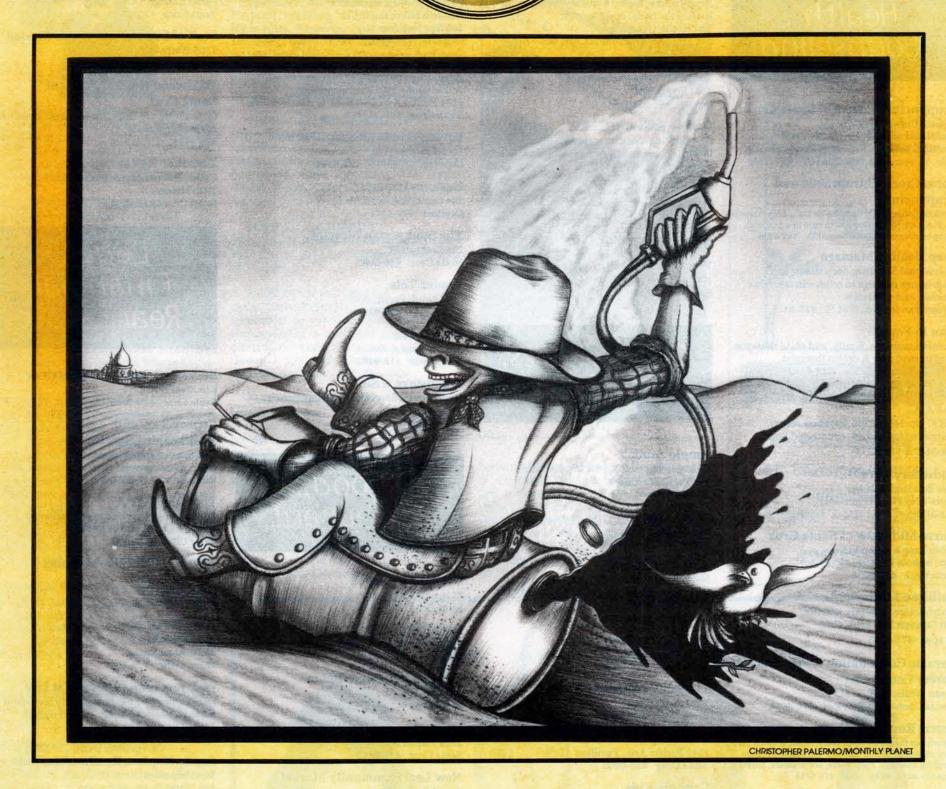
MONTHLY PLANET

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The U.S. and the Middle East Crisis

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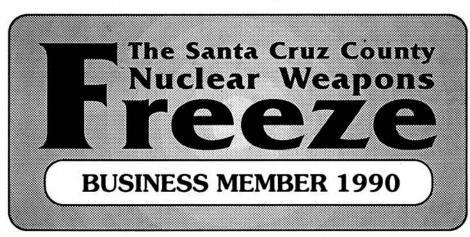
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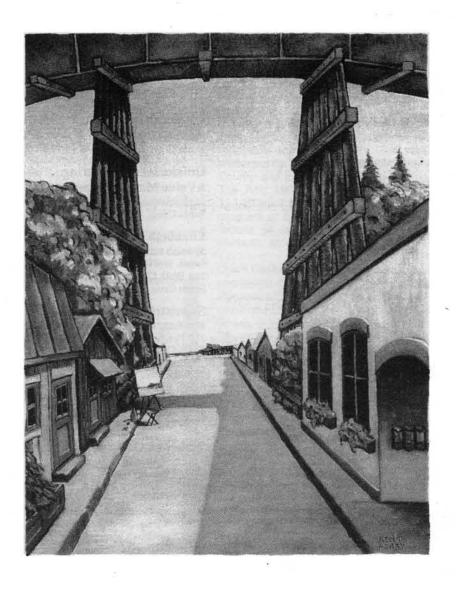
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"Don't just try to influence the media be the media"

> Goodbye Terry; Welcome Gail!

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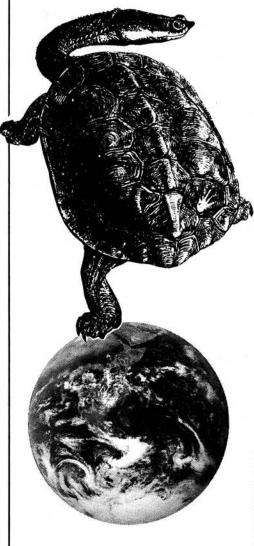
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Deadlines

for the October MonthlyPlanet (Publication date: Thursday, October 4) Display Ads: Tuesday, September 25, 5 p.m. Calendar Items: Tuesday, September 25, 5 p.m. (no phone calls, please)

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Write to the Planet!

Send your typed, double spaced (or legibly written) letters to *The Monthly Planet*, Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061. We reserve the right to edit letters for brevity or clarity.

VFW Post Opposes Military Force

The Bill Motto Post for Peace opposes the use of military force as a means of settling international disputes. As combat veterans of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, we view with alarm the massive buildup of American forces in the Middle East. As in the past, the president of the United States has committed this nation to

a potentially massive military confrontation without benefit of reasoned public discussion or debate.

Our experience in combat, especially in Vietnam, have shown us the futility of such military adventurism. We do not wish to see our brothers and sisters in the armed forces of the United States suffer mutilation and death for dubious political, and suspect economic, interests.

We believe such an extensive American military commitment is more likely to lead to conflict than resolution. Although we acknowledge and respect the diversity of opinion within our organization and throughout the country, as veterans and citizens we believe it is our duty and obligation to speak out on this issue.

The members of Bill Motto Post #5888 Veterans of Foreign Wars Santa Cruz



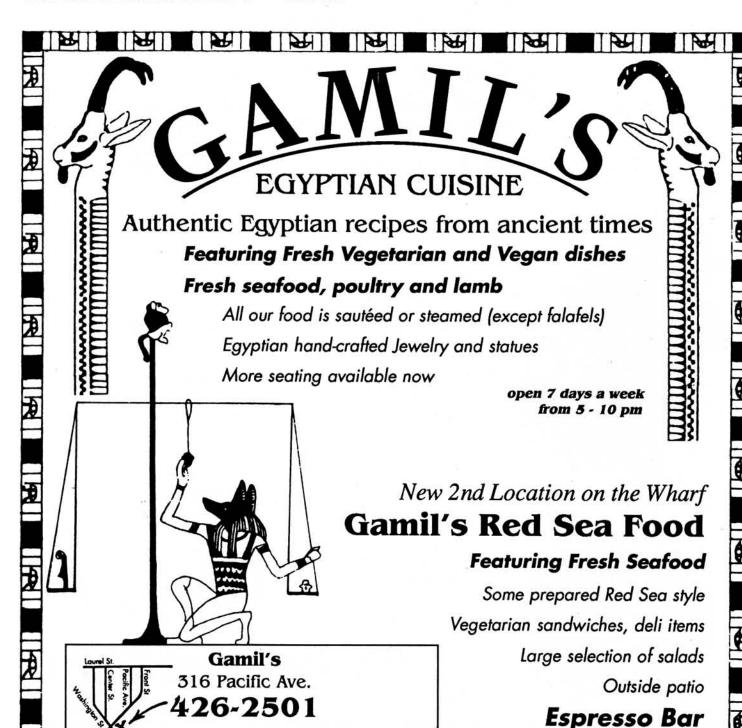
Can We Afford War?

So we are going to war, or so it seems, to defend our lifestyle. But can we afford to? Are we willing to pay the price for war? There are few rules, if any, and they are most often broken.

Are we prepared to suffer the casualties, not just in the Mideast, but at home as well? Who is to say a bomb will not rip you or I apart in retaliation for our military's actions?

War is the greatest destructive force known to the environment. In what is supposed to be the decade of the environment, would we not all be better off re-examining our lifestyle in lieu of preparing for war?

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Letter to Bush

The following is a letter to President Bush, dated August 9, from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:

Dear President Bush:

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom deplores the recent invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. We were encouraged by the prompt unanimous action of the Security Council to impose economic sanctions on Iraq. However, we in the U.S. Section are gravely concerned by the precipitous U.S. military reaction before sanctions have had time to take effect. The U.S. efforts to further militarize the Gulf risks escalation of an already tense situation to a major confrontation and possibly war that would engage U.S. forces thousands of miles from home and cause great human suffering. History has demonstrated that military action does not resolve disputes, and is more likely to exacerbate them; witness the Iran-Iraq war which was expected to be a "quick fix."

Therefore we call on the U.S. government to:

- Stop the militarization of the Gulf area.
 Do not continue to act unilaterally nor draw other nations into polarizing military actions;
- 2. Work within the United Nations to use all the mechanisms available for negotiating settlement of this dispute. Continue to observe the economic sanctions agreed to by the Security Council.
- 3. The crisis in the Gulf and the other current deployments of U.S. troops around the world should not justify maintaining the excessive burden of military spending on the people of the United States. We urge you to redirect U.S. priorities to correct the deteriorating domestic economy and focus resources on real security meeting human needs.

We look forward to your response.

Pax

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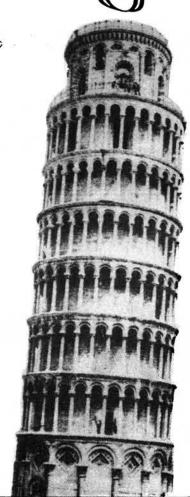




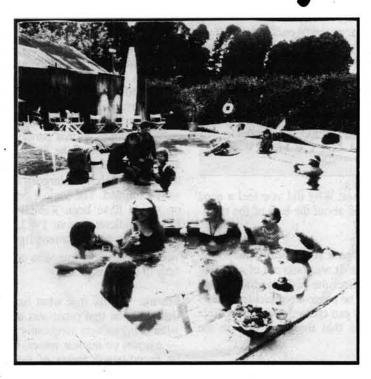








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Norman Soloman & Martin Lee Discuss Mainstream Media Bias

interview by John Govsky

Martin A. Lee and Norman Soloman are associated with Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), a New York-based media watch group. They are co-authors of Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in Media, recently published by Lyle Stuart. Shortly before their talk in Santa Cruz on August 8th, Martin and Norman stopped by the Freeze office to discuss the ideas contained in their new book.

INTERVIEW

Monthly Planet: Why did you feel a need to write a book about the bias of the main-stream media?

Norman Soloman: It was really out of disgust and anger. It was also out of a feeling that we can affect the news media, that we don't need to be passive recipients of newspeak, that we can challenge this incredible patterned bias that threatens life on the planet.

Martin Lee: For me the book grew out of my work with FAIR, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, a media watch group formed about four years ago. FAIR was formed for much the same reasons that Norman just stated. There was also a sense of being locked out, of being frustrated, of never seeing our reality, or in this case, my reality, reflected in the newspapers or on television, or so rarely. So I think that sense of outrage produced the book.

Norman: I'd add that for those who have roots in the Nuclear Freeze movement, it was a real sobering lesson to see that the same mass media that seemed to embrace the Freeze in the early 1980's also functioned to undercut it. The key juncture was following the film "The Day After" on ABC television. Not only did the network give

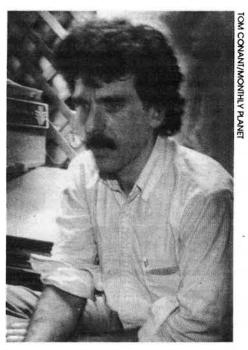
George Schultz the platform for an armchair chat to tell us that there's really nothing to worry about, with nuclear arsenals being expanded, but the panel which was put on the air represented former war criminals like Robert McNamara, and very sanitized pseudo-advocates of a supposed antinuclear position, i.e., McNamara and [former CIA Director] William Colby and so forth. And I think it's notable for a number of reasons; the grassroots were kept totally out of that forum and you had a half a dozen or more people on that panel, and you did not have leaders of the Freeze movement, and I don't think that it's coincidental that that leadership was largely women who were excluded. The logical people to have on would have been Randal Forsberg or Helen Caldicott, but in 1982, as in 1990, only certain establishment figures, usually white males, are allowed to comment publicly in the mass media.

Martin: I think that what happened after that show on that panel sort of epitomized what happens very frequently in the media — not just on nuclear issues, but of course on broad-based issues of public interest, because it wasn't just after that panel that the grassroots leaders of the peace movement and the anti-nuclear movement were just cut out, or forced out of the discussion. This has been going on typically all along, and continues to this day.

Planet: Just why is it that the media in this country are so bad? Is it ownership? Is it the drive for profits? Is it more complex?

Norman: Your question is really key to the book that we've written. We called it Unreliable Sources because there are so many ways in which the news media are worse than no information at all. I mean, to be misled is much worse than to encounter silence, and the reasons certainly have to do with who controls the media and who owns the media, and we examine the ownership.

We also examine what that ownership seeks to accomplish and it's not simply a matter of the fact that, for instance, General Electric, a huge nuclear military contractor, owns NBC. It's also a broader corporate interlock and approach that supports the status quo with minor variations. The notion that we might create a more humane society by taking away the power to centralize decisions and control information —



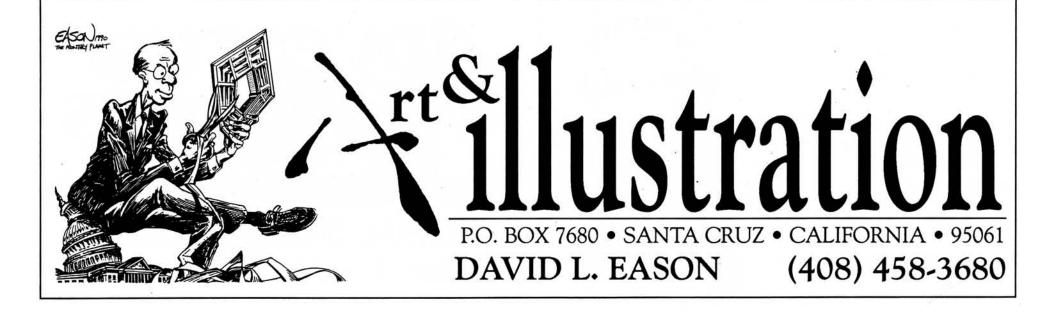
Norman Soloman

which is now in very few corporate hands
— is anathema to the news media and it's
very difficult to get out through the mainstream press with such concepts.

Martin: I think there are two key factors that go a long way toward explaining how and why the U.S. news media are biased. Norman just talked about one of them: the corporate ownership. The fact is that the news media, and the media in general, are

owned by big corporations, a relatively small number of huge corporations. From that you get a situation where the news product is slanted in a way that serves the interests of those big corporations and corporate America in general. That's not a surprise. They own it, therefore what they do with it serves them. It doesn't just earn them money; it can affect the way news is actually "spun." Another key factor which we stress in the book is the way in which the U.S. government has dominated the news agenda, and the way reporters, particularly the Washington press corps, seem to be fixated on and almost addicted to government and official sources. They rely heavily on government sources, oftentimes slighting, or completely excluding, non-governmental independent policy critics. And that's shown time and again in various academic studies that analyze the news media, including different programs not only of the networks, but of the papers of record -The Washington Post and The New York Times. So it's those two key factors - corporate ownership and a heavy preponderance of official sources.

