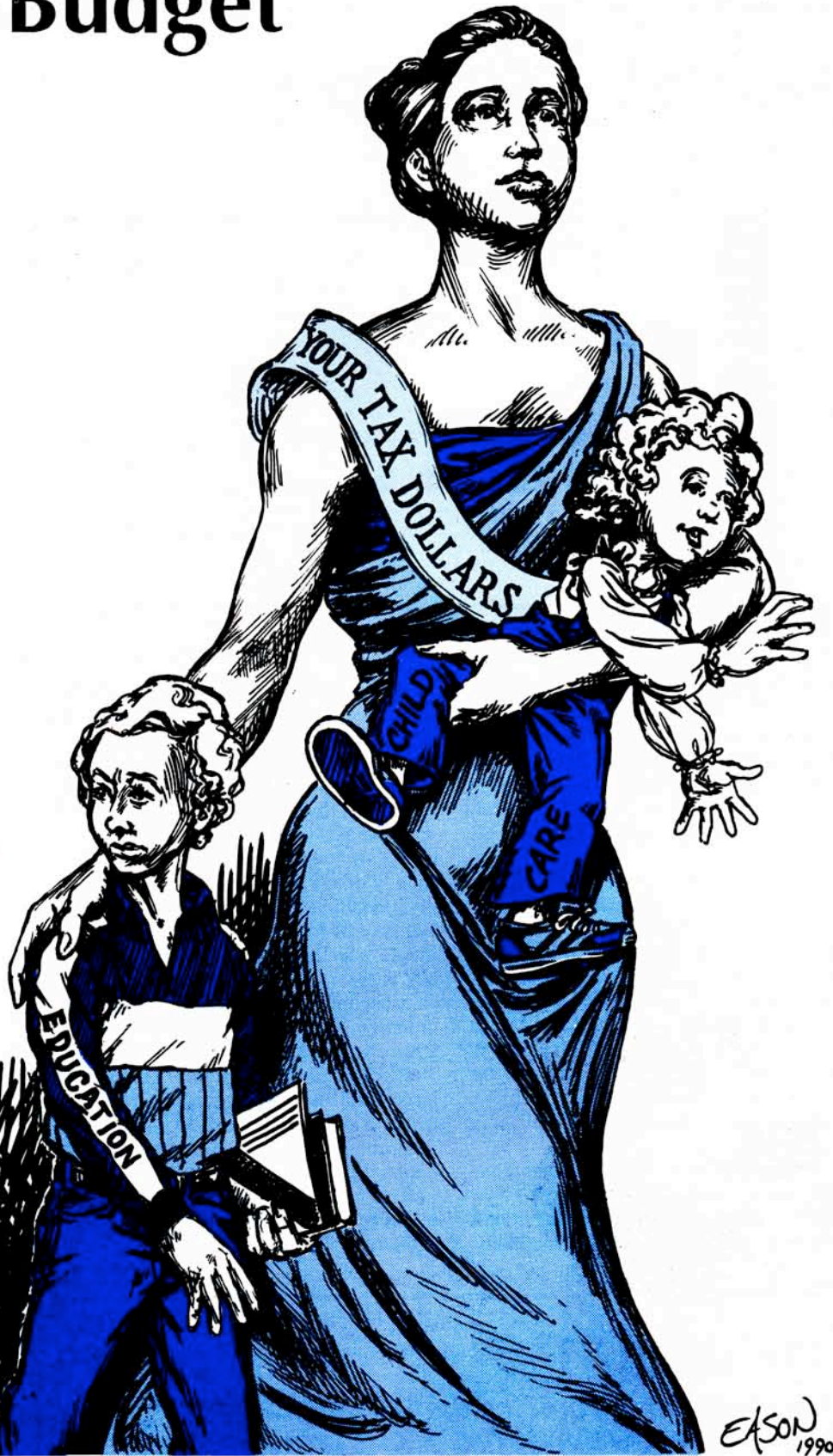


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tary production, given adequate long-term demand for civilian products. If we win a peace dividend this year and demonstrate lasting political will, the "peace-industrial complex" can do much of the conversion work.

• **The military of the future should closely resemble the existing military.** A re-examination of the assumptions underlying U.S. military policy is long overdue. The Soviet Union is restructuring its military based on the principle of "reasonable sufficiency" advanced by Gorbachev. This principle is based on analysis by Randall Forsberg (the author of the Freeze proposal) and a host of other (primarily European) scholars. It calls for a fundamental reorientation of military policy from offensive to defensive as an essential first step toward world peace, and implies changing military forces to reflect new policy assumptions:

1. **De-nuclearization.** Modernizing nuclear forces despite the declining Soviet threat is insane. There is no policy rationale for weapons like the Stealth bomber, rail-garrisoned MX's, the Midgetman, Star Wars, and the first-strike Trident D-5. There is no need to develop the SRAM-T and FOTL, new short-range nuclear missiles targeting East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Still, the 1991 military budget calls for increasing outlays for these weapons. Cutting funding for these systems would save more than \$10 billion. Now is the time to lock in modest START reductions and move on to deep reductions in START II and III.

2. **Restructuring and reducing conventional forces.** In the face of massive unilateral Soviet reductions, the U.S. is dragging its feet in the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations. Instead of making reciprocal reductions, the U.S. is calling on the Soviets to reduce aircraft by an 8-1 ratio, and tanks by a 15-1 ratio, to U.S. cuts.

"Alternative defense" requires a shift to defensive configurations as forces are reduced. However, U.S. NATO forces continue to pursue offensive strategies under the Air-Land Battle doctrine, designed to strike deep into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with provocative new missile systems.

The U.S. should stop raising petty objections, sign CFE I, and begin negotiating CFE II to include deep reductions in U.S. forces in Europe and a shift to "defensive" forces. As Germany comes to the political forefront in Europe, clear prohibitions against offensive military capabilities will become increas-

ingly important. As Peter Nixon notes in this issue, the U.S. could save \$15 billion in fiscal year 1991 just by cutting weapons systems, operations, and maintenance for NATO forces. As I outline in a separate article, we could save \$80 billion in NATO personnel costs.

3. **Anti-interventionism.** The Soviet Union has admitted its error in Afghanistan — something the U.S. has yet to do for Vietnam. The Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan and have refrained from intervening in other regional conflicts. They have actively encouraged diversity in Eastern Europe, ruling out the use of force even in the face of attrition in communist regimes.

The U.S. should withdraw its forces from Panama and the Philippines, end support for repressive regimes like El Salvador's, and work toward a non-interventionary regime which bars the use of force except for territorial national defense. Dramatic cuts in forces like Marine Corps and Navy aircraft carriers specifically designed for intervention could save \$20 billion a year. U.S. intervention capabilities certainly shouldn't be increased.

The only increases in security expenditures should be for what Pam Solo of the Institute for Peace and International Security, and others, call "common security." We must build up international institutions to deal with pressing problems in the environment, human health, and the world economy. As we build down military forces, we will need to build up the international community's capability to deal with regional crises like that in Cambodia. At a minimum, the U.S. should pay its debts to the United Nations and its full share of the costs of U.N. peacekeeping forces.

Recent human triumphs in Eastern Europe demonstrate the magnitude of change that societies can undertake overnight. The citizens of our own democracy could respond to this historical watershed by insisting on a policy of "alternative defense" and a military budget of \$150 billion in the short run, with a long-term goal of a national defense budget in the range of \$50 billion.

The citizens of the United States could have a real peace dividend of \$150 billion next year — if we are willing to tear down our own "wall" of myths about military spending.

Jim Driscoll is Co-director of Operation Real Security in Tempe, Arizona.

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Cutting the NATO Budget: A Modest Proposal

by J. Peter Nixon

With bits of the Berlin Wall appearing in American department stores and the ongoing revolution in Eastern Europe, it is clearly time to look critically at the amount of money the United States spends to defend Western Europe. Given the reduced military threat abroad and budgetary constraints and neglected social programs at home, the present figure of \$150 billion a year is outrageous.

Citizens interested in cutting the military budget must begin to enunciate some general principles for their legislators to follow. Such principles could include:

- We should not be procuring weapons and ammunition that we will likely negotiate away. Considering the vastly improved climate in East-West relations and our already strained federal budget, it makes no sense to buy new weapons merely as "bargaining chips."