Norman: It's very significant that even the so called "good" public affairs programs on television are dominated by official sources. The government line, the corporate line, is paramount. Studies of Nightline that FAIR has done which we cite in the book, and more recent studies of McNeil-Lehrer Newshour, prove this point. As long as you have that kind of imbalance, there is very little separation between press and state. In times of crisis, as we now are experiencing with the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the U.S. mobilization into Saudi Arabia, and as occurred during the invasion of Panama, the separation between press and state becomes virtually non-existent. Watching McNeil-Lehrer Newshour yesterday, I saw another instance of what we call in the book "the we-we phenomenon" which is supposedly independent



journalists saying things like "Would we be able to stop Iraq before it takes over Saudi Arabia?" or "Now that we have decided to send troops to Saudi Arabia..." I heard that from Jim Lehrer yesterday, and I heard it from the *Time* magazine Middle East bureau chief, who they had on the air as a pundit.

Martin: Thomas Friedman did the same thing for *The New York Times*. He's the Pulitzer Prize winner who covered Israel. He now covers the State Department beat



Martin A. Lee

for The New York Times, and I think his main accomplishment, as far as I can tell, is getting into a regular tennis game with Jim Baker, Secretary of State. This raises questions I have on how well he can report on his tennis partner. Friedman was on the CBS Morning News and they asked him well, what will we do? He says that we should send the CIA in there, blow up the pipelines in Turkey and Saudi Arabia, and then claim it was an accident. Now Friedman I'm sure has been a conduit for disinformation many times; he was a CIA intern at one point, but this is the first time that I know of that he's actually openly advocated that the government disinform the public. I mean this is a journalist calling upon the government to send the CIA in there and then lie about it. That's a rather interesting situation.

Planet: Just exactly who owns the media; who are the major players in the U.S. media?

Martin: Well right now, 23 big corporations own and control most of the U.S. media. That number has shrunk within the last half dozen years or so; it was once 50 in the early 1980's. It's shrinking fast. It's been predicted by an executive at Time-Warner, the biggest media corporation in the world, that in the not too distant future only a half dozen huge corporations, huge media conglomerates, will dominate not only the U.S. market but the Western media market as a whole, which raises serious questions about that kind of concentrated power. It ought to be disturbing to anyone who cares about pluralism, democratic discourse, and the First Amendment. Even if

these were wonderful, benevolent corporations that owned our media — which they're not — they're interested in making money, first and foremost. They're interested in the news being reported in a way that helps them make money. But even if they were absolutely benevolent, it would still be very disturbing that such an enormous power would be controlled by such a small number of corporations, and I think that situation is inherently anti-democratic.

Norman: In the Santa Cruz area we are up against the media monopoly. We have a daily newspaper in Santa Cruz which is owned by the same company that owns The Wall Street Journal, and Dow Jones is not particularly interested in the health of this community. Dow Jones is interested in the well-being of the bottom line, which is for them the bottom line. It's a reflection of how precarious alternative media are financially that in 15 seconds a high-quality weekly newspaper was demolished, namely, The Sun. What we face now is a situation where we are dependent for local and regional coverage, for quality local and regional coverage, on The Comic News and several quality monthlies, like The Monthly Planet, Matrix, and Santa Cruz Magazine. And unfortunately the trends in the media industry are much more favorable for, shall we say, light-weight publications like Good

Planet: Which is not locally owned anymore.

Norman: That's a good thing to add. And it's in a sense a license to print money when you have so much domination of the ad base, and I've no doubt Good Times makes a lot of bucks. And then you look at the daily papers. We've talked about the Santa Cruz Sentinel. The San Jose Mercury News is owned by perhaps the best daily chain in the country, Knight Ridder, and yet that does raise questions again of one corporation controlling so much of the news media.

Martin: Very rich people own the media. I don't think there are many labor organizations, civil rights groups, women's groups, or environmental groups that own the media. You don't see grassroots, public interest groups in the position where they have enough money to own their own daily newspaper or their own television station, and I think those are precisely the groups that are slighted time and time again by mainstream media coverage on a wide range of issues.

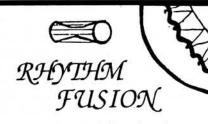
Planet: What sources would you say are the most reliable and unbiased, and what sources would you say are the most unreliable and biased?

Martin: I would say clear and away that government officials tend to be the most unreliable sources. That's not to say every government official. There are whistle blowers who are working within the government who sometimes have to remain anonymous when they give information to a reporter, and it's important for the reporter to protect that person's anonymity. But generally speaking, when you see anonymous sources

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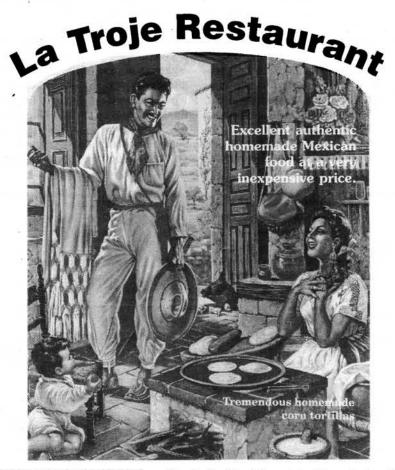
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Mainstream Media Bias

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quoted — "A high ranking CIA official stated...", "A Western diplomat said...", that sort of phrase — a flag ought to go up every time you read that in the newspaper or hear that on television. Oftentimes it means a lie is about to follow and the official does not want to be associated publicly with that lie. Which is not to say that they don't lie publicly, and that they don't go on the record lying, but that one thing to be real careful about is anonymous official sources.

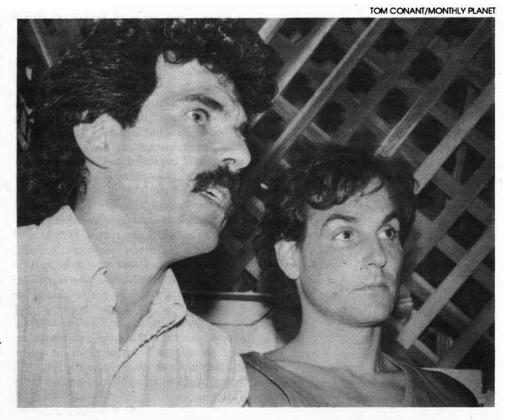
Norman: When we urge mainstream journalists to interview and quote independent sources, we're often told that they are not credible, that they're biased, and that they don't have the requisite level of credibility. We hear that from the same journalists that routinely quote people like Elliot Abrams and Henry Kissinger, who are certified pathological liars. They don't have a tremendous amount of respect for human life, to put it mildly. So the conventional media wisdom has to be turned on its head and we have to go to sources that don't have vested interests, either financial or political, in certain outcomes. A paradox that is quite ironic and very dangerous in day-today journalism is that those reporters who are "the best" at revealing new information are often the most compromised and the most interlocked with official sources. The reason that they can get the scoop and do supposed investigative reporting is that they have cut many deals, explicit and tacit, with official sources, and as long as they keep up their end of the bargain, i.e. circumscribing their reporting in certain directions, they will continue to get the leaks that come out of the White House and the Pentagon and State Department and Congress. So in a way our most famed journalists in The New York Times and The Washington Post

are the most corrupt. I think we need to push for higher profile for independent activists, scientists, researchers, and analysts, and demand that those voices be heard much more extensively. A good example would be Noam Chomsky, one of the most brilliant analysts of foreign policy in the country, who is sought after when he travels to Western Europe and other parts of the world by journalists who recognize his astute capabilities. But the U.S. media, the mainstream particularly, have a virtual boycott going on Chomsky. He is beyond the pale of reasonable discussion.

Planet: In other words, he's too far to the left

Norman: He's to the left of Michael Dukakis, who as we all know was a little bit too far from the mainstream.

Martin: I don't think it's just a matter of saying the left sources are reliable and everybody else is not, but I think that one should look at an article or view a news report in terms of the balance of the sources. If there are government officials, are there also critics? Where are these critics coming from? Are they corporate critics of some government policy? Are they people who claim that Reagan was too soft on the Soviets? Is that the non-government point of view that's represented, versus the Democrats and the Republicans - is that the three-corner debate in that way? If there is a critical public interest source, are they tagged at the end of the article almost as an afterthought? This oftentimes is the case when public interest critics are included. I think it's a matter of looking for balance, not looking for, saying, that's the good source and that's the bad source. Let there be lots of sources, lots of voices, lots of



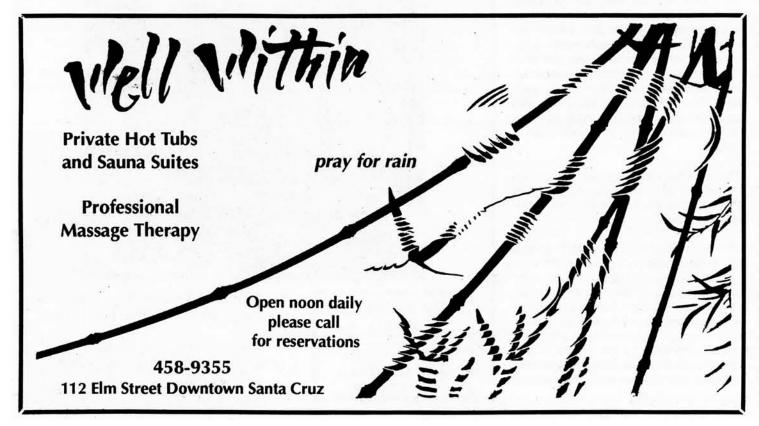
experts, and I think that the truth will be in there somehow.

Norman: Unfortunately we often get the illusion that vigorous debate is occurring in the mass media because people are disagreeing, but it's often a very narrow discussion over exactly how to achieve the common ends, i.e., how can the United States most effectively dominate Nicaragua — should it just be through military pressure or should we sending weapons and ammunition? Now it's how should we most effectively dominate the Middle East, and when the question is framed so narrowly you can get Democrats and Republicans to argue vig-

orously and sometimes bitterly over exactly the best mean's to implement the policy. But as in the case of Vietnam and in the present day, the more fundamental questions of whether we should enforce a thermonuclear Pax Americana on the world are not even raised. And I would say it's important for those who are working on nuclear weapons issues to challenge this incredible stranglehold on the mass media. The Department of Energy weapons facilities scandal has been manipulated by the nuclear boosters and the mass media to frame the issue in terms of how can we best "clean up" the weapons production assembly line and get on with escalating the nuclear arms race. And all these debates of do we want this missile system or that missile system add up to quibbles over exactly how to continue the escalation. It's one of the topics we go into in some depth in our

Planet: Do you detect a difference in the media of today and the media of, say, the Watergate era? Then it seemed to many that Nixon could do nothing right in the press, and now it seems that Bush can do nothing wrong.

Martin: There was a slight opening there, and a lot of it had to do, I think, with a cultural framework of the 1960's carried over. It became somewhat acceptable to be more questioning. But I think in the case of Watergate — in the case of Nixon versus his successors down the road — Nixon had a different way of dealing with the press. It was more brusque, it was crass, it was more antagonistic. That's not to say it was more manipulative than Reagan was, for example, but Reagan was Mr. Nice Guy, Mr. Speed Reader of the Teleprompter. It was a different way of manipulating the press. I think in the situation with Watergate you had a



particular time in American history when there was a very serious split on Mt. Olympus within the ruling circles in the country - a very serious split, really, about how to deal with the Vietnam War and how to deal with the gold crisis at the time. There were a lot of different things on which there were serious debates. That's not always the case. During the Reagan era there was no serious split between Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, about shafting everybody while easing the taxes for the rich and raising them for everybody else. No serious debates about letting the leveraged buy-outs go crazy until some of the rich actually got stung by that, and then

contradiction between being journalists and being basically flax for the Pentagon. More broadly speaking, the stranglehold that the news media and the mass media have on our information flow is very much tied into the stranglehold that the Democrat and Republican parties have on our political system. There's a good analysis that contends that the center of the Democratic Party the power brokers — much prefer the Republicans to the threat of the Jesse Jackson wing, and when push comes to shove their loyalty is to corporate America. So the bond between Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill and in Washington is similar to the bond which holds together a suppos-

"We're looking at an extremely dangerous situation where the press seems virtually incapable of criticizing U.S. military action. The main criticism comes from quarters that feel that the president should be more adventuristic ..."

there was a little problem. No serious debates about letting people go crazy over the S&L's. I mean, everybody in the corporate world was having a field day with Reagan. With Nixon, it was a different situation. So I think you had, once again, official sources feeding [Washington Post reporters] Woodward and Bernstein. This is not to say that they didn't do in their own way a very admirable job in exposing Nixon, but they were also being fed by official sources, who were against Nixon. If you have a situation where Democrats and Republicans have a consensus, then you have very little debate reflected in the media. Liberals and Conservatives may bicker over, as Norman said, questions of how do we strangle Central America - military means or just economic means? If that's the debate, then that will be reflected in the media. But outside that spectrum of Democrat-liberal/Republican-conservative, anything that might question the assumptions they're working on has a very difficult time getting a hearing. So I think there was that brief fresh air during and after Watergate. But I think there was less to it than met the eye. Seymour Hirsch suggested that it wasn't so much that the media did such a great job around Watergate, but that they made Watergate inevitable by letting Nixon getting away with this stuff for so long. He was bombing Cambodia to smithereens, and everybody was calling it a secret war. Secret air strikes in Laos were not a secret from anybody there, of course, but only a secret from the American people. And the media knew.

Norman: For the first time, the account is made public in our book about Ted Koppel's role in covering the bombing in southern Laos in 1969 to 1971, when he was the Southeast Asian bureau chief for ABC News. We spoke with Ted Koppel; he admitted that he never reported on the CIA's direct involvement in ordering air strikes along the diffuse Ho Chi Mihn Trail from a base in southern Laos, even though he visited the base and knew that the CIA was directly involved. That's very typical of what we might call national security reporters. They have so internalized the ethics - or the lack of ethics - of the military intelligence complex, that they see no edly diverse mass media which actually extremely homogenized and narrow.

Martin: That incident with Ted Koppel, was not just a singular incident. There were a hundred Ted Koppels out there covering up hundreds of atrocities, hundreds of examples of wrongdoing by the Nixon Administration. Had Ted Koppel blown the whistle, had the hundreds of others blown the whistle, had they actually been reporters rather than stenographers to those in power, they might have saved Nixon from himself. That's the point that Hirsch made, and maybe Nixon wouldn't have thought maybe he couldn't have gotten away with something like Watergate. Maybe he would have been a little more sober, literally and figuratively, about how he should conduct his business as president. But the man thought he could get away with anything because the media let him get away with it. It's the same thing with Reagan and Iran-Contra. We are under this illusion that the press marched in there and really tried to expose Reagan. They did nothing of the sort. A Beirut newspaper exposed it. And after that, basically, the media were led by the nose; a very little bit of investigative reporting went on at Iran-Contra. They reported on what Congress did, what the Tower Commission did, what he didn't do as the case may be, and the thing fizzled out in the end. We have this ridiculous scandal that never provoked the outrage it should

Norman: Now we're in a very dangerous period where President Bush has been praised for his macho, imperial exercises. We quote in the book a statement by a New York Times reporter in a news article right after the invasion of Panama that Bush had gone through a rite of passage as president by ordering the troops into Panama and...

Planet: He's not a wimp anymore.

Norman: Exactly, and I think that both the Democratic Party and the news media bear great responsibility for the invasion of Panama. They were goading and baiting and egging Bush on for months in the fall of 1989 about why wasn't he man enough to stand up to Noriega. Now in the close of

the summer of 1990 we're looking at an extremely dangerous situation where the press seems virtually incapable of criticizing U.S. military action. The main criticism comes from quarters that feel that the president should be more adventuristic and take military action. I mean, blood will flow because the news media are so complicit in this macho, militaristic mentality.

Planet: Let me ask you one more question. Is there anything an individual can do to affect the media?

Norman: I think there's a lot one can do. First, one has to get out of the mode, this continually reinforced mode, of being passive media consumer. You don't have to be that way. You can actually get angry at, and you can respond to, what's dished out to you. We set up FAIR four years ago precisely because we were angry and we thought that there was a way to respond. You could say to people who want to challenge media bias that there's a local group that's going to be forming here to do that, but there is also a national organization. That's FAIR. You can belong to FAIR and partake in the national campaigns that FAIR is organizing with respect to public broadcasting — trying to put the public back in public broadcasting. There are many different strategies one can pursue simultaneously, ranging from the most seemingly innocuous, such as writing a letter to the editor or complaining directly to a media outlet, to actually targeting a media outlet with a demonstration. There are lots of gradations in between. There's no reason why we should just be targeting City Hall when the Santa Cruz Sentinel is just as involved, just as integral to the way things are done in this city.

Norman: Of course we hope people will get a hold of our book, Unreliable Sources. We chose the subtitle, A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media, because we feel it can be kind of a hands-on tool for doing media activism work. And also I think it's very important for people to support alternative media: The Monthly Planet, Santa Cruz Magazine, The Comic News, and Matrix. These are vital outlets, and we don't really miss them unless they're gone. And we don't want them to be gone so we should support them. The other thing is that I would really underscore the point that we need to be active. We can't be passive recipients of this disinformation. It's very disheartening, it's disempowering to simply watch the propaganda be thrown in our direction every day. We need to analyze, organize and confront the sources of propaganda because these are matters of life and death.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) offers well-documented criticism in an effort to correct media bias and imbalance. Subscriptions to FAIR's bi-monthly publication, Extra!, cost \$30/year. FAIR can be reached at 130 West 25th St., New York, NY 10001; (212) 633-6700.



Middle East Crisis Puts Military Budget in Limbo

by Shelly D'Amour

hen Congress resumes September 4th after a monthlong recess, it will consider next year's Pentagon spending package against the backdrop of current U.S. military involvement in the Middle East. Early indications are that conservatives intend to invoke the specter of Saddam Hussein, and others like him, in an attempt to derail congressional momentum toward military spending cuts.

On August 4, two days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the Senate approved its version of the fiscal year 1991 Defense Authorizations Bill, allocating \$289 billion to the Pentagon beginning October 1st of this year. Two topics dominated the debate: Star Wars and the B-2 bomber.

Support for the Stealth bomber has been steadily eroding in Congress over the past year, partly due to the end of the Cold War, and partly due to the bomber's enormous price tag. At \$865 million a copy (a projected \$37 billion for the entire program), the B-2 is the most expensive weapons system in history. Last month, House Armed Services chair Les Aspin (D-WI) announced that he would oppose any attempts to fund

additional bombers. The Armed Services Committee recommended termination of the B-2 program after the 15 planes currently in development.

Senate supporters of the B-2 geared up for what they thought at the time would be a struggle to fund the weapons system. Senate Armed Services chair Sam Nunn (D-GA), a strong proponent of the Stealth, acknowledged that without the support of his House counterpart, the battle to save the B-2 would be an "uphill fight." Although his own committee had voted nearly the entire \$5.1 billion requested by President Bush, some formidable opposition was gathering support. Then came the Iraqi invasion.

After lengthy debate, the Senate rejected a series of amendments designed to curtail or terminate the B-2 program. On a 56-43 vote, the Senate defeated the Leahy/Cohen/Cranston amendment to terminate the B-2. Following this vote, a fall back amendment was offered to delete funds for an additional two bombers. This was also rejected, on a vote of 53-45. California Senator Pete Wilson (R) voted against both amendments. The votes would have been close in any case, but recent events in Kuwait gave the

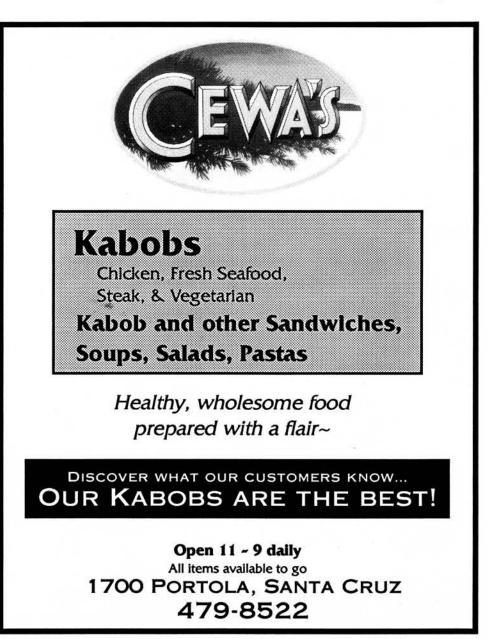
edge to the pro-B-2 forces. Heartened by this victory, House supporters of the B-2 may try again. When the authorizations bill comes to the House floor in September, Representative Ike Skelton (D-MO) may offer a proposal to restore \$200 million to the B-2 program. If House members hold firm and continue to deny funding to the Stealth bomber, additional pressures to compromise will be brought to bear when the issue goes to conference committee. The conference committee process hammers out a compromise between the House and Senate spending levels.

A similar debate erupted in the Senate over Star Wars funding. Fortunately, the outcome was more encouraging. By a vote of 55-45, the Senate supported the Bingaman-Shelby amendment to cut funding for SDI deployment systems that threaten the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Specifically, the measure reduces the administration's funding request for the so-called "brilliant pebbles" technology from \$329 million to the current level of \$129 million. The "pebbles" are actually thousands of rockets, to be deployed into space for the purpose of intercepting and destroy-

ing incoming enemy missiles. Any Star Wars deployment would violate the ABM Treaty, which bans deployment of spacebased weapons technology.

Last year, the Pentagon and the administration shifted the focus of the Star Wars program from the concept of a defensive umbrella shield to the brilliant pebbles strategy. Brilliant pebbles is not popular with most congressmembers, who feel that it is expensive and unworkable. However, Congress is still willing to fund Star Wars research and development. This year, the Senate voted \$3.6 billion, which is just under the current year's \$4 billion appropriation. When the House reconvenes in September, it will consider its own Armed Services Committee recommendation of \$2.9 billion. Amendments calling for further reductions are expected to be introduced from the House floor.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait comes at a time when the U.S. military establishment is languishing for want of an enemy. A national defense industry, fueled for over 40 years by the image of a seemingly indomitable "evil empire," has suddenly found itself without a focus, as the object of its







obsession has virtually evaporated over night. Now, instead of hearing the accustomed anti-Soviet rhetoric from the White House, we are presented with the extraordinary sight of President Bush quoting Mikhail Gorbachev as an ally in the war against Iraq.

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein presents a conveniently-timed example of the reason, (according to militarists), that the U.S. needs to maintain and even increase military spending. Now that the monolithic "communist menace" is no more, Pentagon strategists will turn increasingly to the world's cache of tin horn dictators to bolster public support for military spending — never mind that some of those same dictators were previously supported by the United States.

In an August 6 New York Times article, Star Wars planners outlined the second phase of their program to include "a system of ground-based missiles to be used against missiles launched by a rogue Soviet general, and against accidental or unauthorized launches of nuclear missiles because of unrest in the third world" (emphasis added).

The issue of Third World leaders having access to, and using, nuclear and other advanced technologies has been in the background of disarmament discussions for years. From time to time, in the face of international pressure to sign arms accords with the Soviet Union, the U.S. has trotted out the Qaddafis and Husseins of the world and demanded that they comply with the terms of such treaties also. This has been especially true with respect to chemical weapons.

For years, the United States has resisted signing a chemical weapons treaty with the Soviet Union on the basis that, as long as other countries in the world had chemical weapons, the U.S. was within its rights to continue to produce them. Even though the U.S. has now finally signed a chemical weapons treaty with the Soviets, the treaty contains the stipulation that an international agreement signed by all parties with access to chemical weapons must first be concluded before the U.S. will completely dis-

mantle its stockpiles. The very real possibility that Iraq may use chemical weapons against U.S. personnel makes it seem at first glance that the Bush Administration was right

The fallacy of this argument is that the U.S. does not need chemical weapons, or nuclear weapons for that matter, to deter the Iraqis effectively. There is more than enough conventional firepower available for that purpose. In fact, the very weapons systems that conservatives are holding up as so essential to our national security, most notably the B-2, are virtually useless in the Middle East. Even such a bastion of promilitary sentiment as *The New York Times* declared the B-2 as having "marginal utility" in Third World conflicts, and called for termination of the program.

Looming in the shadows is the U.S. deficit, and the Gramm-Rudman budget cuts, which go into effect automatically if Congress does not come up with a budget by October 1st that meets the deficit-reduction targets set by Gramm-Rudman legislation. The current U.S. excursion to Saudi Arabia is costing taxpayers \$2-3 million per day. That figure will escalate sharply if U.S. and Iraqi forces engage in combat. The Middle East crisis could well "blow Gramm-Rudman out of the water," acknowledged one senator.

If that scenario should unfold, Congress will most likely do what it does every year when confronted by Gramm-Rudman deficit targets that it can't meet — pass a law redefining (i.e. raising) the allowable deficit ceiling for that year. The recent barrage of rhetoric aimed at the Democrats by the President — threatening them with the dire consequences of Gramm-Rudman if they don't get it together and pass his budget — is just tough talk packaged for the consumption of voters in an election year.

Here is a summary of the status of key legislation:

MX/Midgetman

The House Armed Services Committee eliminated \$1.3 billion in procurement funds for the MX rail garrison program (basing the missiles on trains), but approved \$610 million in research and development funds for whichever land-based missile the president wants. President Bush has long stated that he would like to have both the MX and the Midgetman. The House will consider the authorizations bill on the full floor, during the week of September 10th. At that time, two amendments are expected to be offered. One, by Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA), would reduce the proposed R&D funds from \$610 million to \$410 million. The other, sponsored by Reps. AuCoin/ Mavroules/Hertel, would terminate the MX rail garrison program completely.

Likewise, the Senate voted to eliminate procurement funds, but retain research and development funds.

continued on next page

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

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

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

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These organizations run regularly updated taped messages on current legislation:

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Friends Committee on National Legislation (202) 547-4343

Central America Legislative Hotline (Central America Working Group) (202) 543-2282

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Nicaragua Network (202) 223-NICA

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

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



Military Budget in Limbo

continued from previous page

Trident II (D-5)

Both the House and the Senate approved full funding for the Trident II (D-5) missile. Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) is expected to offer his annual amendment to delete funds for the D-5 missile. Local 16th district Rep. Leon Panetta (D) has voted against funding the D-5 since 1985.

Comprehensive Test Ban

Representatives Bosco/Fascell/Leach will offer a resolution calling on the president to support the upcoming United Nations Test Ban Conference, and to begin negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Rocky Flats

The House Armed Services Committee voted to delete a request for \$65 million for a new plutonium production facility at Rocky Flats, Colorado. The Senate also deleted funding for Rocky Flats in its version of the authorizations bill.

Economic Conversion

The House Armed Services Committee opted not to include the economic conversion core program (HR.3999) as a part of its defense authorizations packet. Certain House members will now attempt to attach conversion legislation to the defense bill

when it comes to the floor in September.

Reps. Mavroules/Gephardt/Oakar will reintroduce HR.3999 as an amendment to the defense authorizations bill. HR.3999 would create an economic stabilization council that would work with existing community programs to set up job training and job placement services for workers formerly employed by military industries. The council would be comprised of representatives from business, labor, and government.

Reps. Weiss and Mavroules will offer an amendment to extend the period of unemployment and health benefits for former defense workers.

In the Senate, a bill similar to HR.3999 is under review in the Finance Committee. This bill, S.2893, is sponsored by Connecticut Senators Lieberman and Dodd. It would establish a presidential Council on Economic Diversification, comprised of cabinet members, representatives from business, labor, military, and non-military industries. The Council would focus heavily on planning with communities around the impacts of the loss of military-related jobs, and would provide widely expanded retraining opportunities for defense workers.

El Salvador/Guatemala Aid

The House has completed action on its fiscal year 1991 Foreign Aid Authorizations Bill. As expected, the most hotly contested

issues were fought over continued military aid to El Salvador and Guatemala.

The political situation in El Salvador is deteriorating rapidly as cease-fire negotiations between government representatives and FMLN rebel forces are deadlocked over the issue of military reform. It is feared that both sides may escalate the armed conflict in order to break the impasse. FMLN forces want the government to radically restructure the armed forces, bringing to justice those responsible for thousands of civilian deaths and disappearances in the tenyear civil war. Also at issue are the still-unresolved murders of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter, by Salvadoran security forces last November.

Representative Joe Moakley (D-MO), recently returned from a congressional delegation to El Salvador, stated bluntly that the Salvadoran government is engaged in a conspiracy to obstruct justice in the the case of the Jesuits. In recent months it has come to light that log books recording the comings and goings of soldiers from the Salvadoran military academy on the night of the murders were destroyed. One by one, lower-ranking soldiers connected with the murders have been quietly released from prison, and Salvadoran judges are unwilling to try anyone in the case.

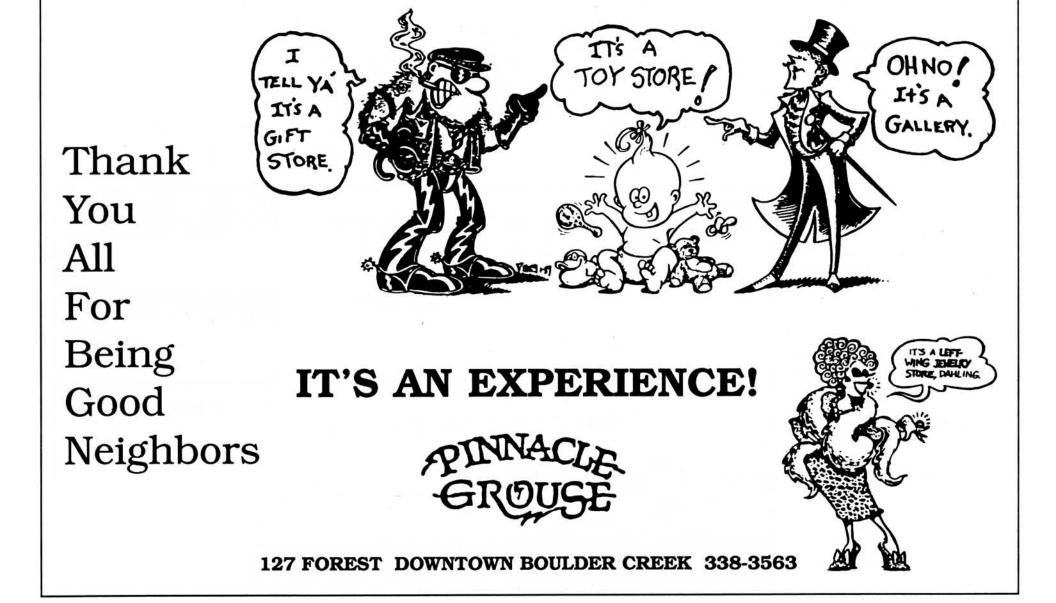
In May, the House passed a series of stiff conditions on future aid to El Salvador. The "Moakley-Murtha" provisions would withhold 50 percent of the \$85 million in direct military assistance already approved by Congress. The aid could be restored if the FMLN failed to negotiate in good faith or engaged in acts of violence against civilians. The remaining 50 percent could be withheld if the Salvadoran government fails to negotiate in good faith, engages in acts of violence against civilians, or fails to adequately prosecute those responsible for the Jesuit murders.

On July 13th, the U.S. State Department put forth a counterproposal to withhold only 15 percent of U.S. military aid through April 1st of next year.