- Legislators should reduce the amount of money allotted for exercises and drills. The reduction in tensions in Europe makes it possible to operate the tanks and planes we have less often. Using equipment less frequently can result in a reduced maintenance bill.

- Congress should cut or delay funding for new systems that are not unambiguously defensive in nature. Given the existing and developing military and political constraints, it seems clear that any new security system

for Europe must include "mutual defensive superiority" as one of its primary components. Congress should not pour money into programs and systems that would be eliminated under such "defensive restructuring."

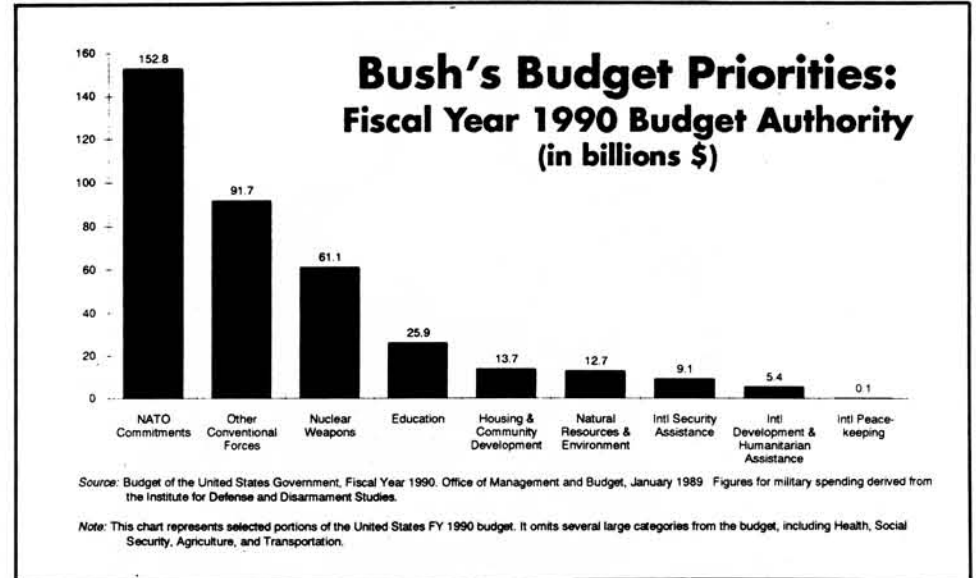
- We should not develop and procure new systems when they may not be needed or useable, or could increase, rather than decrease, political tensions. Congress should not develop and procure new systems which, if deployed, would create political tensions clearly contrary to our national interests.

If the above criteria were applied to the money the U.S. spends to defend NATO, as much as \$15 billion could be cut from the military budget. Further savings could come from the successful completion of arms control negotiations which would reduce by 50 percent or more the present level of forces in Europe.

The U.S. armed forces are planning to buy a number of expensive, unnecessary weapons systems over the next few years. By cutting these systems we could save roughly \$10 billion, only a fraction of the overall procurement budget of \$80 billion.

For example, the Army wants to buy two new attack helicopters, the AH-64 Apache and the UH-60 Blackhawk. Both of these helicopters are designed to support blitzkrieg-style attacks by ground forces and to attack reinforcements behind enemy lines. Since the threat which these helicopters are designed to meet is diminishing every day, there seems to be no good reason to spend over a billion dollars on them. Two hundred million dollars could also be saved by cutting money for more CH-47 helicopter. Since the Defense Department now admits that we would have at least a month's warning time before a Warsaw Pact invasion, our current air and sealift capability is quite sufficient.

A number of new conventional Army missiles slated for purchase also seem suitable for the chopping block. The Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS), a bargain at \$200



million, is designed to strike Warsaw Pact forces in Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Not only would such weapons be eliminated under defensive restructuring, but a succession of conventional arms control agreements over the next few years will probably severely limit the number of them that can be deployed.

Other missiles that could be cut include the Hellfire Anti-Tank Missile, which is designed to take out Warsaw Pact reinforcement forces. These forces will probably be substantially reduced under emerging conventional arms control agreements. The Patriot Anti-Aircraft Missile program could be cut in half, saving U.S. taxpayers \$400 million. The above cuts, plus cuts in missiles for the Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS), result in savings of over a billion dollars in this category alone.

There is also fat to cut from combat vehicles. It seems pointless to be buying new tanks at a time when large reductions in tank forces over the next few years are likely.

Buying and modifying the M1 Abrams Tank will not significantly enhance security. With large reductions in troops also being contemplated, it seems likely that our present troop transport capability will suffice. The Bradley Fighting Vehicle, an armored troop carrier, seems an unworthy investment. The elimination of these two programs alone would save slightly over \$1.5 billion.

In addition, substantial reductions in the readiness of forces and in ammunition stocks should now be made since the warning of any attack by the Soviet Union can now be calculated in months rather than weeks. Traditionally NATO has been prepared to meet a surprise attack.

It should be noted that these proposed cuts leave most defensive systems such as anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles untouched, only terminating the helicopter-borne Hellfire and halving production of the Patriot.

The Army is by no means alone in its desire to buy large amounts of unnecessary equipment. The Air Force also plans to pur-

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chase a number of radar systems, missiles, and equipment modifications which will allow it to strike deep into Warsaw Pact territory and attack reinforcement forces as they pass through East Germany and Poland. The only missing element in this Follow-on Forces Attack strategy are the follow-on forces, most of which will vanish after the implementation of a conventional forces agreement, almost certain to be signed within the year. Cutting or limiting the amount of money spent on this program could save up to two billion dollars.

Congress should also terminate the F15E "Strike Eagle" tactical nuclear fighter/bomber a year earlier than planned by Defense Secretary Cheney. Designed for nuclear strikes on the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, the F15E is a political hot potato that none of our allies really want to base. The idea that the United States wants to regain the ability to strike the Soviet Union from Western Europe will also give Gorbachev's hard line opponents something to rattle their sabres about.

In the face of a substantially reduced threat the U.S. should be able to reduce the level of readiness of its forces in Europe. This should result in savings in the Operations & Maintenance budget. The O&M budget for the three services is currently around \$90 billion. It should be possible to cut at least \$2 billion from the Army budget of around \$24 billion, \$2 billion from the Air Force Budget of \$23 billion and \$1 billion from the Navy budget of \$27 billion, producing cuts of some \$5 billion.

It should also be noted in passing that Representative Barney Frank's (D-MA) Budget for a Strong America estimates that the withdrawal and subsequent demobilization of 100,000 U.S. troops from Europe could result in savings of two billion dollars.

It seems likely that the successful conclusion of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) accord will create strong pressure for immediate negotiations on nuclear forces. With the Warsaw Pact advantage in conventional forces eliminated, NATO's "flexible response" policy of using nuclear forces to stop a conventional attack is totally discredited.

Given that they are unnecessary, dangerous and undeployable, the United States should be able to save a further \$500 million by cutting from the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons budget the W82 nuclear artillery shell, the Air Force's new version of the B61 bomb, and further production of nuclear sea-launched cruise missiles; cuts in research and development of the new nuclear warheads for new missiles for Europe, Follow-On-To-Lance and the SRAM-T, should also be cut from the research and development budget at a savings of \$100 million each.

The Lance Follow-on and the new nuclear artillery have provoked considerable opposition in Western Europe. It is unlikely that approval will ever be given to deploy these systems. The sea-launched cruise missiles create obstacles to the completion of a START treaty, and are increasingly being brought into a "warfighting" role, rather than a deterrent role. The SRAM-T is an intermediate-range, air-launched missile that is designed for nuclear strikes on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Although not a actual violation of the INF Treaty because it is an air-launched weapon, it is clearly a violation of the spirit of that accord.

J. Peter Nixon is the Associate for American Affairs of the British American Security Council in Washington, DC.

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How to Save \$80 Billion a Year By Cutting NATO Personnel

by Jim Driscoll

We can't save much money in the short run' is perhaps the key peace dividend myth. This is a ridiculous claim — the U.S. could save \$80 billion just by cutting NATO personnel costs within three years. Cutting research and production of NATO weapons could save another \$50 billion, yielding a total NATO peace dividend of more than \$100 billion. Peter Nixon, in the previous story, has already identified \$15 billion in fiscal year 1991 cuts in NATO weapons systems, operations and maintenance. This article examines potential personnel cuts.