In the Senate, an almost identical bill to the House version has been introduced by Senators Leahy and Dodd. Senator Leahy is chair of Foreign Operations Subcommittee, which will review the legislation. The Leahy/Dodd bill would also cut off monies in the pipeline which were authorized in previous years, but not yet appropriated.

With respect to Guatemala, the House has voted to cut the president's \$5 million aid request back to its current level of \$2.88 million. Rep. Kostemayer (D-PA) has authored H.Con.Res.355, which condemns the political killings in Guatemala.

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



Polluting the Environment In the Name of National Security

by Dyan Oldenburg

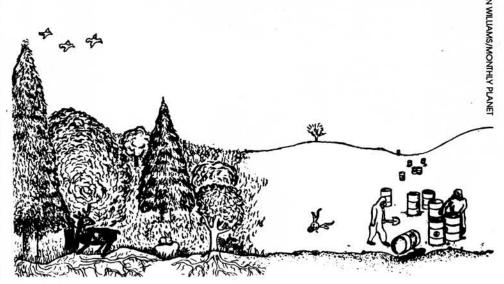
f a foreign government invaded the United States and dumped toxic chemicals in a thousand communities nationwide, we would probably go to war against them for destroying our nation's defenses. But what do we do when it's our own government that's poisoned our environment?

The Department of Defense, in addition to draining valuable resources from critical social programs, bears major responsibility for environmental destruction in the United States. In over 1500 communities nationwide, the Defense Department and its military contractors have created more than 14,400 toxic waste sites, including 96 bases on or proposed for the "Superfund" National Priorities List.

The Pentagon is the largest generator of hazardous waste in the United States, if not the world, producing up to 1.5 billion pounds annually. In the production, testing and use of chemical weapons, explosives, and rocket fuels, as well as nuclear weapons and nuclear engines, the military generates toxic wastes that are as deadly as they are unique. Virtually every military base works with hazardous materials and generates toxic wastes — and virtually every military base is contaminated with toxic chemicals.

The military is also a major purchaser and user of toxic chemicals. In fact, the Defense Department has several areas where its specifications require the use of a toxic chemical, even where safe substitutes exist or research shows that use of the chemical poses severe environmental threats. For example, the Defense Department and its contractors were responsible for half of the CFC-113 market in 1986 (150 million pounds), a chemical that is responsible for destroying the Earth's protective ozone layer.

Until recently, federal facilities, often exempt from the enforcement powers of environmental regulators, never even considered responsible toxic materials and



waste handling practices. By the time the neighboring communities discovered that their homes were built on toxic trash or their water supplies contained cancer causing poisons, irreversible damage had already been done.

For example, residents of Jacksonville, Arkansas suffer from high cancer and birth defect rates, which they believe is attributed to exposure to dioxin contaminated waste leftover from the production of Agent Orange by a military contractor. In Denver, residents living beside the Rocky Mountain Military Arsenal claim they have been poisoned by exposure to nerve gas agents and pesticides being excavated as part of the Arsenal cleanup.

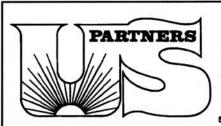
Adding insult to injury, the Defense Department has kept secret the exact extent of this environmental damage in the name of national security. Although we have decided as a society that citizens have a right to know if private industry is poisoning our communities and our environment, we have not held up our own government to those same standards.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that Congress has ordered the closing of 86 bases with the likelihood of more bases to follow. In order to redevelop these bases for civilian use, they will need to be cleaned up first, if indeed they can be cleaned up.

The economic and social costs of the military's environmental wreckage are still unknown. Three years ago the Environmental Protection Agency estimated that cleanup at Defense Department facilities would cost between \$20-\$40 billion. But as the Department of Defense finds thousands of new toxic sites each year, the costs continue to escalate. In addition, no one has ever calculated the social and health costs of the military's environmental problems.

Given the enormity of the problem, what is the Pentagon's response? The Environmental Restoration Program — the largest Defense Department environmental program — makes up only two thousandths (or .2% of the annual military budget).

Dyan Oldenburg works with the National Toxics Campaign Fund's Military Toxics Network. For more information, call or write: NTC Fund, 2802 East Madison, Suite 177, Seattle, Wash. 98112 (206) 328-5257. Fax: (206) 328-5267.



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Community members finish their group circle with an Earth First! howl.



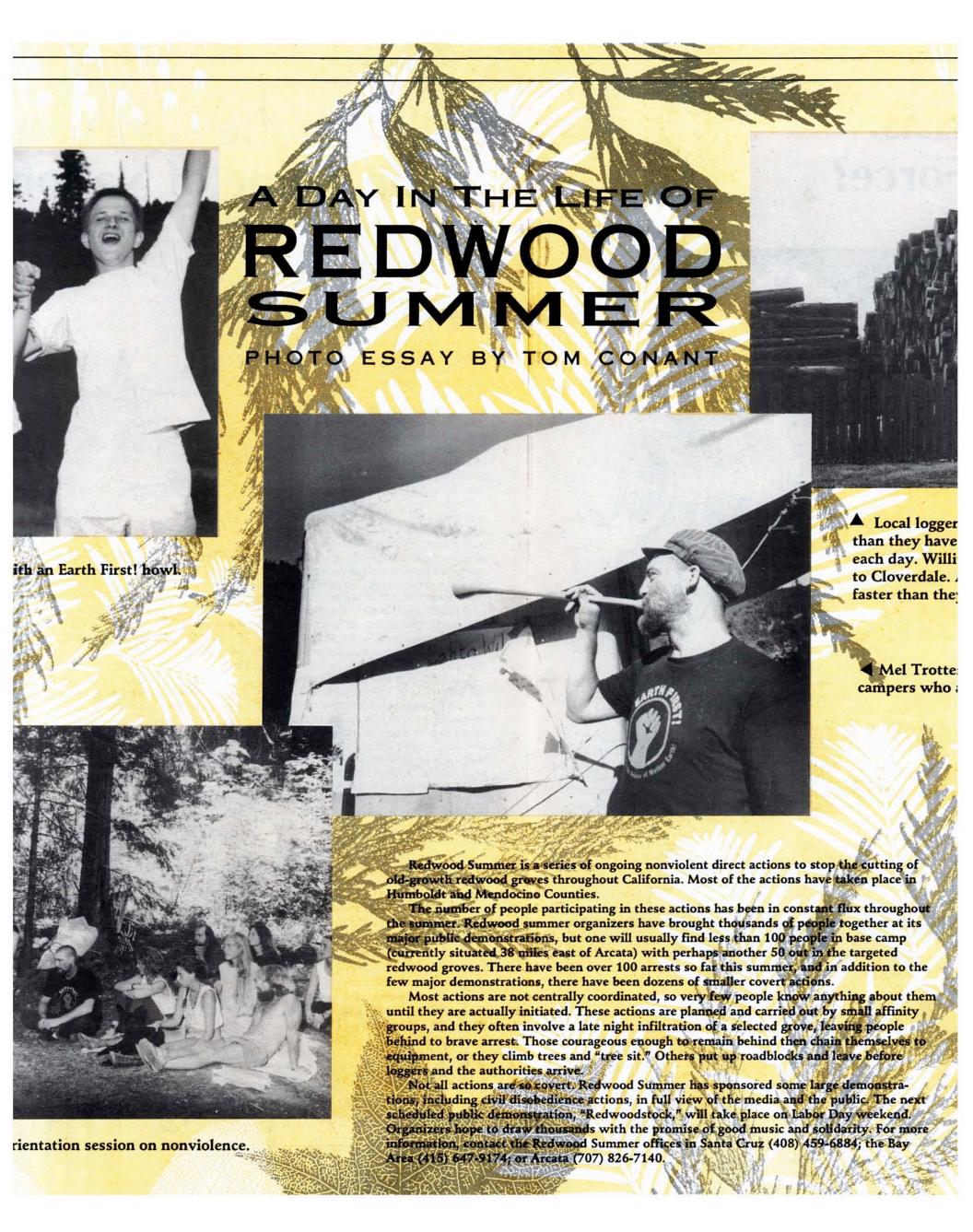
Dave Ramsland (left) leads an orientation session on nonviolence.

Redwood Summer is a old-growth redwood grove Humboldt and Mendocino The number of people

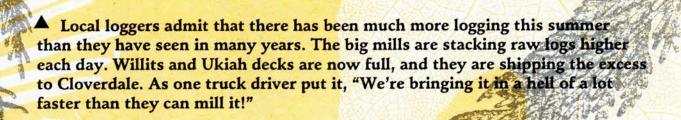
the summer. Redwood sun major public demonstratio (currently situated 38 mile redwood groves. There hav few major demonstrations

Most actions are not countil they are actually initigroups, and they often involved in the behind to brave arrest. The equipment, or they climb to loggers and the authorities

Not all actions are so a tions, including civil disobscheduled public demonstr Organizers hope to draw a information, contact the R Area (415) 647-9174; or A



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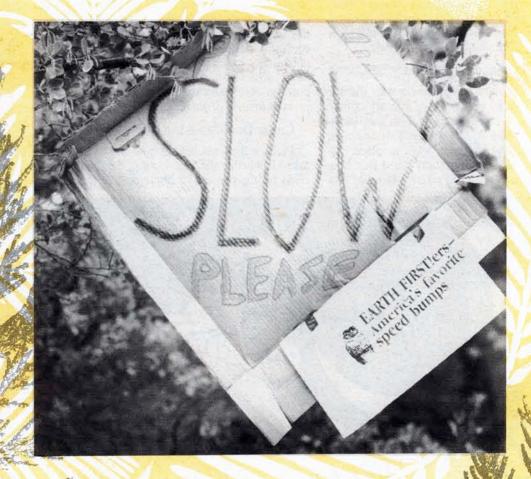
Mel Trotter uses a plastic trumpet to call campers who are spread out over a half mile away.

s a series of ongoing nonviolent direct actions to stop the cutting of over throughout California. Most of the actions have taken place in ino Counties.

ple participating in these actions has been in constant flux throughout summer organizers have brought thousands of people together at its ations, but one will usually find less than 100 people in base camp riles east of Arcata) with perhaps another 50 out in the targeted have been over 100 arrests so far this summer, and in addition to the ons, there have been dozens of smaller covert actions.

t centrally coordinated, so very few people know anything about them nitiated. These actions are planned and carried out by small affinity involve a late night infiltration of a selected grove, leaving people. Those courageous enough to remain behind then chain themselves to nb trees and "tree sit." Others put up roadblocks and leave before ties arrive.

so covert. Redwood Summer has sponsored some large demonstrasobedience actions, in full view of the media and the public. The next astration, "Redwoodstock," will take place on Labor Day weekend. or thousands with the promise of good music and solidarity. For more Redwood Summer offices in Santa Cruz (408) 459-6884; the Bay r Arcata (707) 826-7140.



The U.S. and the Gulf Crisis: Force of Law or Law of Force?

by Billie Marchik

s the U.S. stands on the brink of war in the Middle East, it's time for Americans to ask some critical questions about the objectives and implications of the U.S. military role in the Persian Gulf.

ANALYSIS

Iraq's recent actions in the Gulf deserve international condemnation. The invasion and annexation of Kuwait, and the holding of hostages, are indefensible violations of international law that should not go unchallenged. However, it should be noted that when Saddam Hussein pursued similar ruthless and violent policies in the past, they were largely overlooked by the U.S. Virtually no response was made when Hussein invaded Iran in 1980 in an effort to overthrow the Ayatollah Khomeini, when he ordered the use of chemical weapons to kill some 5,000 Iraqi Kurds, and when he arrested and executed hundreds of political opponents, including dozens of army officers. The fact that the U.S. has chosen selectively to respond to Hussein's actions on this occasion raises questions about how this issue fits into a larger foreign policy agenda. Similarly, while it is important to condemn Iraq's aggression, Americans should oppose attempts to demonize Saddam Hussein, Iraq and the Arab people. Efforts to equate Saddam Hussein with Hitler only serve to obscure the truth and inflame passions in ways which make resolution of the conflict more difficult.

U.S. Bypasses Nonmilitary Solutions

A key question to ask is why did the U.S. turn so quickly to a military option, especially when the risk of an Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia was unlikely and other nonmilitary responses were in place. Although the administration stated that Iraqi troops in Kuwait had taken "offensive" po-

sitions along the Saudi border, many informed analysts felt there were reasons to believe that an invasion was not imminent. First, whereas Iraq and Kuwait had been feuding over oil prices and production quotas, Iraq and Saudi Arabia had been cooperating on such issues. Second, Iraq was likely to have been absorbed for some time in consolidating its control over Kuwait. Third, Saudi Arabia would have posed a much greater military threat on the battlefield than Kuwait. Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, an attack on Saudi Arabia almost certainly would have resulted in prompt U.S. military intervention. Even without the accompanying factors, this threat undoubtedly would have had a formidable deterrent effect on Iraq.

It is also disturbing to note that the nonmilitary options were not given adequate time to take effect before the president ordered the troop deployment. The U.S. had frozen Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets, and several western allies had followed suit; the Soviet Union had cut off all arms sales to Iraq and, in joint move with the U.S., had appealed to all other nations to do likewise; the United Nations Security Council had voted for a worldwide ban against all trade and financial exchange with Iraq and occupied Kuwait; and Arab leaders had put forward a number of diplomatic proposals to resolve the crisis. Had these measures been allowed to succeed, they would have established a new post-Cold War precedent for solving international conflicts. Unfortunately, the military actions effectively eclipsed the diplomatic maneuvers. Once this crisis is fully resolved, it will be exceedingly difficult to argue that it was the nonmilitary rather than the military actions which achieved that outcome. Military action has once again been reinforced as the premier method of achieving peace.

Carter Doctrine & the Gulf Crisis

Perhaps the most serious question to be asked is whether the U.S. is using the Gulf crisis for the purpose of implementing the

"Carter doctrine," a long-standing foreign policy which seeks to establish a direct military presence in the Persian Gulf.

Because of its oil resources, the U.S. has long regarded the Gulf as an area of strategic importance. During the 1960's and 1970's U.S. policy in the region was based on the "Nixon doctrine." Because of public opposition to the deployment of U.S. troops on foreign soil, a sentiment fostered by the Vietnam War, the U.S. was forced to adopt an indirect military strategy. This involved the formation of strategic relationships with key states in the region, namely Israel and Iran (under the Shah), which received U.S. military supplies in exchange for their willingness to police U.S. interests. However,

with the fall of the Shah in Iran in 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980, the U.S. essentially abandoned the "Nixon doctrine."

The new policy, the "Carter doctrine," emphasized the necessity of having a direct military presence in the region to protect U.S. interests from the instability of Middle Eastern politics. It called for the establishment of U.S. military bases in the Gulf and the creation of a 300,000-person Rapid Deployment Force (now the U.S. Central Command) for intervention into Third World countries. Although these forces were established, the U.S. has been prevented from fully implementing this policy, because no Gulf leader has been willing to



grant American basing rights for fear of being too closely identified with U.S. military policy.

For the past decade the U.S. has been looking to Saudi Arabia, with its large Gulf coastline and huge oil assets, for the particular purpose of building a U.S. military presence there. When Iraq invaded Iran in 1980, the U.S. sent four AWACs aircraft and numerous military technicians to Saudi Arabia to provide round-the-clock intelligence on developments in the Gulf. In 1981, the U.S. sold five more AWACs planes, the last of which were delivered in 1987. During the Iran-Iraq war, the U.S. reflagged and gave military escorts to Kuwaiti oil tankers in an apparent effort to inject a military presence into the Gulf. Saudi air bases were also deliberately "overbuilt" to allow for the eventual stationing of troops.