The magnitude of our current forces devoted to the NATO alliance is incredible. Of a world-wide total of about two million U.S. armed forces personnel, slightly over 300,000 are stationed in Europe. Roughly one fifth of U.S. ground forces (five of 23 divisions) are stationed in Europe.

As a general military rule, two people in the United States are required to support each person in Europe, thus roughly half of the U.S. armed forces are devoted directly to NATO. To quote Randall Forsberg of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, "with the exception of one division in Korea, a few brigades or regiments stationed around the Pacific, and possibly some forces allotted to the Southern Command, virtually the entire structure is available to fight in Europe — and has been maintained mainly for deterrence and defense in Europe."

The Congressional Budget Office estimated that a Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Agreement removing 30,000 U.S. troops from Europe would save \$2.1 billion in fiscal year 1990 dollars. Based on the two-to-one support ratio, if the U.S. cut domestic-based troops supporting these 30,000 personnel, the total cut of 90,000 troops could save between \$5 and \$9 billion annually, according to estimates by the Defense Budget Project.

The Budget For a Strong America proposal developed by congressional leaders like Barney Frank, Barbara Boxer, and George Miller calls for cutting troops in Europe to 200,000. This 100,000 reduction would yield a direct savings of \$7 billion, or \$21 billion

if U.S.-based support personnel are included. If the U.S. removed all 300,000 troops, it could save roughly \$60 billion a year. While these are extrapolations, savings in this range are virtually certain.

assigned to NATO support are based in the U.S., the treaty only covers 30 percent of U.S. ground forces and 10 percent of tactical air forces.

Narrow vision is another reason why the

The magnitude of our current forces devoted to the NATO alliance is incredible.

For example, Randall Forsberg suggests a goal of saving \$50 billion a year by cutting U.S.-based forces maintained primarily to support NATO. She estimates that simply transferring "10 of the 15 active army division equivalents stationed in the U.S. to reserve status could save \$30 billion annually...comparable cutbacks in U.S.-based tactical air squadrons might save another \$20 billion or so." This does not include savings associated with reduced production of ground and air systems for this smaller force structure.

Every year the U.S. keeps a soldier on active duty in NATO or similar forces, it incurs indirect obligations as well as out-of-pocket costs. These include pensions, veterans' benefits such as health care, and, because of the deficit, interest payments for funds borrowed to cover this year's payroll. These costs, usually hidden in other federal budget categories, can add as much as a third to the estimated \$60 billion savings, yielding a total potential personnel savings from NATO cuts of \$80 billion.

Unfortunately, the U.S. savings from the current round of Conventional Forces in Europe negotiations will be meager. One reason is the geographical mandate (or agenda) of the first CFE treaty. The treaty covers all of Europe from the Atlantic in the west to the Urals Mountains about 800 miles east of Moscow. Thus, the treaty covers most of the industrialized section of the Soviet Union's territory, including 70 percent of its ground and air forces. Since most of the U.S. forces

NATO peace dividend will be smaller than it could be. In December 1988, the Soviet Union announced a unilateral cut of a half million military personnel (10 percent of its total forces), half of them oriented toward Europe. The Soviets will also cut 10,000 tanks (20 percent of their total), including 5,000 tanks stationed on the Eastern European front. They will cut 14 percent of their overall military budget (20 percent on weapons production). By all accounts, these unilateral reductions are on schedule for completion by the end of 1990.

These reductions predated and helped set the stage for the incredible events of the last twelve months, essentially removing the threat of a Soviet invasion from Eastern Europe. The Eastern European nations are now calling for the removal of all Soviet forces from their territory. Yet the U.S. has refused to make any unilateral reductions or to even discuss naval forces, the area of our comparative advantage.

According to Forsberg, "as the U.S.S.R. and the nations of Eastern Europe move toward a 50 percent cut in their conventional ground and air forces and related spending, the Western European nations in NATO are headed towards cuts of 10-5 percent in equipment, less in spending; and the United States may come out of a CFE agreement with cuts of just 1-3 percent in equipment and spending."

The time line for even these modest personnel savings is discouraging. Despite his May 1989 commitment to negotiate a CFE

Treaty "within six to 12 months," neither President Bush nor the Congress is prodding our negotiators to act quickly. Many experts now doubt a treaty will be negotiated by the end of 1990.

Significantly deeper reductions in U.S. forces would pose tough political problems. Bringing NATO forces home to the U.S. would increase costs because bases exist to house them in Europe. However, simply calling for demobilizing troops in Europe leaves the U.S. open to the charges of undermining negotiations in Europe. It will also be difficult to confront the clout of congressional delegates representing bases with NATO-oriented divisions. Yet converting many of these 10 divisions to reserve status would yield savings of up to 80 percent of existing costs. Recent calls from Eastern Europe for total Soviet withdrawals from their countries open doors for much deeper cuts and demobilization under the current CFE framework.

Demobilizing military personnel requires economic conversion to ease the massive influx into the civilian job market. The U.S. needs active labor-market policies like those in Scandinavian countries. The GI Bill eased the transition in the 1940's. A similar commitment to help educate, train, and place these workers is necessary as economic conversion and expanded domestic investment increases the supply of civilian jobs.

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Converting the Army

by Susan C. Strong

Today, talk of economic conversion is in the air everywhere. And there is already a skirmish going on in mainstream newspaper editorials about what to do with the "peace dividend" from reduced military spending. There are even a few faint signs of life in Congress — the major new push for budget reform recently announced by Representatives Boxer, Dellums, Frank, and Miller. In California, SANE/FREEZE has helped start a state ballot initiative drive calling for an economic conversion commission.

Though cheap, talk is better than nothing. However, the talk has to get more serious and definite before there are any appreciable cuts in weapons spending. Current progressive critique tends to focus on the economics of military spending or the desirability of a numerically or qualitatively reduced military establishment. But the problem with the military is not just a matter of the economic impact of military spending on our domestic economy and local communities. It is not just a question of the militarist character of U.S. foreign policy or even of the questionable character of most military actions in the late 20th century.

The 80 percent public approval rating of Bush's military solution to the Panamanian problem is evidence that public support of our military interventionism does not spring solely from a love of violence or the profit motive. In fact, for the public, the real issue is what to do with the kind of human energy the military ethic has always absorbed and generated: serving, protecting, and showing courage. If nothing else, the example of Panama shows that we must take seriously the question of converting the United States Army, Navy, and Air Force, along with the military-industrial complex. Simply abolishing or greatly reducing the military is not an adequate answer to this problem.

Instead, just as we do in planning the conversion of a factory or community that is de-



ELIZABETH WILLIAMS/MONTHLY PLANET

pendent on the military, we must study in depth what positive benefits military life and action gives those who choose it, use it, or admire it. We must first look at the bad parts and the good parts together. Then we can consider how to save what is valuable and

how to deal with what is not.

Fortunately, some work has already been done on this project by an insider, retired Lt. Col. Jim Channon, U. S. Army. In the late 1970's, he came up with a concept, called the First Earth Battalion, to create an improved model for U.S. Army operation. The idea was explored under Channon's leadership by a small group of U.S. Army officers with training in organization development. Hallmarks of the First Earth Battalion vision included a more democratic and participatory style of training soldiers to fight. They thought about the role of the army besides just sending it out to fight in the traditional manner. During the 1980's, Channon's project received notice in Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, in *Securing Our Planet* edited by Don Carlson and Craig Comstock, and in a piece by Joan Steffy in *Plowshare Press* (Vol. 13, No. 3, Summer 1988). Steffy's article concentrated on the role that a converted military could perform with new technologies, increased international cooperation, and with a focus on ecological repair.