The projected size of the U.S. troop deployment — 250,000; the fact that the U.S. decided to base the troops on Saudi soil rather than stationing them on ships in the Gulf; and the haste with which the U.S. moved to a military option all suggest that the administration is using the Gulf situation to carry out this long-range foreign policy goal.

The Present Situation

Now that U.S. troops are in place, we need to ask what the administration's goals are with regard to the situation. Initially the president suggested that the crisis would be resolved if Iraq withdrew from Kuwait and the emir was restored to power. However, recent reports suggest that the administration would no longer consider this sufficient. Now the administration seems intent on removing Saddam Hussein altogether or maintaining an ongoing military role in the Gulf to protect Middle East oil.

Several points are worth noting here. First, it is clear that the Arab leaders who backed the U.S. will go no further than seeking the return of the emir. To support the overthrow of Saddam Hussein would mean provoking the Iraqi leader to engage in desperate acts and making themselves vulnerable to a nationalist backlash at home. Simi-

larly, to endorse the ongoing protection of Middle East oil would be an invitation for the long-term U.S. military occupation of Arab lands and oil fields. Second, if the U.S. only seeks the emir's return, at that point it will be forced to withdraw. Since there is no evidence that medium- or longterm basing rights have been granted, the U.S. must pursue open-ended goals such as the protection of oil interests in order to justify an ongoing military presence. And third, once political sovereignty is re-established in Kuwait, there is likely to be a growing tension between the U.S. and its Arab allies over the issue of an ongoing U.S. military role.

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measures been given
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conflicts.

To achieve its goals, the administration has initiated a naval blockade of Iraqi shipping. While the U.S. action may succeed in bringing Iraq economically to its knees, perhaps exposing Saddam Hussein to the threat of a coup in the process, it is a risky gamble that raises the possibility of outright war.

Saddam Hussein has proved to be an obliging target for U.S. hostilities. He has declared the U.S. blockade to be an act of war, and has responded with his own countermeasures. After a two-year stalemate, he unilaterally ended Iraq's conflict with Iran in an effort to mobilize all possible military resources along the Saudi border and to win Iranian backing for a possible war with the U.S. Hussein also has ordered the detention of as many as 5,000 U.S., British and French citizens living in Kuwait and currently holds another 54 in

Iraq. Using the hostages as a shield against U.S. actions, Hussein has stated that if Iraqi food supplies are cut off by the blockade, the hostages will suffer the same effects as the Iraqi people. Iraq also is reported to have moved SCUD missiles into Kuwait within the range of the Saudi capital. Most recently Hussein ordered the closure of all foreign embassies in Kuwait and threatened to withdraw diplomatic immunity. The U.S. press is now reporting that the possibility of a military strike to "liberate" Kuwait or the hostages is very real. In this inflamed environment many Americans seem willing to accept the inevitability of war with Iraq.

Policy Alternatives

To avert this growing risk, concerned citizens must urgently call upon the U.S. government to halt its military escalation and adopt a responsible policy of stepwise moves to diffuse the crisis. Obviously the pace and magnitude of the militarization will make this very difficult to accomplish. Having placed so much emphasis on its willingness to use force, an abrupt U.S. retreat from this stance will create confusion and a power vacuum, potentially leaving Saudi Arabia and other Gulf kingdoms more vulnerable than before. Using a series of cautious, incremental moves, the U.S. very likely could refocus the conflict from the military to the diplomatic scene. The following scenario outlines the type of steps that might be included.

The U.S. should immediately act to interrupt the pattern of escalation and to create a "cooling off" period. This could be done by freezing the U.S. military buildup, ending the naval blockade, and agreeing to abide by the exception in the United Nations boycott permitting the shipment of food and medicines to Iraq. At the same time the U.S. should explain its intentions to Saddam Hussein and call for a corresponding gesture from Iraq such as the release of western detainees or the removal of the SCUD missiles from Kuwait. Subsequent U.S. moves might include the substi-

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Force of Law or Law of Force?

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tution of Arab or United Nations troops for U.S. and western troops and the redeployment of western forces to ships in the Gulf. With an Arab army facing Iraq, the conflict is less likely to escalate to open warfare; the situation would be refocused on the Iraqi invasion, rather than the U.S. intervention, giving United Nations and Arab leaders an opportunity to reinvigorate their efforts to find a diplomatic solution. Paired moves on the Iraqi side might include the deployment of troops away from the Saudi border and a commitment to begin negotiations. Throughout this time the U.S. should continue to seek support for the worldwide boycott against Iraq and to work with the United Nations and Arab League to end the crisis. As tensions ease, the U.S. should find the earliest possible opportunity to remove all forces from the region.

In spite of the volatility of the current situation, there is reason to believe that Saddam Hussein is not looking for a war with the U.S. Having been backed into a corner, he seems to have realized that he made a serious miscalculation in assuming that there would be no response to an invasion of Kuwait. On several occasions now Hussein has made statements to the international community indicating a willingness to move towards political compromise.

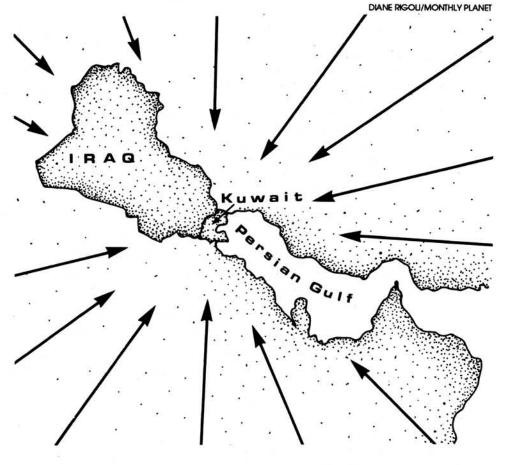
Unfortunately, the prospects of a mili-

tary action seem more likely than a diplomatic resolution. The U.S. action in the Gulf seems to be designed to send one message: the U.S. will use any means necessary to "protect its vital oil interests." Regardless of the suggestions the administration has made, the issue in the Gulf crisis is not the protection of Arab people or the restoration of their political rights. Quite the opposite - the U.S. is claiming that it has a sovereign right to the oil resources located on Arab soil and, as the one remaining superpower, it is demonstrating its willingness to pre-empt the rights of the indigenous people and rely on raw military power to implement that claim.

The Issues

As the U.S. faces the prospect of all-out war with Iraq and/or a long-term military presence in the Gulf, American citizens need to initiate a serious public debate to weigh the costs and implications of those options.

First, Americans need to decide what value they place on oil — in terms of human life and budget outlays. Because of the sophistication of weapons on both sides of the Saudi border, any armed conflict is likely to begin at a near-nuclear scale of intensity and involve enormous injury and loss of life, particularly among Arab civilians. Instead of asking how many lives Americans are willing to sacrifice for a bar-



rel of cheap oil, perhaps they should ask how much they are willing to pay for a barrel of oil in order to preserve those lives.

Similarly, since the military forces in the Gulf are being used to reinforce low oil prices (even though they have not had this effect), Americans need to factor into their gas prices the indirect costs added by the military buildup. The Pentagon estimates that the cost of the Gulf operation for the first two months alone (when the military forces will be only a fraction of their projected size) to be \$1.18 billion. Ironically, by deploying military forces, the U.S. has imposed on itself a much higher cost for oil than Saddam Hussein would have been able to do.

Second, Americans need to examine what effects the U.S. actions may have on the stability of the region. The placement of U.S. troops on Arab soil created a fire storm of Arab nationalist protest against what was widely perceived as an act of imperialism. Arabs point out that they have long suffered under western domination. Earlier in this century British colonialism left Palestinians dispossessed of their historical homeland, while French involvement sowed the seeds of the conflict in Lebanon. Since World War II, Arab resentment towards the U.S. has been fueled by the unwillingness of the U.S. to credibly challenge Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and invasion of Lebanon, by its demonstrated willingness to bolster corrupt or tyrannical Arab leaders to insure access to oil, and by its deep anti-Arab cultural bias. Now that U.S. and western troops are occupying Arab land to challenge Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, Arab nationalist passions have been inflamed even more. Increasingly, the question for many Arabs is not how to deal with Iraqi expansionism, but rather how to deal with American intervention.

The U.S. desire to secure Arab military

backing for the Gulf operation has provoked deep inter-Arab discord; the longer the military campaign continues, the greater the threat will be to the political stability of the region. A situation now exists in which the Arab governments that sent troops to back U.S. forces are openly divided against the Arab masses who support Saddam Hussein's challenge to the pattern of western domination. A growing Arab nationalist ferment, marked by unprecedented largescale demonstrations, is evident throughout the Arab world. As long as the U.S. military remains on Arab lands it seems increasingly likely that those Arab leaders who supported the U.S. will be vulnerable to coups and assassination attempts from Arab nationalists. Thus, the U.S. military presence may have the very effect it was intended to prevent - the overthrow of conservative and U.S.-allied regimes by Arab nationalists. American troops also are equally likely to be the targets of suicide missions similar to that which resulted in the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut.

The U.S. action is placing a serious strain on Jordan. Following King Hussein's decision not to join the multinational forces in the Gulf and his refusal to close the Jordanian port at Agaba, President Bush ordered a naval blockade against the port. Although the king had agreed to abide by the United Nations sanctions, he indicated that he would permit the shipment of food and other humanitarian goods allowed under the terms established by the United Nations boycott. A blockade of the port threatens to bring about a collapse of Jordan's debt-ridden economy. Nearly 45 percent of its exports go to Iraq while 90 percent of its oil comes from there. Economists expect the country to lose over \$1.5 billion during the first year and unemployment to rise from 20 percent to 32.5 percent (Christian Science Monitor, 16 and 20 August 1990). Jordan's



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failure to deliver a strong anti-Iraq message, its deteriorating relationship with the U.S., its impending economic problems, and the huge burden created by refugees flooding in from Iraq leave Israelis wondering about the stability of the Hashemite monarchy and poised for possible intervention.

The U.S. preoccupation with the Persian Gulf means that all diplomatic activity on the Palestinian question has been suspended once again. The distraction provided by the Gulf crisis gives the right-wing Likud government the opportunity, should it choose to use it, to deal more forcefully with the intifada and to increase Jewish settlement in the Territories. At the same time, Israeli moderates and doves, shocked by the pro-Iraqi display of support among Palestinians, have begun to re-examine their own positions regarding peace with the Arabs. Although PLO Chair Yasser Arafat played an important diplomatic role in trying to bring about an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait during the first few days of the crisis, his opposition to the U.S. role in the Gulf is not likely to help the already estranged U.S.-PLO relations.

Third, Americans need to look at the effects of the military buildup on domestic policy. The question should be asked whether Pentagon planners exploited the Persian Gulf crisis to sideline plans for reducing military operations and cutting defense spending. Just six months ago the Defense Department was facing the demobilization of troops and serious questions about the role of the military in the new post-Cold War era. Now however, the U.S. is mobilizing the largest foreign military buildup since the Vietnam War and even calling tens of thousands of reserves into active duty.

Plans for creating a "peace dividend" and cutting defense appropriations as a deficit reduction strategy have effectively been derailed by the U.S. action in the Gulf. Peace dividend monies that were to have been spent on improving schools, rebuilding the country's infrastructure, funding economic conversion projects, etc., will now be spent on the Gulf operation. As the country faces a tough budget cutting process, the mobilization in the Gulf means that large cuts again will come from social services expenditures.

There also are indications that the administration has found the Gulf crisis to be an effective tool in overriding environmental concerns with regard to oil drilling. Con-

trary to the hopes of environmentalists, the president has stated that the Gulf crisis demonstrates that now the U.S. must be willing to undertake oil drilling operations in pristine wilderness areas and on ecologically fragile shores.

What Should We Do Now?

Americans need to use this opportunity to urge the government to develop an integrated, responsible policy toward the region. At a minimum, the components of such a policy should include:

- formulation of a foreign policy based on non-intervention; consistent opposition to the illegal occupation of territory; a comprehensive approach to resolution of conflicts, in particular the Gulf crisis, the war in Lebanon and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and vigorous use of international structures such as the United Nations and the Arab League to achieve diplomatic solutions;
- negotiations with all arms suppliers to halt all arms transfers to the region;
- development of a national energy policy which emphasizes conservation, international agreements on the equitable distribution of oil, and development of alternative environmentally-safe, renewable energy resources; and
- restructuring of domestic budget priorities to cut military spending, reduce the national debt, and emphasize expenditures for employment, education, housing, economic conversion, health and social services.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and subsequent developments in the Persian Gulf have been called the first international crisis of the post-Cold War era. The response of the world community, and of the U.S. government, give an indication of things to come. It is critically important that the American people not let their government squander this opportunity to shift to a new mode of international relations.

Billie Marchik is the director of the International Affairs Program for the American Friends Service Committee in Des Moines, Iowa. This article was originally written (on August 24) for the September issue of Middle East Peace Notes, a quarterly newsletter published by the American Friends Service Committee. For further information about the newsletter, call or write: Charlie Silver, AFSC, 1535 High St., Denver, CO 80218; (303) 322-6353.

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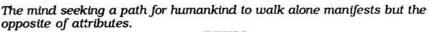
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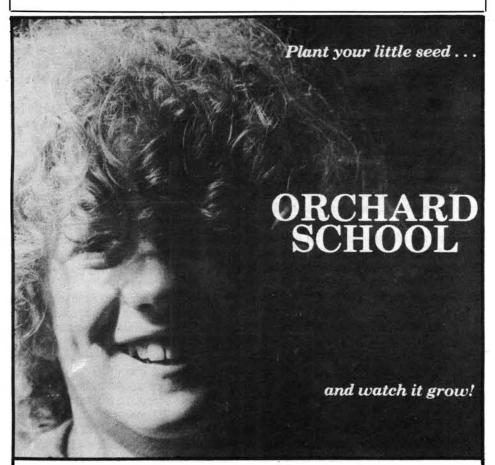


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Drawing a Line in Quicksand: The Mideast Crisis & U.S. Global Strategy

by Peter Lumsdaine

he roots and implications of the new Middle East crisis are complex and unfamiliar to most people. This massive confrontation has its roots in both the history of the region and the evolving economic and military strategies of the United States government. The crisis escalated swiftly and emerged in late summer, when many people in the U.S., including congressmembers

ANALYSIS

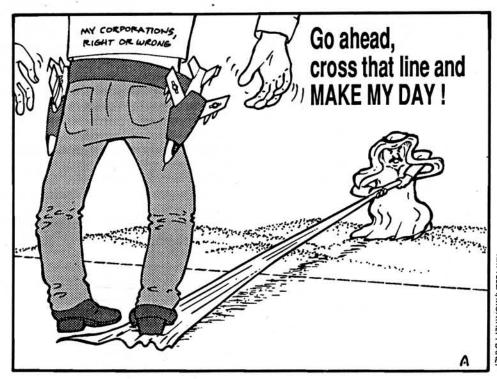
(and peace organization staff) were on vacation. This made it especially difficult for the public to comprehend the magnitude and historical significance of August's events, which contributed to the dazed public reaction and widespread acceptance of government policies.

Since August 7, the U.S. government has moved with unprecedented speed into the most massive and open-ended military operation since the Vietnam war 25 years ago, and perhaps since World War II nearly 50 years ago. While the August 4 Washington Post quoted a Pentagon official's statement that "deployment of U.S. ground forces had been ruled out for now," only three days later thousands of American combat troops were on their way to the Persian Gulf. Semiofficial figures on the total planned deployment were initially given as 6,000 to 15,000 troops — but within three more days the projections were as high as 250,000. Within a week some 50,000 U.S. soldiers were on the ground in Saudi Arabia.

Along with the ground combat troops, hundreds of fighter jet aircraft and a huge armada of warships, including four nucleararmed aircraft carrier battle groups, converged on the Middle East. In an August 8 televised speech, President Bush declared the deployment to be "strictly defensive," yet in the following days offensive weaponry such as heavily armored tank units, B-52 strategic bombers, and the new F-117A Stealth fighter-bombers were being rushed to the Persian Gulf area. As a Pentagon spokesperson stated in a national news program on August 19, the "defensive posture" of U.S. forces could be switched to "offensive" within a matter of hours.

Empires of Sand: How Did It Start?

The Middle East, where the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe intersect, has always played a central role in human history. It may have been the first region where humans turned from living as decentralized hunter-gatherer bands, to increasing control of their environment through agriculture, animal breeding, and urban-centered civilization some 12,000 years ago. In the Tigris-Euphrates river valley, center of modern-day Iraq, the first large cities, national governments, prisons, and armies were developed around 4000 B.C., as



Sumerian city-states gave way to the expanding realm of Babylon and the conquering soldiers of Assyria. Later the area was incorporated into the vast empires of Persia and Rome. In the 7th century A.D., Islam united the Arab world into a prosperous and expanding civilization, but the area eventually fell under the control of outside empires, dominated by Turkey and later by Great Britain.

In 1871, Germany's defeat of France intensified the rivalry between Germany and the British Empire. This in turn led to the strategic port of Kuwait being placed "under British protection." Kuwait had been part of the Basra province in what later became Iraq in Turkey's tottering Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, victorious Great Britain became the unquestioned dominant power in the Arabian-Persian Gulf region, which was later transformed by the vast oil discoveries of the 1930's.

Three years after an Arab nationalist revolution toppled the 26-year rule of Iraq's king in 1958, Kuwait was granted formal independence and Iraq threatened to reclaim the territory, saying that British imperialism had robbed Iraq of its "natural port." Yet Britain sent troops ashore and forced the Iraqis to accept the existence of a separate Kuwaiti kingdom. By then the United States had replaced Britain as the dominant foreign power in the Gulf - U.S. oil corporations extracted petroleum, U.S. military power backed the Gulf sheikdoms, and the CIA toppled the democratic nationalist government of Iran in 1953 to put the Shah back in power. As the highly influential U.S. Council on Foreign Relations' officers Edwin Gay and Isaiah Bowen wrote in the 1940's, "When I think of the British Empire as our inheritance, I think simply of the natural right of succession. That ultimate succession is inevitable...The measure of our victory will be the measure of

our domination after victory...strategically necessary for world control."

Yet by 1990 Iraq, under its dynamic and ruthless national leader Saddam Hussein, felt strong enough to reassert its claim to Kuwait. Iraq had invaded the much larger nation of Iran and fought it to a standstill, neutralizing the threat which Iranian-supported popular Arab revolutions posed to the absolute monarchies of the Gulf, at the cost of some 300,000 Iraqi and 500,000 Iranian lives. This left Iraq with a crushing multi-billion dollar debt to the sheiks of Kuwait. Oil field border disputes, along with Iraqi economic losses caused by Kuwait's violation of its previous oil production agreements with OPEC, sparked Hussein's deployment of his powerful, restless army to enforce Iraq's historical claim to Kuwait.

Principles or Petroleum: What Are They Fighting About?

"In the life of a nation," declared President Bush in his early morning speech of August 8, the day after he ordered troops to the Gulf, "we're called on to define who we are and what we believe." U.S. troops were being sent, said Bush, to "stand up for what's right...resist aggression," safeguard "a new age of freedom," and show that "a puppet regime imposed from the outside is unacceptable," and that "the acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable."

Yet recent U.S. policy toward invasions of small countries by more powerful foreign governments calls Bush's rhetoric into question. In the 1970's and 1980's, a number of small nations have been invaded and occupied by military forces from another country — often with ambiguous colonial or historical ties to the smaller nation and economic or national security concerns, both of which are true for Iraq. Yet in no case did the U.S. or its allies respond with a

total economic embargo, naval blockade, or troop deployments. Rather, in several cases, the invasions were preceded and followed by massive U.S. military aid to the invaders.

• In 1975 King Hussan II of Morocco, a key U.S. ally in the Arab world and now a prominent regional player in opposing Iraqi aggression, invaded the neighboring country of Western Sahara, which had recently achieved independence from Spain. Although the International Court of Justice ruled that Morocco had no historical claim to Western Saharan territory, the U.S. has diplomatically and financially backed Hussan's 15-year war of occupation, which has taken some 10,000 lives.

· On December 7, 1975 Indonesia, the fifth largest country in the world, launched a military invasion of East Timor, a small neighboring nation which had recently won its independence from Portugal. Not a word of protest came from the United States government as Indonesia's troops, armed and advised by the U.S., began a war of conquest that eventually killed 100,000 to 200,000 Timorese civilians - one-sixth to one-third of the entire population, according to Red Cross and Timorese Catholic Church documents. Indeed, President Ford and Henry Kissinger concluded a friendly visit to Indonesia's ruling dictator, General Suharto, in the capital city of Jakarta on December 6, the day before the invasion. Despite repeated condemnations of the invasion by the United Nations, American

The U.S. government
has moved with
unprecedented speed into
the most massive and
open-ended military
operation since the
Vietnam War, and perhaps
since World War II.

military support continued under Presidents Carter, Reagan, and Bush.

• The Israeli government's 1978 and 1982 invasions of Lebanon, which killed 20,000 to 50,000 people, and its 23-year occupation of Palestinian territory on the West Bank and in Gaza have not only failed to evoke any U.S. government embargoes, but have been supported by the highest per capita level of U.S. aid to any country in the world.

• The United States invaded Panama to install a "friendly" government less than eight months before Bush announced the necessity of confronting Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The invasion of Panama was only the most recent episode in a long series of U.S. military expeditions to overthrow or prop up governments in other countries during the 20th century.

Negative international reaction in the U.N. General Assembly to the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama rivaled reaction to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait — but effective sanctions were blocked by the permanent veto power of the invaders and their close allies on the U.N. Security Council.

President Bush, by denouncing Saddam Hussein's "brutal dictatorship" in Iraq, declaring that freedom is at stake, drawing analogies to the fight against the Nazis, and stating that "America will stand by her friend" and "has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle," has implied that Operation Desert Shield was launched to oppose the spread of dictatorship. Yet Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf sheikdoms, including Kuwait, are absolute monarchies where women are denied participation in public life. U.S.-armed allies throughout the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Turkey, and Morocco are condemned (like Iraq) for being repressive dictatorial regimes that systematically imprison, torture, and kill civilian dissidents. Similarly, the U.S. has for many years armed and supported dictatorial regimes such as Guatemala, El Salvador, Indonesia, and Pakistan which, according to Amnesty International, are just as brutal as Saddam Hussein's. After Hussein invaded Iran and mustard-gassed rebellious Kurdish villagers in the 1980's, the U.S. provided military assistance to Iraq, while France continued to ship high-tech weaponry to Hussein.

The only plausible motive for the U.S. government's crusade against Iraq, given the record of United States foreign policy, is control of other countries' strategic natural resources — in this case oil.

Escalation Dominance: Where Will the Pentagon's Strategies Lead?

In 1948 the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Staff (PPS) completed a top secret study of United States strategy in the post-World War II era. The central finding of the document, which was leaked to scholars decades later, was a raw contradiction of U.S. public relations about "the Free World" and "defending democracy":

"...we have about 50% of the world's wealth but only 6.3% of its population. In this situation we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity." The PPS 23 report continued: "We [within government planning circles] should cease to talk about vague and...unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of living standards and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts...[and] should concentrate on seeing to it that those areas remain in hands we can control."

Even as U.S. Presidents including Truman, Eisenhower, Carter, and Bush have given speeches about human rights and freedom as the basis of U.S. foreign policy, the global resource control goals of PPS 23 have been reaffirmed at the inner circles of power. Eisenhower's top secret letter to the president of Boeing Aircraft Corporation stated that "foreign policy is or should be based primarily on one consideration; that

consideration is the need for the U.S. to obtain certain raw materials."

Admiral Gerald Miller asserted in 1976 that "We will be looking increasingly toward Africa and the Middle East, as well as South America, for the materials required by our industrial economy...I think in the future it will be increasingly difficult to maintain stability with conventional forces, and nuclear weapons will be our only alternative."

In 1979 the Shah of Iran had been overthrown by an unarmed popular revolution (which was later to come under the control of Islamic Shiite fundamentalists), despite the massacre of 50,000 dissidents by the Shah's troops and secret police. Two years earlier President Jimmy Carter had toasted the Shah as "a pillar of stability in a troubled region" at the royal New Year's Eve party. In 1980, the president announced that the U.S. would go to war over control of the Persian Gulf, and issued a top secret directive, PD-59, which called on the Pentagon to prepare for a winnable nuclear war strategy by developing a first-strike arsenal based on Trident II and cruise missiles.

These high-level U.S. strategies, known as Escalation Dominance, made the crucial link referred to by Admiral Miller, between massive U.S. intervention to control Third World resources and the option of nuclear escalation. Before the collapse of Eastern European governments in late 1989, the Pentagon had already decided that fighting for Third World dominance, not implausible land battles in central Europe, would be its mission in the 1990's and into the 21st century.

"Discriminate Deterrence," the report of the Commission On Integrated Long Term Security, was completed in January 1988 by such bi-partisan heavyweights as Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski. The strategies it advocated included applying advanced technology and rapid deployment of mobile strike forces to control Third World rebellions or rival powers, and credibly threatening a nuclear first-strike against the Soviet Union, should its armed forces pressure the unstable government into a military confrontation with the U.S., to halt the U.S.S.R.'s accelerating decline and disintegration.

U.S. policy options include contingency plans for carpet bombing Iraqi civilian population centers (openly discussed by high-level officials in mid-August) and the nuclear first-use option (that Senate Armed Services Chair Sam Nunn refused to repudiate on the August 8 Nightline program). These policy options test the limits of Escalation Dominance. Whether the U.S. public will accept the realities of Escalation Dominance when American personnel are killed in the Middle East is a key question which may be answered in the weeks ahead.

Peter Lumsdaine, founder of the First Strike Prevention Project, is coordinator of the Santa Clara County Interfaith Peace Coalition and serves on Mobilization for Survival's national Coordinating Committee.



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The Nuclear Freeze Movement:

We May Not Have Succeeded, But We Haven't Failed Dy Terry Teitelbaum

hen I started working with the newly conceived Nuclear Weapons Freeze movement in 1981, I seriously believed we could end the nuclear arms race in a few years. A simple, mutual and verifiable halt to the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons by both the United States and the Soviet Union made so much

ACTIVIST'S NOTEBOOK

sense as to seem achievable. As public support grew and organizing for a Freeze coalesced nationwide, it appeared we really had the power to directly transform public will into political reality.

In order to stimulate some thinking about how successful or unsuccessful the Freeze movement actually has been, I'd like to examine the development of the nuclear arms race over the last ten years within the context of the consistent organizing efforts to end it.

The Early Freeze Movement

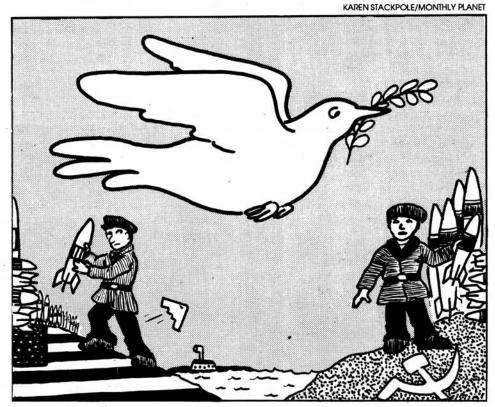
At the beginning of the the 1980's, we had a bellicose president who took office calling the Soviet Union an evil empire. Ronald Reagan rode the powerful tide of America's deep-seated "red nightmare" into one of the most popular presidencies in history. He, or perhaps his advisors, knew how to cultivate and capitalize on fear. He promised and delivered, with the cooperation of Congress (Democrats and Republicans alike), the largest peace-time military buildup ever seen in the United States.

While Reagan's characterization of the Soviet Union appealed to those who needed an enemy to blame for their great fear, there were many who feared Reagan's bellicosity more than the Soviet threat. Thus, the

key to Reagan's success — fear — was also the key to the early success of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze movement. In the early 1980's there were absolutely no arms control talks going on. Reagan and the Pentagon were talking freely about the prospects for fighting and winning a nuclear war. New studies were emerging on the likely effects of even a limited nuclear exchange. Nuclear Winter. A world inhabited only by cockroaches. Radiation. Cancer. Slow, painful, skin-melting death for all humanity. These were the images that literally scared people into supporting the Freeze proposal. The time was ripe for just about any movement to end the nuclear arms race and the Freeze appealed to a wide segment of the population because it was bilateral, seemed achievable and made a lot of sense. It combined the possibility of success with an opportunity for people to take action to alleviate their fear.

The basic theme of the early Freeze movement was prevention of nuclear war. The motivating force was fear. And the successful tactic was use of the electoral process. Eight out of nine statewide ballot initiatives in 1981 and 1982 were successful, including Proposition 12 in California. Local town meetings, city halls, and other government bodies voted in favor of the Freeze. Public opinion polls showed 80 percent support for it. And the press ate it up. The Freeze was a household word. By early 1983, the House of Representatives passed the first Nuclear Weapons Freeze legislation, a non-binding resolution calling on the president to negotiate with the Soviet Union for an immediate halt to the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

What was the administration's response? First, it went to great pains to inaccurately characterize the Freeze as a unilateral call for disarmament which would make the U.S. defenseless against its enemies. Of course, every written and spoken Freeze message included the word bilateral. Sec-



ond, since fear was the most potent force at work here and the Freeze was so successful at addressing that fear, the administration came up with its own fear-alleviating plans. One was Star Wars, the magical, multi-billion dollar shield that would keep us safe from any (well, at least most) incoming nuclear missiles. Even though Star Wars never really caught on as a popular idea, it somehow eroded some of the fear which Freeze proponents were still using. But what continued this erosion was the beginning of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START).

Build While We Talk and Peace Through Strength

Part of the nuclear buildup of the 1980's included the deployment of a new class of nuclear weapons in Europe. These weapons represented a modernization of the

NATO "nuclear guarantee." This policy holds that NATO is prepared to initiate a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union and/or the Eastern Bloc in response to a conventional invasion. These weapons had nothing to do with the nuclear arms race, per se. That is, they weren't necessarily, as was popularly believed, being deployed in response to any Soviet nuclear buildup. The purpose of these weapons, the Pershing 2 and the nuclear cruise missile, was to enhance the NATO guarantee. Weapons such as the MX missile, the Midgetman and the Trident 2, as well as Star Wars, on the other hand, were being developed ostensibly to counter Soviet nuclear weapons. Thus, the Soviets actually had two arms races to run with the United States.

One official reason for the continuance of the nuclear arms at this time (1983-86), in contradiction to public opinion, was to



WALLS are coming down between Eastern and Western Europe and walls are going up in the Mediterranean. The shifting of barriers seems to be a continual process in the world we live in. As within, so without. We have our own internal barriers that shift. Some come down as others go up. We experience anxiety and discomfort as we feel cut off from some old, trusted relationships and find ourselves connecting with others that are new or renewed. Likewise, within, we feel ourselves cut off from states of being and parts of ourselves that were once familiar or pleasing, and find connection with parts from which we have been estranged or are new to us. The

task we have as individuals is to come to terms with the walls in each of our lives.