However, a close study of the original *First Earth Battalion Field Manual* shows that Channon thought about human values. In the *Manual*, Channon says, "History affirms our own belief that there is no contradiction in the warrior and the service oriented monk prototypes living a completely harmonious, blended and parallel path when the basic ethic and service is 'loving protection' of evolution and mankind." A former member of the Army's Organizational Development Group, retired Lt. Col. J. Boone Emmons, told me in 1987 that Army old-timers and brass found the project most threatening. Emmons says that Channon received criticism for excessive idealism in believing that warfare could be completely avoided. They felt he was unrealistic about the incompatibility of his proposed democratic participation and the necessary psychological unity and control for effective military action.

Although Channon was ahead of his time, social values are now changing quickly in the direction of a group survival model. At this point, Channon's portrait of the ideal "warrior monk's" virtues and values sounds eerily contemporary: "Their mission is to protect the possible and nurture the potential. They are the evolutionary guardians who focus their loving protection and affirm their allegiance to people and planet for their own good and for the good of those they serve." Channon saw that armies could be "both the potential instruments of our destruction and the organized service that can drive humanity's potential development." He envisaged such roles as planting forests, completing canals, helping in the design and construction of new energy independent towns, inner city clean-up and work with youth, as well as various forms of nonviolent conflict resolution.

In fact, the ideals of protecting something of value, of group solidarity, and of self-sacrifice which have always been the popular and positive appeal of military life, are the same values that our entire planetary community itself needs today in order to survive. Perhaps Jim Channon's and The First Earth Battalion's time is coming, after all.

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

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It's Time to Stop Nuclear Testing

by Carolyn Cottom

During 1989, 27 nuclear explosions were conducted beneath the Earth's surface — including several that were vented into the atmosphere — in the U.S., Soviet Union, and South Pacific. The direct cost of these tests was over a billion dollars (at \$20 to \$70 million per test). But the real costs are vastly greater: the billions and billions of dollars it takes to keep the arms race going...the environmental degradation of 1,711 nuclear explosions since 1945...the theft of resources from our communities and industries...the proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world. All are costs associated with each nuclear test.

The primary reason that nuclear warheads continue to be tested in such numbers is in order to modernize the weapons arsenals, to develop more sophisticated, more destabilizing weapons — weapons that can fly below radar levels undetected, or fire nuclear cannons at objects in space from below ground. In short, nuclear weapons are exploded underground in order to continue to run an arms race.

With a seemingly irreversible thaw in the Cold War under way, the Bush Administration is on a search for new reasons to justify continued modernization of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Most recently, the Pentagon has been citing ballistic missile threats from the Third World as a rationale for the development of new nuclear weapons.

But, as every nuclear-age president before Reagan recognized, the most effective way to lessen nuclear tensions is through a comprehensive test ban (CTB). In fact, the CTB is the single best opportunity to move toward a goal of global security and thus set the stage for future international cooperation.

Not only would such an accord help to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons, it would also stop the superpowers from testing ever more destabilizing systems. Over the past year and a half, significant progress toward verifying compliance with a CTB has been made. Through seismic monitoring and on-site inspections, the means of implementing a verifiable treaty are already available. Perhaps most importantly, because of the new climate in East/West relations, cooperative international ventures like the CTB are now more possible than ever before.

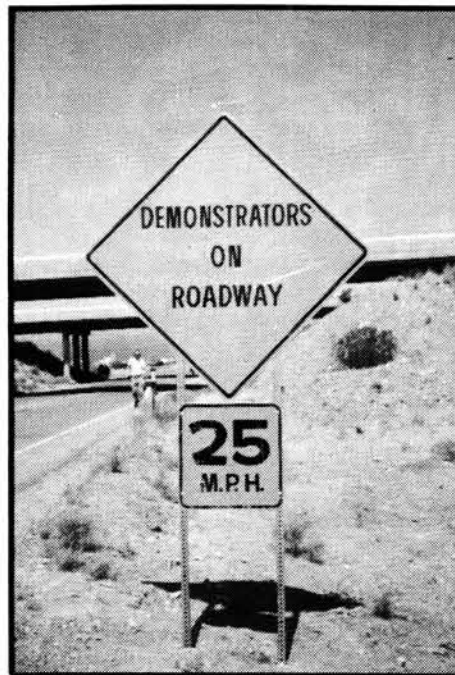
Polls show that 75-85 percent of the U.S. public consistently supports a CTB. This politically popular and understandable approach

to curbing the nuclear arms race can enable us to make the connections between environment, development, and disarmament issues. The next 12 months provide a unique opportunity to end the testing of nuclear weapons worldwide. Two international treaty conferences will be held during that time: the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review in August 1990, and the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) Amendment Conference in January 1991. The 1990 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review will be the last before the renewal of the NPT (which prohibits the spread of nuclear technologies around the world) in 1995. Many potential nuclear nations have warned that they might not sign the NPT again unless the nuclear powers stop testing nuclear weapons. The fact that the United States has refused to stop testing will be a matter hotly debated at the NPT Review in August. In January 1991, the United States will join the other 117 signatories to the Partial Test Ban Treaty in voting on an amendment to ban testing in the one environment where it is still allowed — underground. A majority of the 118 signatories can amend the treaty, but that majority must include the original negotiators of the treaty: the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has indicated it will vote for the amendment. The United States has said it will oppose the amendment, and Great Britain is likely to follow the lead of the United States.

Approximately two-thirds of the parties to the treaty support a CTB. Yet the U.S. alone can veto the treaty. Many of the potential nuclear weapons states — India, Pakistan, Libya, Iran, Iraq, South Africa, Israel, Argentina and Brazil — are parties to the PTBT. If the January conference votes to amend the PTBT into a comprehensive test ban treaty, all of these countries would be bound to a halt in testing, a significant step toward ending the proliferation of nuclear weapons worldwide.

Is it possible to break the U.S. addiction to preparing for nuclear war? What will it take to get the U.S. to give up the nuclear weapons habit and say yes at the Test Ban Treaty Conference?

Ultimately, the decision rests with President Bush. At the present time, most of his closest advisors are telling him to oppose a test ban. The Pentagon and the defense industry want to continue to design and build new nuclear weapons systems, and building



This sign was posted at the Nevada Test Site due to the constant public protest calling for an end to nuclear testing.

new systems requires (for the most part) being able to test them. There will be enormous pressure on the president to say no to a test ban amendment.

On the other hand, the public is becoming increasingly alarmed about the environment, the economy, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. These three provide the ideal handles for organizing for a CTB. In order to get the Bush Administration to vote for a CTB amendment, these issues must all be brought to bear on the final decision. This will require hundreds, perhaps thousands, of national and local organizations to be involved in the campaign.

The coordination of such a campaign has begun to take shape. In the United States, a coalition of 59 national organizations participates in the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign, now active in over 60 countries. While the International Campaign is working to create international pressure on the U.S., the U.S. CTB Coalition will work domestically to get the U.S. to stop testing nuclear weapons and negotiate a comprehen-

sive test ban treaty. The administration will be urged to accept the U.S.S.R.'s standing offer for a bilateral testing moratorium, and Congress will be lobbied to pass legislation to end nuclear weapons testing. In the U.S., the primary targets of our organizing will be elected and appointed officials and community leaders at the national, state, and local levels. We will work systematically to make contacts inside the Bush Administration and urge a halt to testing. We will urge city councils to pass CTB resolutions (joining the 197 jurisdictions that have passed CTB resolutions in the past four years). We will urge mayors and state legislators to make public statements and write to President Bush in support of a test ban. We will urge governors' meetings to pass resolutions supporting a CTB.

This organizing will build toward city-based actions held around the world at the time of the Test Ban Treaty Conference, called "Cities Talk Back (CTB)." Local CTB coalitions, local military budget coalitions, and other groups will be urged to organize events or press conferences on January 8, 1991. Local and state elected officials and community leaders will be asked to make public statements, participate in public hearings or marches to city hall, and send telegrams to President Bush on that day. Information about numbers and names of elected officials involved in calling for a test ban will be collected at a central point and described to the national press.

The campaign will have three phases:

- Jan.-Mar 1990 — Putting an infrastructure in place, and educating national and local constituencies to the opportunity before us. This will include expanding the number of local CTB coalitions and developing nuclear test response networks in dozens of cities, where a community regularly responds to each nuclear test explosion with a specific action, e.g., a barrage of calls to public officials, or church bells tolling every time there's a nuclear explosion.