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create "peace through strength." Ronald Reagan, in direct response to public and congressional demands for an end to the arms race, initiated START. Claiming that a Freeze didn't go far enough, that we had to reduce nuclear weapons and not just freeze them, the Reagan Administration kept the arms race going in order to have lots of "bargaining chips" for the negotiations with the Soviets. The idea was that the only way to negotiate an end to the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union was from a position of super-strength to show them we meant business. Never mind the fact that the Soviets, even from the beginning of the Freeze movement, indicated that they would gladly negotiate a full Freeze. Never mind that they completely halted all nuclear weapons testing for 18 months between 1985 and 1987 in hopes that the United States would negotiate a comprehensive test ban with them. Never mind that they agreed to virtually every single arms control demand put forth by U.S. negotiators. Congress balked at deleting funds for new nuclear weapons systems and nuclear testing so as not to "tie the president's hands." In fact, many members of Congress tried to tie nuclear weapons funding to progress in arms control. That is, Reagan could have new weapons if he showed he was working on getting rid of them.

All of this was an elaborately performed arms control show which enabled the arms race to grow at top speed. As long as Congress could be mollified, the administration got everything it wanted in nuclear weapons and Star Wars funding. Arms control was actually arms race management.

The nuclear disarmament movement, including the Freeze movement, tried very hard to prevent the deployment of the Euromissiles. Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated in West Germany and Great Britain to protest this further nuclearization of European soil. In the United States, activists lobbied to cut funds for these systems. The Reagan Administration was still pumping up the Soviet threat, but was mixing nuclear disarmament rhetoric with its message. Meanwhile, the Freeze movement struggled to develop a more sophisticated approach to reaching and mobilizing the public.

The national Freeze organization undertook the "Freeze While We Talk" campaign to both educate and activate people on the actual impact of START, which was to have arms control talks while the arms race grew. The point of this effort, communicated by petitions and intense lobbying, was to demand an immediate Freeze on the arms race while the talks continued. Our position was that even if the Freeze didn't go far enough, freezing first would make it easier to reduce later just as putting the brakes on makes it easier to put your car into reverse. The bitter truth was, however, that the administration wasn't really interested in a Freeze or meaningful reductions.

The 1984 Elections

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze was a major issue in the 1984 elections, most noticeably in the presidential race between Reagan and Walter Mondale. Mondale's

continued on next page











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Nuclear Freeze Movement

continued from previous page

support for the Freeze made him the candidate of choice for Freeze Voter, an electoral organization formed by Freeze activists. Local Freeze Voter Political Action Committees worked all over the country on the Presidential as well as key House and Senate races, doing voter education and raising money for get-out-the-vote efforts.

Pro-Freeze congressional candidates gladly welcomed support from Freeze Voter activists and in many cases used their stand on the Freeze as the differentiating factor between them and their opponents. Walter Mondale spoke strongly of his support for the Freeze and pledged to immediately negotiate a Freeze with the Soviets as one of his first acts as president. Unfortunately, public support for peace did not translate into votes for a peaceful president. Reagan won the election largely on economic issues and personal popularity.

But the results in the congressional races targeted by Freeze Voter were impressive and encouraging. Four of the eight Freeze Voter-supported Senate candidates and 24 of the 37 pro-Freeze House candidates won their races, resulting in a three or four net gain of Freeze supporters in the Senate.

Freeze activists were so disappointed at Reagan's re-election that it was very difficult for many of us to fully appreciate the impact we had on the election. Freeze Voter made a tremendous difference in the races it targeted. Raising only \$3 million and mobilizing just 25,000 volunteers nationally, Freeze Voter was a true David with a slingshot against the hawkish Goliaths in the 1984 elections.

The Push for a Test Ban

After the "Freeze While We Talk" campaign and various other arms control campaigns, including a temporarily successful one to keep the U.S. within the SALT II Treaty limits, Freeze activists decided to refine their focus from a comprehensive freeze on production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons to just one of these — a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

The Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) campaign of the mid-1980's was probably on of the most comprehensive organizing efforts of the decade. It included a variety of tactics and involved a solid coalition of diverse organizations and individuals. The American Peace Test grew out of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign in order to organize direct action and civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site where all U.S. and British nuclear weapons testing takes place. National organizations by the score signed on to the CTB campaign. Petition drives, local government resolutions, legislation, education, rallies, press conferences and celebrity endorsements for a test ban

were happening all over the country.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the test ban effort, however, was the 18-month Soviet testing moratorium. This moratorium was the result of long negotiations between Soviet officials and test ban organizers in the United States. The Center for Defense Information, a national organization of retired generals and admirals who support arms control, was largely responsible for keeping these negotiations going. The hope was that if the Soviets could demonstrate their seriousness about a test ban by setting the example of unilaterally halting testing, it would bring the U.S. to the bargaining table.

The official U.S. response was to disregard the Soviet moratorium because basically, it didn't want to stop nuclear testing. Among the administration's lies and disinformation were claims that the Soviets were finished with their nuclear testing (for a year and half?); that the U.S. needed to keep testing to maintain stockpile reliability (actually, almost all U.S. tests were for new nuclear weapons and Star Wars systems), that a test ban didn't go far enough; and that a test ban now would weaken our bargaining position with the Soviets for "real" arms control gains.

One of the most disappointing moments for many activists was when the United States conducted the first test of 1987 and one of the best opportunities for ending the nuclear arms race the world had ever seen was lost. On February 5, thousands of people from all over the country descended upon the Nevada Test Site for the largest demonstration there yet to protest continued U.S. nuclear testing. Over 400 people were arrested for committing civil disobedience, among them such celebrities as Carl Sagan, Martin Sheen and Kris Kristofferson. A delegation of pro-test ban members of the House of Representatives also participated and denounced the Reagan Administration's refusal to negotiate a test ban. This action sparked several more, larger actions with even greater numbers of arrests. The visible nature of the demonstrations combined with celebrity attendance put the movement back in the media spotlight, at least for several months. The House of Representatives passed legislation to cut off funds for nuclear tests as long as the

Soviets didn't test. Unfortunately, this legislation has yet to be approved by the Senate

The battle for a Comprehensive Test Ban is now taking place in the international arena. Forty-one member countries of the United Nations have demanded a conference to amend the Partial Test Ban Treaty to make it a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The conference will take place next January. Test ban activists from all over the world are campaigning to mobilize international support for the amendment. Currently, only three countries — the United States, Britain, and France - oppose the amendment which would ban all underground nuclear tests. Since the United States has veto power in the U.N., it could effectively block the amendment. Such a move, in direct opposition to international opinion, would not be entirely without political

The Peace Economy Campaign

Once it seemed it had gone as far as it could with the CTB campaign legislatively, the Freeze movement as a whole decided once again to refine its focus. The late 1980's marked a time of organizational retrenchment for many local and state groups. At the national level, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze and SANE, an arms control and peace organization founded in the 1950's, decided to merge. The resulting SANE/FREEZE organization developed a new national political program for state and local groups to implement — the Peace Economy Campaign.

The main purpose of this campaign has been to broaden as well as deepen support for peace using the federal budget as the focal point. Peace groups began researching the impact of federal budget priorities, namely excessive military spending at the expense of social programs, on local communities. They also began building diverse coalitions of labor, human care, environmental and many other types of organizations all united for the purpose of demanding military budget cuts and reallocation of funds to programs to meet human needs.

The Peace Economy Campaign had already been underway when the fall of the Berlin Wall came late last year. The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe which



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Goodbye Terry!

Terry Teitelbaum, the executive director of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze for the past six years, is leaving to start her own business. Under Terry's leadership the Freeze has grown into one of the largest and most respected organizations in the county. We love you Terry!

marked the end of the U.S./U.S.S.R. Cold War led to high hopes for a "peace dividend." The timing for the Peace Economy Campaign could not have been better. Public opinion polls were showing strong support for immediate military budget cuts. Hawks like Richard Perle, C.I.A. Director William Webster and even Defense Secretary Dick Cheney were talking about reducing military spending. The "Peace Economy" was the cover story of Business Week in early 1990. The Pentagon began to scramble for an enemy, a cause, a reason to exist, and a reason to spend money. Fighting a drug war, the ousting of a Noriega, perhaps even environmental protection all were being pursued. Unfortunately, the Pentagon may have found what it's been looking for in the Middle East. U.S. involvement there will add billions of dollars to the deficit. As a result, the administration is now considering dipping into Medicare payments to hospitals to meet deficit reduction targets.

While organizing for the Peace Economy Campaign is still going well in most places in the country, the "rally round the flag" sentiment that is evoked by foreign crises is taking some of the pressure off the White House and Congress to produce a peace dividend. We'll see if the tentative public support to fight for oil holds steady after the first shot is fired or the first American boy is killed. The word from our local members and organizations involved in the local Peace Economy Campaign Coalition is to keep working for that badly needed peace dividend. And so we shall.

Lack of Success Doesn't Mean Failure

It is important to reflect from time to time on what has really happened in the course of this movement in order to gain a healthy perspective. When we focus on our failures, it saps our energy to continue — energy which is essential if we are to truly succeed. We must decide for ourselves how we will measure our success. If we decide we've failed because we haven't ended the nuclear arms race yet, well, that's simply not realistic. It's disappointing that we haven't, but it's not really our fault. We are not the ones building nuclear weapons; let's put the blame where it belongs. The struggle to end the arms race isn't over because it's a very hard struggle. No one has ever done it, so of course, there's no way to really know how long it will take.

So far, I believe we have made a difference. It's obvious that arms race proponents in the last two administrations have seen us as a threat to their plans. If not, why would they bother with even the lame attempts at arms control? In 1980, Reagan seemed ready to start a war with the Soviet Union. By 1987, he was signing an arms control agreement with them. Even though it was more theater than nuclear reduction, at least he felt the need to appear less bellicose and more inclined to end the arms race. Why would they feel the need to lie in efforts to discredit us? Why would pro-arms race electoral candidates even take the time and energy to oppose us if the issue weren't salient? Even in the last presidential campaign, when Bush debated Dukakis, no one was even talking about the Freeze. Yet Bush was compelled to mention, almost out of the blue, what a bad idea a nuclear Freeze would be. The press had already pronounced the Freeze dead, but clearly George Bush

Finally, we should not underestimate the contribution the peace movement in this country has made toward ending the Cold War. By mobilizing and demonstrating the overwhelming public support for peace in the United States, we showed the Soviet Union that the people of the U.S. were ready for an easing of tensions even if their government wasn't. We helped make it safe for the people of Eastern Europe to stand up for more freedom.

As you review the accomplishments of the Freeze movement over the last ten years, consider what we've achieved with the few resources we've had at our disposal. The Pentagon and weapons contractors have almost unlimited money and personnel at their disposal to influence policy. Yet with what little we've had, we have made them take us seriously — we've gotten them to respond and, actually, somewhat fearfully. In spite of the fact that the press periodically loses interest in the movement, it has steadily grown. We've proven that while getting press is useful, persistent and solid organizing is more important. People are still joining our local organization. Kids in school are rediscovering peace as an issue they'd like to explore. Organizations of all types are joining our coalitions.

As the movement grows and persists, it is quite possible we'll eventually see a transformation in our society from dependence on military solutions to human problems to human solutions. If we've made such a difference with relatively few people, imagine what we can accomplish as we involve more and more people in the movement. Imagine what shape the world would be in today if we hadn't been here at all.

Terry Teitelbaum is the former executive director of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze.



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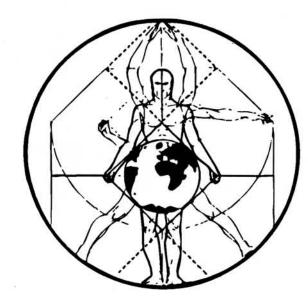
Conserve Energy



COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS INDEX

20/20 Vision	372-8918
Abraco	
Action Alliance for Reproductive Rights	
Adelante	
Alliance for the Mentally III	
Alternative Healing Group for AIDS/ARC	
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) 411 Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Bob Taren	
Amnesty International	423-0323
Aptos Neighbors Box 1732, Aptos 95001 Peter Smithey	
Aptos Transmission Meditation Group	
Baha'i Faith	688-0221
Beach Flats Housing Improvement Association/ Vecinos Unidos	458-3174
302 Raymond St., Santa Cruz 95060 Estaban Reves	
California Certified Organic Farmers (CCOF)	
California Grey Bears	
CalPIRG	
Campaign for Animal Rights Education	459-0990
Campus Association for Responsible Development (CARD)	423-2019
A-Frame, UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064 Juliet Peck Central American Health Rights Project	
Box 366, Santa Cruz 95061 Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO	
2920 Soquel Ave., Santa Cruz 95062	
Child Care Switchboard & Studio	
Children for Peace	358-2956
Children's Creative Response to Conflict	426-3381
Chile/Santa Cruz Friendship Committee	425-8493
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509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060 Grant Wilson Coalition for Meaningful Pay (COMP)	662-3633
c/o 10094 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003 Penny Schantz Coalition for Nicaragua	
528 Chestnut St., Santa Cruz 95060	450-0505
Commission for the Prevention of Violence Against Women	429-3546
809 Center St. Room 10, Santa Cruz 95060 Committee for Impeachment P.O. Box 7772, Santa Cruz 95061	
Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)	458-3555
Box 366, Santa Cruz 95061 Common Cause	425-7474
125-3 Felix St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sylvia Knapton Communist Party of Santa Cruz	728-8824
Box 1501, Freedom 95019 Jim Brough	
Community Action Board	
Community Resources for the Disabled	429-9969
Conflict Resolution Program Box 7224, Santa Cruz 95061 Sandy Sweitzer	427-3234
DON 1227, Dania Olaz 33001 Daniay Official	

Cultural Council of S.C. Co	688-5399
Davenport Resource Service Center	425-8115
Democratic Central Committee	423-6445
Democratic Management Services	425-7478
Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) 2435 Felt St., #95, Santa Cruz 95062	
Democratic Women's Club	479-0641
Earth First!	425-8094
P.O. Box 949, Felton 95018 Sue Cliff	479-7355



Ecology Action of Santa Cruz	476-8088
Educators for Social Responsibility (UCSC)	426-1597
Environmental Council	426-2286
Epilepsy Support Group of Santa Cruz	425-0725
Familia Center	423-5747
Family Service Association	423-9494
Filipino Community of Watsonville	722-6522
First Strike Prevention Project	427-0322
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Food Irradiation Response Box 5183, Santa Cruz 95061 Christine Albrecht	426-2734
Freedom Song Network	338-7283
Friends Committee on National Legislation	423-2605

Friends of Porter-Sesnon	475-610
Friends Peace & Social Order Committee 217 Marnell Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Ned Van Valkenburgh	427-239
Gabriella/Phillipines Women's Support Group	
Gay and Lesbian Vegetarians Box 7971, Santa Cruz 95061	336-325
Gray Panthers	475-243
Harbinger Communications 250 Homestead Trail, Santa Cruz 95060 Bill Leland	429-8727
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1110 Emeline Ave., Santa Cruz 95060 VYou Venture	423-9494
Janus Alcoholism Services	.462-1060
718 Carmel St., Santa Cruz 95062 Japanese American Citizen League	724-4028
Box 163, Watsonville 95077 Kolaynu/Santa Cruz New Jewish Agenda	425-4782
219 Peyton St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sally Schwartz KUSP-FM	
203-8th Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 KZSC-FM	
UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064 Lavender Reader	
Box 7293, Santa Cruz 95061 League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)	
Box 301, Watsonville 95077 Legal Aid Society of Santa Cruz Co	688-653
21 Carr St., Watsonville 95076 Lesbian & Gay Action Alliance	423-7287
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P.O. Box 8431, Santa Cruz 95061 John Judge Matrix Women's Newsmagazine	
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1803-7 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060 Ann Simonton Men's Alternatives to Violence	
Box 2126, Santa Cruz 95061 Mental Health Captives Liberation Front	
117 Ocean St., Santa Cruz 95060 John Telfair Migrant Media Education Project	
101 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076 Monseñor Oscar A. Romero Central American	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
-Refugee Committee	426-4467
Monterey Bay Piedge of Resistance	458-0276
The Monthly Planet	429-875
NAACP Box 1433, Santa Cruz 95061 Francile Hill	426-1957
National Organization for Women (NOW) S.C. Co. Chapter Box 1119, Felton 95018	335-7704
Native American Support Group Box 1996, Aptos 95001 John Walsh	
Natural Resources & Employment Program	662-3616
New Society Publishers	458-1191
Box 582, Santa Cruz 95061	



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Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz Co458-997 Box 8463, Santa Cruz 95061 Gail Bloebaum
One Song International Choir
Pajaro Valley Democratic Club
Peace Day Project
Peace Child - Santa Cruz
Peace Education Project
Peace & Freedom Party
Peacemakers
People's Democratic Club458-183 126 Auburn Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 William Allayaud
Physicians for Social Responsibility
Planned Parenthood, Santa Cruz
Planned Parenthood, Watsonville
Progressive Animal Rights Alliance
Progressive Business Network
Psychiatric Inmates Rights Collective
Rainbow Coalition
Rainforest Futures
Republican Central Committee
Resource Center for Nonviolence
St. Francis Catholic Kitchen
Salud Para La Gente
San Lorenzo Valley Women's Club

Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN)
Santa Cruz AIDS Project (SCAP)
Santa Cruz Community Credit Union
Santa Cruz Community Housing Corporation423-1318 105 Cooper St., Suite 219, Santa Cruz 95060
Santa Cruz County Cycling Club
Santa Cruz County Immigration Project
Santa Cruz Greens
Santa Cruz Indian Council
Santa Cruz SPCA
Santa Cruz Westside Community Health Center425-5028 1700 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060
Save Our Shores (SOS)425-1769 Box 1560, Santa Cruz 95061 Dan Haifley
Save Soquel
Save the Gray Whale Ranch Parklands425-1146 Box 604, Santa Cruz 95061
School of Spiritual Impeccability338-7139 14197 Hwy. 9, Boulder Creek 95018 Kythera Ann
Senior Citizens Legal Services, Santa Cruz
Senior Citizens Legal Services, Watsonville
104 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060
Seniors Council
Sierra Club
Somos Hermanas
Stop First Strike Santa Cruz /
Lockheed Action Collective
Suicide Prevention of S.C. County458-5300/688-1818 Box 734, Capitola 95010

Sunray Meditation Society	726-2444
309 Cedar St., Suite 41, Santa Cruz 95060	
UCSC Women's Center	
Uhuru Solidarity Committee	458-0802
Union of North American Women for Peace and Justice in Central America (UNA) Box 467, Santa Cruz 95061 Martha Duenas	426-3452
Unitarian/Universalist Fellowship Social Action Committee	684-0506
6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos 95003 Beth Coats	
United Farmworkers of America	
VFW Post 5888, Bill Motto	
Volunteer Center of S.C. Co	
Voter Revolt/Yes on 103	427-3848
War Tax Resistance Fund	
Welfare Parents Support Group	458-9070
Western Worker's Labor Heritage Festival Box 7184. Santa Cruz 95061 David Winters	
Women Against Rape	426-7273
Women for International Peace and Arbitration 106 Comstock Lane, Santa Cruz 95060	
Women's Crisis Support & Shelter Services 1025 Center St., Santa Cruz 95060	425-5525
Women's Health Center	427-3500
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Box 61, Santa Cruz 95063	425-7618
YWCA, Santa Cruz	426-3062

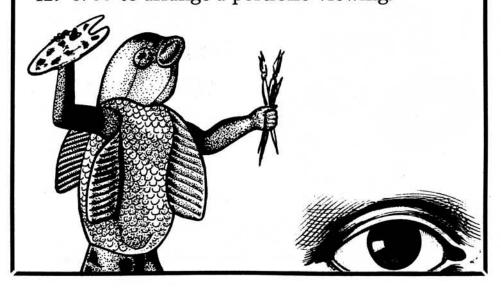
To update this information, or to add your organization, call 429-8755. Mailing labels for this list are available for \$2.00 from the Santa Cruz Action Network, 458-9425. SCAN has recently published the fifth edition of the *People's Yellow Pages*, a bilingual, county-wide resource directory with listings of community groups, clubs, non-profits, and government agencies.



ATTENTION ARTISTS!

We now have openings for volunteer illustrators at The Monthly Planet.

If you have time and talent, please call Diane at 429-8755 to arrange a portfolio viewing.





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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, September 25 for inclusion in the October issue (publication date: Thursday, October 4).

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 30

Lecture: "Guerilla Girls West — Asking Where are the Women?" A serious investigation into the out-of-proportion percentage of male artists showing in museums and art galleries versus the low percentage of women artists shown. Part of a lecture series exploring and discussing the issues facing the arts in the 1990's. This series is presented by The Art Museum of Santa-Cruz County and is co-sponsored by Division of The Arts, UCSC. Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 320-2 Cedar Street. Door opens 7:30 p.m., program at 8 p.m. No host refreshments. Tickets \$4 for Art Museum members and students, \$5 general. Info: 429-1964.

Open Gatherings. Small group discussions sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a non-profit educational organization. Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street, 7 p.m. Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415) 322-4303.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31

Ex-CIA agent Richard Brenneke talk on the "October surprise." Brenneke will speak on secret meetings between Reagan-Bush campaign officials and Iran in 1980 to delay release of the American hostages and insure a Reagan-Bush victory. Pacific Cultural Center, Seabright and Broadway. 8 p.m. \$4-\$12 donation. A benefit for the Christic Action Team. Info: 426-3254.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1 Labor Day Action in support of Holiday Inn Contract Fight. Mega car parade and honk-in to the Boardwalk. Meet at 10 a.m. Call 479-1318 for location.

Rally and nonviolent direct action at the Concord Naval Weapons Station in Alameda County. A call to end the flow of bombs and bullets from the U.S. to El Salvador and the Philippines. 11 a.m. Cosponsored by Nuremburg Actions, Jesuits & Students of the Jesuit School of Theology, and Bay Area Pax Christi. Info: John Dear (415)

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

Morning Coastal Ceremony. A Gathering to renew the commitment to preserve and protect the Earth, and to enjoy community spirit. 8 a.m., Lighthouse Field. Ongoing event on the first Sunday of every month. Info: 425-8921.

"Homelessness: Still With Us After All These Years," a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3 FM). Part three of "Empowerment: A Strategy For Rebuilding." 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

Santa Cruz County Central Labor Council Labor Day Picnic. DeLaveaga Park, 11:30 a.m.-5 p.m. Tickets \$5 adult (\$2.50 child, hot dog meal). Food and entertainment. Info: 475-1335.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4

Town Hall Meeting to discuss a proposed campground for the homeless residents of our community. Louden Nelson Center, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Coalition for a safe Place to Sleep. Info: 425-8921.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

Profiles of Women of Mozambique: Burdens and Joys is the topic of the meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Open to the public. Trinity Presbyterian Church, Melrose and Poplar. 7-9 p.m. Info: 425-7618.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6 Vegetarian Feast benefit for the Coalition for a Safe Place to Sleep. Vegetarian buffet complete with coffee, tea, and desert. Music and door prizes as well. India Joze restaurant. 6-9 p.m. \$10-\$20, sliding scale. For reservations or info: 425-8921.

Open Gatherings. Small group discussions sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a non-profit educational organization. Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street, 7 p.m. Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415) 322-4303.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

"Home on the Range," the music of David Winters, Patti Mattison, and Carry It Home. A benefit for the Coalition for a Safe Place to Sleep. Louden Nelson Center. 7:30 p.m. \$4-10, sliding scale. Info: 425-8921.

Bystander CPR — shortened version of the regular Basic Life Support course. Taught by Santa Cruz Firepersons. Co-sponsored by Health Development Foundation of Community Hospital. Free. 303 Walnut Avenue, 9 a.m. to noon. Pre-registration required. Info: 426-3062.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8 — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

3rd Annual Sierra Nevada Music and Crafts Festival. The entire festival is solarpowered. Sponsored by Planetary Endeavor Advocating Commitment through Education (P.E.A.C.E.), a non-profit group based in Nevada City, California. Nevada County Fairgrounds, Grass Valley. Saturday hours 10 a.m.-8 p.m., Sunday hours 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Admission for both days \$10 advance, \$12 at the gate. Admission for one day only

\$5 advance, \$6 at the gate. Children under 12 free. Camping at the fairgrounds \$15 per car. Info: (916) 265-0824.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

Planning meeting for 5th annual West-ern Workers Labor Heritage Festival. Festival will be held in Santa Cruz at the Louden Nelson Community Center, January 18-20, 1991. Celebration aims to help build the labor movement through the artistic expression of working people. It is held yearly on Martin Luther King weekend to honor Dr. King's commitment to workers' rights. Today's meeting is at 4 p.m., 448 Morrissey Blvd. Info: Festival office 426-4940 or write WWLHF, P.O. Box 7184, Santa Cruz, CA 95061.

"Jim Hightower on Environmental Politics," a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3 FM). Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower speaks about environmental politics and economics. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

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

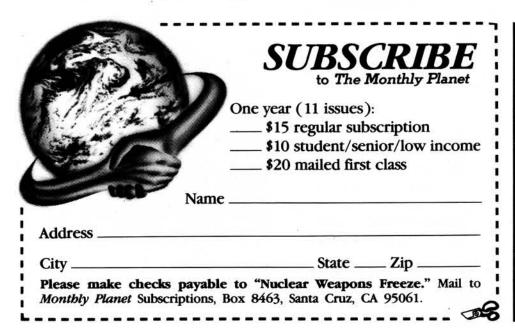
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11
"People Power," documentary film which comprehensively explores nonviolence as the means to achieve profound social change. Broadcast on the PBS Series P.O.V. (check local listings).

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

Public Forum and Speakout on the situation in the Middle East. A panel comprised of various members of the diplomatic and Middle Eastern communities, as well as veterans and peace activists will speak on the topic of the ramifications of American intervention in Saudi Arabia. Sponsored by VFW Post 5888, the Resource Center for Nonviolence, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze, and the Interfaith Peace Coalition. Vets Hall, 7 p.m. \$2 donation requested. Info: 423-7474.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

Open Gatherings. Small group discussions sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a non-profit educational organization. Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street, 7 p.m. Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415)322-4303.





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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

Protest at Senator Pete Wilson's Office to: end all U.S. aid to El Salvador, fund human needs at home and abroad, and support negotiations between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government. Sponsored by SANE/FREEZE, CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador),



CRECE, Pledge of Resistance. 12 noon legal picket at Senator Wilson's Office, 250 Sutter Street (between Grant and Kearny), San Francisco. Also, call for info on nonviolent civil disobedience: in San Francisco (415)648-8222, in East Bay (415)644-3636.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

The Santa Cruz Waldorf School is holding a "Welcome Back Students" Rummage Sale. Desks, chairs, tables, lamps, miscellaneous furniture, children's toys and clothes. 9 a.m.-4 p.m., Calvary Episcopal Church, 532 Center Street.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15 — SUNDAY, SÉPTEMBER 16

Capitola Art and Wine Festival. Over 150 artists, wine tasting, local foods and entertainment. Free. Capitola Village Esplanade. Info: 688-7377.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16
"Walk For AIDS" 10 kilometer (6.2 mile) pledge walk to benefit AIDS service agencies in Alameda, San Mateo, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties. Starting at Stanford University's Frost Amphitheater, the proposed course winds through Palo Alto and ends back at Stanford. The all-day event begins at 8:30 a.m., and features opening and closing ceremonies, traveling entertainment along the course, and a concert and picnic in the afternoon. To sign up and for info: 1-800-439-WALK. (24-hour walkline).

"State of the World 1990," a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3 FM). Featuring futurist and economic theorist Hazel Henderson and Les Brown, president of Worldwatch Institute. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

Progressive Animal Rights Alliance meeting. 7 p.m., Louden Nelson Center. Info:

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

Open Gatherings. Small group discussions sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a non-profit educational organization. Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street, 7 p.m. Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415)322-4303.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22

Adopt A Beach volunteer coastal cleanup and celebration. Party for participants, live music, food and drink at Duck Island in San Lorenzo Park, 12 noon. Info: Ecology Action 476-8088.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23

Earth Action Network direct action recruiting fair and music festival to promote "Planet Jam 90," an attempt to make October 1990 a month of creative resistance to

a variety of planetary problems. Free outdoor concert, nonviolence trainings, and other workshops. Booth space fee is \$10 for organizations. 12 noon. Provo Park, Berkeley. Info: (415) 649-1895.

"Beyond Detente," a Consider the Alternatives radio program on KAZU (90.3 FM). Featuring John Feffer, author of Beyond Detente: Soviet Foreign Policy and U.S. Options. 9-9:30 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24

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

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27

Open Gatherings. Small group discussions sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a non-profit educational organization. Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street, 7 p.m. Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415)322-4303.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1

Progressive Animal Rights Alliance meeting. 7 p.m., Louden Nelson Center. Info: 438-PARA.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4

Open Gatherings. Small group discussions sponsored by the Corporation for Shared Responsibility, a non-profit educational organization. Cafe Pergolesi, 418 Cedar Street, 7 p.m. Cafe Cameleon, 418 Front Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415)322-4303.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7

Morning Coastal Ceremony. A gathering to renew the commitment to preserve and protect the Earth, and to enjoy community spirit. 8 a.m., Lighthouse Field. Ongoing event on the first Sunday of every month. Info: 425-8921.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17 After the Cold War, Voices for Global Demilitarization international speakers tour. Speakers will include Petra Opitz, a staff researcher at the Institute of Peace Conversion of East Germany. Also speaking will



be Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian Senator leader of the oldest peasant Federation in Peru, and a representative of the Japanese Nu-First Strike/Lockheed Action Collective. 7

East German Pen Pals

Many East Berliners and East Germans desire to write to individuals in the West. If you would like such a pen pal, leave your phone number for Joan Forest at 335-4210, and she will facilitate a connection with an individual living in East Germany.





SADEK'S at 6 (will be closed 'till Oct 16th)

Cafe de Palma 415 Seabright Avenue Santa Cruz

Breakfast 7 am to 12:45

426-5558

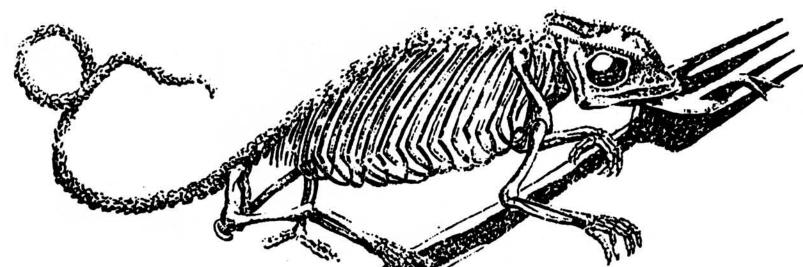
clear Disarmament Movement. This event will be co-sponsored by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County and Stop p.m., Louden Nelson Center. Info: Gail 458-



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