- Apr.-Aug 1990 — Passing CTB resolutions at local and state levels. Highlighting the test ban opportunity at key events in the U.S. and worldwide, including Tax Day (Apr. 15), Earth Day (Apr. 22), U.S./U.S.S.R. Women's Summit in D.C. (late April), International Citizens Congress for a Nuclear Test Ban in Kazakhstan, U.S.S.R. (May 24-26), the Bush-Gorbachev Summit (June), the Eu-

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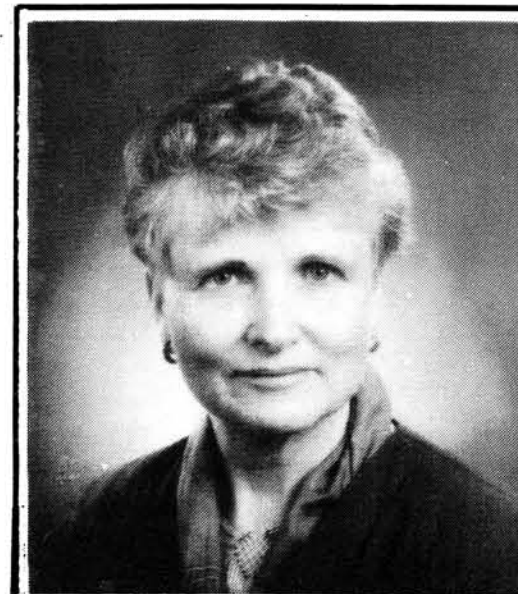
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ropean Nuclear Disarmament convention in Helsinki/Tallinn, Estonia (July 3-7), Hiroshima Day activities (Aug. 6-9), the NPT Review (mid-Aug. to mid-Sept.), and raising the issue in congressional races.

• Sept. 1990-Jan. 1991 — Building even greater U.S. public support through an intensified media campaign which includes newspaper op-ed pieces, signature ads, television spots, television programs, and videos. Continued work to pass CTB resolutions and urge local, state and national officials to speak up for a CTB. Organizing for "Cities Talk Back" actions worldwide.

In order to be successful, the campaign must build bridges with other, related campaigns. These include the campaigns focused on reordering national priorities (SANE FREEZE's Peace Economy Campaign, the Citizens' Budget Campaign, the Budget for a Strong America, and others); the campaign to keep the nuclear weapons production plants closed (the Plutonium Challenge and the Military Production Network); and campaigns for common security or global security (the Institute for Peace and International Security, SANE FREEZE, and others).

The work being done to reorder national priorities, to stop nuclear testing, and to keep the nuclear weapons plants closed is all of one piece. It is a "whole peace". The issues are already inextricably linked to each other: it is the task of activists simply to demonstrate this linkage in their work. People understand how they are linked — or will easily understand once it is explained to them.

Making the linkage works because:

- People want it all to be connected,
- People want and need to simplify the task of ending the arms race,
- People want simple, coordinated things to do,
- People want to be connected to each other,
- People want coordination — they are tired of fragmentation, the dozens of mailings and newsletters.

Bridges can be built by bringing diverse constituencies together around the same table, by showing them materials that integrate the issues, and by asking them to do a few integrated tasks. For example:

1. Participate in Tax Day actions in your local community. Make the connection between the exorbitant costs of the arms race and local needs. Testing is the beginning of the arms build-up cycle. "Stop Testing, Start Investing" in our cities.

2. Get "CTB/stop the arms race" resolutions passed by city councils, state legislatures, and governors' associations. Focus on the enormous costs and waste of continuing the arms race at a time when the Cold War is ending.

3. Raise the economic and environmental costs of the arms race in all our organizing to stop testing and to keep the weapons plants closed. Link a test ban to keeping the plants closed.

A comprehensive test ban is the single most important step toward reversing the arms race and freeing up national resources. Together, a CTB and permanently closed production plants would bring us very close to a complete FREEZE. Through the Partial Test Ban amendment effort involving 118 countries, a comprehensive test ban is the best opportunity on the horizon for making a significant step toward global security.

Carolyn Cottom is the Coalition Director at the Committee for National Security and the U.S. Chair of the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign.



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Record Number of Anti-Nuclear Arrests in 1989

by Jack & Felice Cohen-Joppa

While nonviolent action in China and Central Europe last year grabbed headlines around the globe, North America media seem to have all but forgotten the ongoing non-violent direct action campaign for a nuclear-free future. Yet in 1989, nearly 5,500 arrests for anti-nuclear protest in the United States and Canada — more than in any other previous year — were reported in the *Nuclear Resister* newsletter.

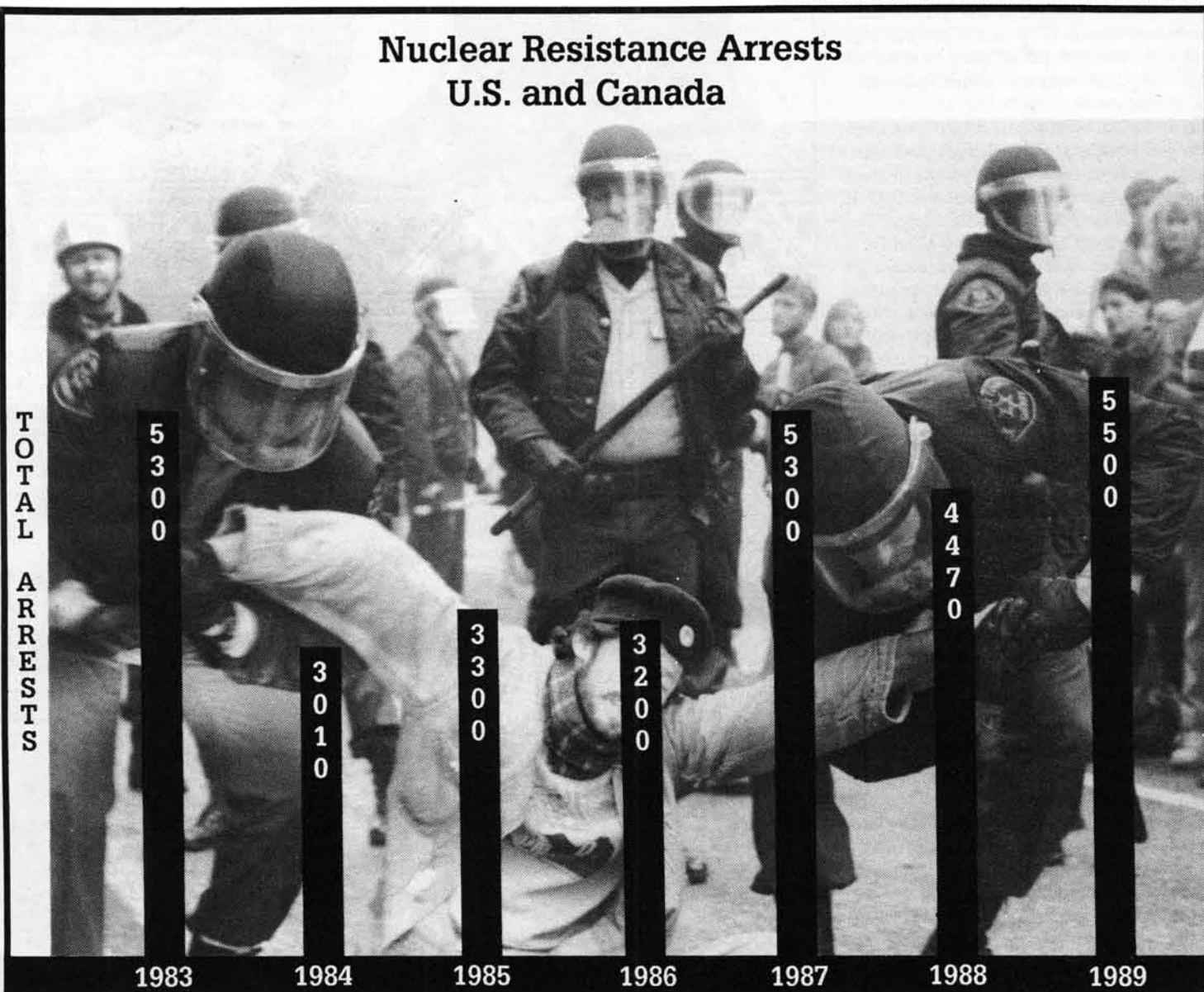
The latest statistics, compiled annually by the *Nuclear Resister*, reveal that of the 5,500 anti-nuclear arrests, 5,010 were made in the United States, and nearly 500 in Canada, during almost 150 protests at more than 70 nuclear power and weapons plants, test sites, along transportation routes and at military bases, government offices and proposed nuclear waste dumps. As a result, at least 90 people have served or are serving from two weeks to 17 years in prison, while hundreds more served lesser sentences.

The resurgence of nonviolent civil disobedience was apparent at New Hampshire's Seabrook nuclear power plant, where mass anti-nuclear direct action was born in the late 1970's. More than 1,250 were arrested protesting the plant in 1989, the largest annual total since 1977. The presence among those arrested of state legislators from New Hampshire and Massachusetts, as well as many Republicans, spoke of the widespread citizen opposition to the plant. In spite of such popular rejection, relaxed safety regulations and industry bailout of the bankrupt owners of the plant enabled low-power testing to begin in June.

Reflecting global interest in a comprehensive nuclear test ban, for the third straight year, more arrests were reported at the Nevada nuclear weapons test site — over 2,300 — than at any other location. Two days before the start of the week-long "Reclaim the Test Site II" actions in April, Nye County authorities announced they would no longer prosecute anyone arrested at the federally controlled test site. While most test site charges were quickly dismissed, this latest retrenchment by the beleaguered rural county compelled the federal government to finally begin prosecuting a select few that were arrested within the government town of Mercury, two miles inside the gate. Among those taken to federal court for trespass, one man was sentenced to 90 days in federal prison.

In June, federal officials of the Bureau of Land Management evicted the Test Site Peace Camp, arresting three. Resolute peace campers have nonetheless sustained the three-year-old continuous vigil by relocating their camp on the public rally site adjacent to the main gate. This proximity enabled peace campers in July to hastily blockade the entrance road, and for the first time actually stop a truck convoy likely bringing nuclear weapons to the test site.

Also in June, federal and state agents arrested four Arizona residents in an alleged conspiracy to topple electrical transmission lines leading from the Palo Verde (Arizona)



and Diablo Canyon (California) nuclear power plants, and the Rocky Flats (Colorado) nuclear power plant. The four are all active in the radical environmental movement, Earth First!. The arrests exposed a major undercover operation against Earth First! involving infiltrators and wiretaps in at least seven western states. Three of the four were jailed for two months before bond was set. In December, a fifth Arizonan was also indicted on related charges. Ironically, Earth First! has never focused its attention on nuclear issues.

In an apparent effort to discredit both the anti-nuclear and radical environmental movements, prosecutors branded the original four as "terrorists." FBI anti-terrorist agent David Small justified that claim with the sweeping assertion that terrorism "includes any individual committing criminal acts under federal, state or local laws in furtherance with their political or social goals." No firm trial date has been set, as defense attorneys must first review hundreds of hours of wiretap transcripts and recorded conversations.

As the government has escalated its response to direct action movements, non-violent activists have also explored different ways to advance their resistance. While

each year scores of resisters refuse to pay fines or cooperate with terms of probation or parole, in 1989 activists charged in Michigan, Georgia, Ohio, Missouri and Pennsylvania actions refused even to answer summons or appear voluntarily in court. This refusal is based on the claim of many who do go willingly to court that nonviolent resistance to U.S. nuclear policies is no crime. The recalcitrant activists carried on instead with their peace and justice vocations. In the case of two people arrested at missile silos during the 1988 Missouri Peace Planting actions, federal authorities in 1989 resorted to intimidating the activists' friends and relatives until the resisters surrendered.

The U.S. Supreme Court was presented in 1989 with the opportunity for the first time to hear a major nuclear resistance case. The appeal of the Plowshares Eight, Catholic peace activists who in 1980 first employed hand tools to damage nuclear weapons parts, claimed that they were denied a fair trial in Pennsylvania state court because their defense of justification and the supporting testimony of various experts was not permitted. On October 2, the U.S. Supreme Court declined without comment to hear the case. In an earlier appeal, the Penn-

sylvania Supreme Court had invalidated their original sentences of 1-1/2 to 10 years. The Eight — Rev. Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, Dean Hammer, Fr. Carl Kabat, Elmer Maas, Sr. Anne Montgomery, Molly Rush and John Schuchardt — now await re-sentencing in early 1990.

Civil resistance has also played a major role in the Canadian peace movement in 1989. A major nonviolent resistance campaign is being led by the Innu, native people of Northern Quebec and Labrador. The Canadian government is giving favorable consideration to a NATO proposal for expanded low-level training flights of nuclear and conventional NATO warplanes over traditional Innu hunting ranges, from an air base at Goose Bay, Labrador. Innu families have repeatedly occupied the base runway and camped on the bombing ranges in protest, facing arrest and jail, while their supporters have engaged in a series of civil disobedience actions at government offices in Ottawa and Toronto. The struggle continues, with over 300 related arrests in 1989.

This year, a major challenge facing anti-nuclear activists will be to expose the illusion of a diminished nuclear threat. Image-makers in the Bush Administration will strive to finally silence nuclear critics by

PHOTO: TARMO HANNULA CHART: DIANE RIGOLI/MONTHLY PLANET

FEATURE

offering "cosmetic disarmament," in the form of an "arms reduction" treaty to eliminate up to half of our strategic nuclear arsenal.

Yet the weapons most likely to be disarmed under the terms of a potential treaty — the land-based force of 1,000 Minuteman nuclear missiles in silos throughout the heartland of the United States — are in fact the least-threatening. While offering to sacrifice silo-based missiles to public demand for nuclear weapons cuts, the Pentagon has clearly stated its intent to continue production of the more modern, less vulnerable weapons which are suitable to first-strike strategies: weapons such as Trident submarines, air- and sea-launched cruise missiles, the Stealth bomber, and mobile, land-based missiles (the MX rail-garrison and/or Midgeman).

While direct actionists have opposed all of these systems to varying degrees, it is the Trident nuclear submarine and its highly-accurate D-5 missile which are being most vigorously opposed. At the Trident's East Coast home port at Kings Bay, Georgia, the Metanoia Community has supported an increasing level of nonviolent resistance over the last three years. Arrests (105 in 1989) and jail terms have increased as the base comes into full operation. Across the southern states, communities of resistance are preparing to protest and blockade the "nuclear train," expected to return to the tracks in early 1990 to transport warheads to Kings Bay from the Pantex assembly plant near Amarillo, Texas. Trident resistance will also continue at sites in Califor-

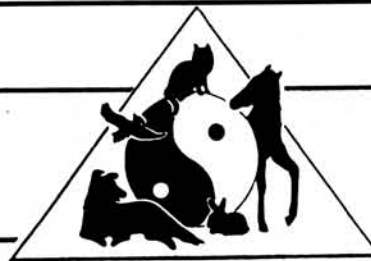
nia and Utah, where the D-5 missile is designed, tested and assembled; at the West Coast home port at Bangor, Washington; and in Groton, Connecticut, where Trident submarines are built.

In the spring of 1990, civil resisters at the Nevada Test Site will demonstrate in concert with nuclear testing opponents in Kazakhstan, USSR, who call their movement the "Nevada Movement," in solidarity with direct actionists in the United States.

In this next decade, anti-nuclear resisters will be joined by citizen groups concerned with the environmental hazards of weapons production and nuclear waste disposal. Nuclear weapons plants remain closed in several states as the secret poisoning of surrounding communities over the last 40 years has come to light. Activists are preparing direct action campaigns to "Stop the Restart" of these facilities and to prevent replacement factories from being built. And at the end of the nuclear fuel cycle, nuclear waste dumps nearly completed in New Mexico and under consideration in New York and Nevada are facing nonviolent opposition at the dump sites and along transportation routes.

If the 1990's are truly to be the "Decade of the Environment," nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience will play a significant role in making the environment of the third millennium a non-nuclear one, as well.

Jack & Felice Cohen-Joppa edit the Nuclear Resister newsletter, P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733.



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FEATURE

East Meets West: Can North Meet South in Central America?

by Saul Landau

Kipling's dictum is confounded. East and West have met, and are negotiating themselves out of almost 50 years of Cold War. But North, the U.S.A., has not yet met South, Central America. At Malta, Gorbachev could have taught Bush the trick of beneficial disengagement.

Gorbachev's bold step to end the Cold War was to eliminate the enemy. He did not get rid of all his nuclear missiles or troops, nor resort to a two-party system with separation of powers, checks and balances and PACs. But he did convince the West that Soviet strategy was directed at internal reform. Skeptics remain of course, but the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe are heavy evidence of good intentions.

In Central America, however, there is no parallel movement. The U.S. government clings to Cold War language, long after its reality has disintegrated. In Nicaragua the Sandinistas have made numerous concessions:

In Central America, the U.S. government still clings to Cold War language, long after its reality has disintegrated.

opened their economy to foreign investment; cut government spending as if dictated by the IMF; elaborated election procedures at least as democratic as the Polish or Hungarian — which we applauded.

The U.S. insists that the issue of export-

ing revolution remains, i.e. the charge that the Sandinistas are sending arms to the Salvadoran guerillas. Maybe they did it, maybe they didn't. Rumors abound in Washington and Miami that the guerillas buy their best war material — including Stingers — from the Contras, who got them from the CIA. This situation is confusing, unless old Cold War logic is applied.

The United States supplied ground-to-air missiles to the Contras to shoot down Sandinista aircraft. That's O.K. The CIA still offers these deadly rockets to "our" guerillas in Angola and Afghanistan. That's also all right.

But Bush, the CIA's ultimate boss, becomes irate when someone else supplies other guerillas with material that may once have been supplied by us to "our" guerillas.

No wonder North and South cannot meet. If we don't put our unstated assumptions on the table, how can we get rid of the Central American headache? By using a politics of realism, Gorbachev unloaded costly Soviet problems in Eastern Europe. One implicit premise that merits no challenge is that the United States, but no one else, can send anti-aircraft missiles to insurgents.

Where is this written? one might ask. In

the Monroe Doctrine, the Reagan Doctrine, and even if it's not explicit, in God's will? In spheres of influence canons, superpower prerogatives, national security objectives?

These vestigial phrases cause outrage in Congress over the possibility that Nicaragua authorized the shipment of missiles to the Salvadoran guerillas. The guerillas, being bombed and strafed by the U.S.-supplied Salvadoran air force, predictably claim they need the missiles.

Well, reply the hard liners, the Salvadoran government may have needed to bomb and strafe, and maybe even to have assassinated the six priest and their cook and her daughter.

Does this sound like the Cold War of the 1950's, only applied by the North to the South? Isn't the climate appropriate for Members of Congress to ask questions about Central America, as Gorbachev did about Eastern Europe? For example, why does the FMLN continue to fight in El Salvador, since the Soviets have made clear they do not back them, and that even in the unlikely event of a guerilla victory could be counted on for no more than a supportive telegram? Indeed, why did the FMLN organize in the first place about a decade ago, and how have they been able to survive the billions of dollars of military aid, and the bombing and assassination employees by the Salvadoran government? Is it possible that they are exactly what they claim to be, an indigenous force, whose goals are social justice and independence?

What are U.S. objectives in El Salvador? We have little economic interest since investors consider it foolish to gamble on a place where warfare routinely interrupts electricity, and stability is as elusive as a balanced budget. Since the Soviets have assured us that they are disinterested in the area, our strategic security is unthreatened. Moscow has even rebuked Cuba for its ideological militancy, and then chastised Nicaraguans, just in case they send missiles to the guerillas.

El Salvador is a tragedy. We have poured billions into their war effort, and after a decade, there are 70,000 dead, mostly civilians, a non-functional economy, and ecological disaster and a social order that is approaching Lebanese proportions.

It might be prudent to follow Gorbachev's example and cut losses — ours and the Salvadorans. By stopping aid the government could not continue bombing and strafing, since we supply their air force; therefore the guerillas would not need anti-aircraft missiles. Indeed, without U.S. aid the Salvadoran government might have to negotiate a peaceful settlement, not one that would jeopardize U.S. interests.

But such an act would be letting go of old ideas, of old notions of territory to which we have historically laid claim — like the Soviets did to Eastern Europe. Perhaps Gorbachev will mention to Bush the relief that he and other Soviet leaders felt after "letting go" and spark in our president that "aha" sensation that will lead him to take a turn for peace in Central America. In that way East meeting West can help North meet South.

Saul Landau is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC.



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This list was compiled by the Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN) for Lively Connections, an informal network of Santa Cruz County peace, social justice, and community organizations. To update information on the Lively Connections list, or to add your organization, call 458-9425. Mailing labels for this list are available for \$2.00. SCAN has recently published the fifth edition of the *People's Yellow Pages*, which includes all the groups listed above as well as hundreds of other listings of community groups, clubs, non-profits, and governmental agencies. Each listing includes a description of what the group does in both English and Spanish, with information about where the organization is located, their phone number, hours, and bus route they are on. Pick up your PYP at local bookstores and other retail outlets. For more information, call 458-9425.

PEACE AND JUSTICE CALENDAR

Calendar Information

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

Calendar items must be typed or legibly written and sent (along with any photos) to The Monthly Planet, 320-G Cedar St, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. We do not take calendar items over the phone.

We must receive your listing no later than 5 p.m. Tuesday, March 6 for inclusion in the March issue (publication date: Thursday, March 15).



Altazor's Latin American "New Song" integrates tradition and contemporary instruments, rhythms and styles with a commitment to popular struggles. See them at the Kuumbwa Jazz Center on Saturday, February 24. Check the listing for details.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7
Open House sponsored by the Redwood Youth Foundation at four local schools and the ham radio station located in the Vet's Hall to celebrate the January 11th launch of the peace satellite DOVE (Digital Orbiting Voice Encoder) dedicated to peace and children around the globe. 4:30-8:30 p.m. Info: 462-0300.

Rebuilding Downtown Santa Cruz free lecture series: "Downtown Life, Downtown Living" with Clare Cooper Marcus, professor of landscape architecture at U.C. Berkeley, Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street, 7:30 p.m.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8
"Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico," slide showing and lecture by Dan Sudran from the San Francisco Jewish Sanctuary Coalition. Camps' conditions, refugees prospects for return, and involvement of the Permanent Commission of Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico. 7 p.m. at Resource Center for Nonviolence., 515 Broadway. Info: 429-8944.

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 Cameleon, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9—
 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10**

John McCutcheon in Concert, a benefit for the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Friday, First Congregational Church, 900 High Street, 7:30 p.m. \$9-12 sliding scale in advance, \$12 at Door. Saturday Morning Children's Show, Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street. \$5-8 sliding scale in advance, \$6 at the door. Info: 423-1626.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 11
"Sustainable Development, Part 1," a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3 FM). With environmental distress signals everywhere, and a global population expanding from five billion, many world leaders see "Sustainable Development" as the next challenge. This program is the first of two that examines the issues involved through a major U.S. conference on the subject. Featured is Jay Hair of the National Wildlife Federation; Maurice Strong, former Under Secretary-General of the United Nations and others. Info: 375-7275.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12
Peace Economy Campaign Coalition Meeting. The very first meeting of the brand new coalition of peace and justice, labor, human care and political organizations who are joining forces to make the connections between out-of-control military spending and unmet local human needs. 3-5 p.m. at Loudon Nelson Center. Info: 458-9975.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14
Erotic Expressions, a benefit performance for Santa Cruz AIDS Project celebrating the erotic. Features Jan Sturtevant, Deborah Abbot, and Patrice Vecchione, contributing authors of Touching Fire-Erotic Writings by Women. Admission \$5.00, Loudon Nelson Center, 7:15 p.m. Info: 462-5022.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15
Rebuilding Downtown Santa Cruz free lecture series: "Great Streets: the Key to Public Life" with Allan Jacobs, professor of city and regional planning at U.C. Berkeley, Loudon Nelson Center, free, 7:30 p.m.

Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN) annual membership meeting. All are invited to join SCAN to decide on 1990 projects, and set the progressive agenda for downtown Santa Cruz redevelopment. Loudon Nelson Center, 7:30 p.m. Info: 458-9425

Slide show and talk by Lynn Clausen of the Women's Convoy to Central America. One of 69 women who drove through Central America bringing material aid and solidarity to women's organizations. Sponsored by Santa Cruz Guatemala Committee. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, 7 p.m.

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 Cameleon, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15—
 SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18**
1989 SANE/FREEZE National Congress and International Peace Conference in Oakland, CA. Info: (415) 653-8826 or 653-8840. (See box in this section.)

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16—
 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17**
Chambers of the Heart, benefit concert for the Santa Cruz AIDS Project. First Congregational Church, 900 High Street, 8:00 p.m. Info: 427-3900.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17
Dance for Heart "Aerob-a-thon." Fundraiser for the American Heart Association and the YWCA. Santa Cruz YWCA, 303 Walnut. 9 a.m.-Noon. Info: 426-3062.

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17—
 SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18**
New Life Celebration Holistic Faire. Feed

JOIN the FREEZE

Members receive a subscription to *The Monthly Planet* and are kept up to date on all activities and events. To join, just fill out the form below and send it to: **Nuclear Weapons Freeze P.O. Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061**

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PEACE AND JUSTICE CALENDAR

the Hungry Benefit. Healing and bodywork, global and social awareness, psychic and spiritual counseling. Gavilan College, Gilroy, \$3.00 admission, children under 12 free. Saturday 10 a.m. to 7 p.m., Sunday 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. Info: 848-1086 or 848-8210.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18
Delegation to Nicaragua departs Composed of U.C.S.C. students and S.C. community members to bring first hand experience of the Feb. 25 elections back to our community. Meetings with opposition leaders, Supreme Electoral Council, Sandinista Party members and other activities. Returns March 3. Cost: \$1250 per person. Info: Scott or Eric at 426-7991, or Coalition for Nicaragua at 458-0303.

Santa Cruz Greens New Members Potluck. Discussion of Greens issues. Bring a dish to share. Loudon Nelson Center, 11 a.m.-1 p.m.

"Sustainable Development, Part.2" a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3 FM). Second of two programs covering a major U.S. conference on the issue of preserving the global environment. Speakers include former President Jimmy Carter, Michael Deland, Chairperson of White House Council on Environmental Quality, Ambassador Richard Benedick and others. 8:30 -9:00. Info: 375-7275.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20
Racism Response Network for the Greater Bay Area meeting at office of Ecumenical Peace Institute, basement of Trinity United Methodist Church, 2362 Bancroft St., Berkeley, 6:30 p.m. Info: 429-9155, or (415) 849-2214.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22
Rebuilding Downtown Santa Cruz free lecture series: "Making Places from Spaces" by Donlyn Lyndon, professor of architecture, U.C. Berkeley. Loudon Nelson Center, 7:30 p.m.



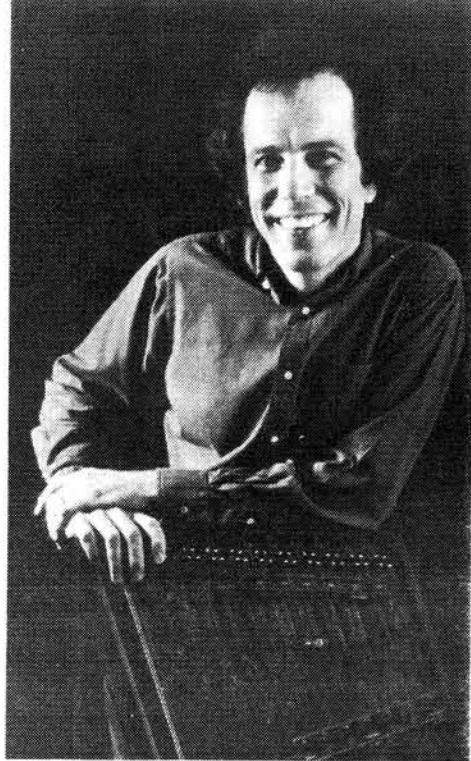
Open Gatherings small group discussions. Sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a San Jose-based non-profit educational organization. Free, donation requested. 7 p.m., Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street; 9 p.m., Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street. Info: 947-1606.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24
"Global Resources, Conflict and Change" an educational panel discussion and community forum on international debt, tropical deforestation, global stability, Latin America and the Pacific in upheaval, conflict in the Middle East, grassroots movements and global change, and other topics. Loudon Nelson Community Center, 1:30-5 p.m. Info: 427-0322

Altazor, a group performing Latin American "New Song," integrating traditional and contemporary music from Cuba, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. with a commitment to popular struggles, will be at Kuumba

Jazz Center, 320 Cedar St., \$10 in advance, \$12 at the door, 8 p.m.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25
"Pro-Democracy' Here at Home," a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3). Featured are two people dedicated to raising the political profile of ordinary Americans: Lois Barber, Co-Director of 20-20 Vision, a grassroots lobbying network for peace, and David Schmidt, author of *Citizen Lawmakers*, and Executive Director of the Initiative Resource Center. Also



John McCutcheon plays a benefit concert for the Resource Center for Nonviolence on Friday and Saturday, February 9 and 10. See the listing for details.

contains two features from Four More Years, the International Comedy Conspiracy. 8:30 - 9 p.m.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27
Human Race Information Workshop on the annual Human Race Walkathon,

1989 SANE/FREEZE National Congress and International Peace Conference,

originally scheduled for November 1989, will be held February 15-18, 1990, at the Hyatt Regency, Oakland, CA

Since the conference was postponed in November, tremendous changes have taken place across the world. We have updated the conference to keep pace with some of these changes. Nationally, our focus of reordering federal budget priorities away from the military and into social programs, and of converting from a war economy to a peace economy is, now, more timely than ever.

The conference has expanded to become an international event, as it represents the first major gathering of peace activists from around the world since the walls of the Cold War came down. Our plenary panels include major peace activists from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Central America.

Rev. Jesse Jackson will be in South Africa with Bishop Desmond Tutu to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela. We are arranging for a phone, and possibly video, hookup to address the conference live from Johannesburg. A keynote address by the Foreign Minister of Angola, Pedro Van Dunam, will follow this event.

Volunteers can also receive discounts on conference fees. (Each volunteer shift equals a free day.) Call John Hornung, the local coordinator of the Congress, at (415) 653-8826 or 653-8840 for more information.

(scheduled for May 12) at the Solarium, 1060 Emeline, 1-3 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28
Rebuilding Downtown Santa Cruz free lecture series: "The Transit-Pedestrian Connection," with Peter Calthorpe, architect and community designer, San Francisco. Loudon Nelson Center, 8 p.m.

FEBRUARY 28- APRIL 15
Lenten Desert Experience IX — "When Stones Cry Out." Prayer, Action, Reflection at the Nevada Test Site. Info: Nevada Desert Experience, Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127; (702) 646-4814.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1
Peace Brigades International representative, John Lindsay Poland, will talk about PBI's support of non-violent initiatives in Guatemala and El Salvador. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, 7 p.m. Info: 429-8944.

SUNDAY, MARCH 4
"Rediscovering American Values", a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3). This program features the current work of Frances Moore Lappe, co-

founder and director of the Institute of Food and Development Policy, and author of many books, including *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*. 8:30 to 9 p.m.

FRIDAY, MARCH 9
Celebration to honor award winners for the Santa Cruz County Women's Commission who have made contributions to improve the status of women. Applications are available now at 701 Ocean St, Room 214. Info: 425-2003.

SUNDAY, MARCH 11
"Eric Utne on the Alternative Press", a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3). A Conversation with Eric Utne, editor and publisher of *The Utne Reader* 8:30 to 9 p.m.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21
"March for a Peace Economy": Eighth annual Nuclear Weapons Freeze Walkathon starts with a rally at San Lorenzo Park at 9 a.m. Join hundreds of activists and community people in 10 km (6 mile) march; T-shirts awarded to walkers raising \$100 or more and a grand prize given to the walker who raises the most money. A rally at noon ends the march, with speakers and music. Info: Sev Williams at 458-9975.

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