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Our Sixth
Anniversary
Issue!

An Unsanitized Look at the War

MICHAEL ABBEY/MONTHLY PLANET

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c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze
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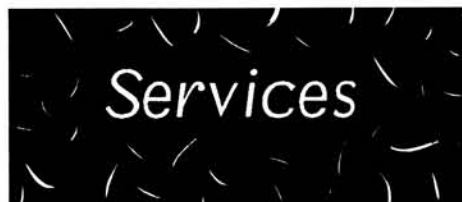
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GREG MARTIN/MONTHLY PLANET

On February 14, Representative Leon Panetta spoke and listened to constituents at a Town Hall Meeting on the Persian Gulf War. The overwhelmingly anti-war crowd at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium gave Mr. Panetta a strong message: "We don't want this war."

DEADLINES
 for the April
Monthly Planet
 (Publication date:
 Thursday, April 4)

Display Ads:
 Tuesday,
 March 26,
 5 p.m.

Calendar Items:
 Tuesday,
 March 26,
 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.

NO PARALLELS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND IRAQ

Regarding Dan Karamanski's interview with Mubarak Awad (*Monthly Planet*, Jan./Feb. 1991), Mr. Awad is wrong. There are no parallels between Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

Iraq invaded Kuwait. There were no precipitating actions on Kuwait's part. In contrast, Israel captured Egypt's Gaza and Jordan's West Bank only after it was attacked by those countries in June 1967. It is well documented that Israel informed Jordan's King Hussein that Israel would not engage his forces in battle if his country stayed out of that war. Hussein instead chose to attack Israel and only then did Jordan lose the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Though I applaud Awad's professed belief in nonviolence, and believe the Palestinians could do their cause much good that way, I do not believe they could ever subscribe to it. Palestinians have shown they lack the patience, ethics and resolve — crucial to the success of a campaign of nonviolence — that Martin Luther King's and Gandhi's followers demonstrated.

A solution to the Israeli/Palestinian situation demands a dialogue among moderates, plus a willingness by both sides to make compromises. During the early stages of the intifada, many Israelis were sympathetic to Palestinian aspirations. But the moderate counterparts in the Palestinian camp have either been killed or muzzled by the fear of murder at the hands of their extremist brethren. Discussion requires two parties but for now there is only one. Unfortunately this leaves the way clear for the extremists on both sides to fan the flames of hatred and push the two sides even further apart.

Rob Brownstein
Santa Cruz

SANTA CRUZ SENTINEL BIASED AGAINST WILPF

I am sending this letter to the *Planet* as a paper known for its fairness and interest in the community, in the hope that, if it is not printed by the *Sentinel*, you would print the facts on their sensationalized story.

The *Sentinel* article (Feb. 20) about Marilyn Rigler's "being fired for dissent" was completely one-sided and un factual. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is a volunteer organization with a 75-year history of working for peaceful resolution of conflict. As a

democratic body, officers are voted in or voted out — not fired. The *Sentinel* also refused to publish WILPF's op-ed on this question that was promised us for the Sunday Feb. 17th issue.

The facts are: The Feb. issue of the *Undaunted Dove*, WILPF's newsletter, was printed twice. The first issue was from pulled from the post office by the mailing committee because it was overwhelmingly pro-war. In a compromise with Marilyn Rigler and an advisory editorial board, the issue was reprinted to allow Ms. Rigler and her husband's dissenting opinions as a personal voice, not as editorial policy.

Ms. Rigler subsequently refused to work within the national guidelines of our organization, insisting that the *Undaunted Dove* reflect her personal voice. WILPF is a democratic organization and their by-laws assert that a dissenter cannot dictate to the majority. WILPF welcomes dissent at meetings, or in "Letters to the Editor," but not as the editorial policy. We are, after all, a strong dissenting voice ourselves to our government's policies of military carnage, economic support for the rich and neglect of the country's social needs.

We appeal to the editors of the *Sentinel* to let our voice be heard and print the op-ed that they accepted and then refused.

Patricia Arnold
President, WILPF
Santa Cruz

MEDIA ILLUSIONS

It has come to my attention that there is a very unbalanced philosophy of equality of thought that is germinating in our centers of learning and particularly frustratingly pervades the media. The attitude is that everyone's opinion is valid.

By being nonjudgmental the media automatically gives at least as much importance to liars as to others, which makes them responsible for spreading lies. If we are in an unfortunate position of having to admit that we don't know what is the truth, we should settle for a relative definition. It is the exposure of nontruths. And that requires people who dare and care to do it.

What is more frightening is that not only are the media slaves to a system of promoting an illusion of fact, but that those in positions of ultimate trust and authority are untrustworthy. This is fair dinkum for all those who thrive in such an atmosphere, but it is unacceptable for those who are honest.

If the majority are dishonest, what can be done? The truth is actually self-effulgent and has the characteristic that it slowly illuminates the broader picture, just as the rising sun dissipates the darkness. But this is only possible for those who are not blind.

There are blind waiting to replace the blind, while those with vision usually are not.

It is obvious to me that if there was something imaginably more sinful than

killing people, they would be doing it. They have to content themselves with simply killing lots and lots of us.

I would like to respectfully suggest that all this is a God-given opportunity to resort to higher spiritual truths, and maybe drop out financially for the duration.

Anyone who is not outraged by this war is a living turd of the first world order.

Mark Schaffler
Capitola



ELIZABETH WILLIAMS/MONTHLY PLANET

LAST HOPE FOR THE DINE OF BIG MOUNTAIN?

Friends of the Americas! The war at home continues on!! I am from the Santa Cruz Action for Big Mountain. I will be standing in solidarity with the many original nations of this land for many years to come as a white citizen of this powerful young nation called the United States. I recently signed a pledge to stand up for the resistance that has been going on for another 500 years. I invite you to join me.

Currently the sacred lands of the Hopi (meaning peace) and Navajo (Dine is the name they called themselves, meaning the people) are currently being invaded by fencing crews in one of the many tactics used to pressure the last few hundred families of traditional (traditional meaning they still practice their ancient cultural rituals and ways of living) Dine to leave because of a law passed in 1974 by Congress, which was busy with the Watergate scandals. Many other violent tactics are used to pressure and harass these people resisting relocation. Thousands have succumbed and faced the tragedy of losing their lives and livelihoods. The areas being faced with relocation are on top of the largest coal field in Arizona. Having them gone will give the

coal mining corporation (formerly Peabody Coal Co., now bought out by a British company, Hanson PLC) easier access to obtaining leases for coal mining.

Are we going to allow another culture to be destroyed because of our addiction to nonrenewable resources? Right now it looks that way. That's why I'm planning this Human Chain for Peace happening March 9th along West Cliff Drive. We will be collecting donations for the Spring Convoy going to Big Mountain being organized by the Veterans for Peace Action Team. Bring nonsynthetic clothing and nonperishable food to Lighthouse Field between 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. that Saturday and join the chain! UCSC will meet at the Bay Tree parking lot 11:30 a.m. for a march down Bay St. and the community will meet at 1 p.m. in Lighthouse Field. The two groups will both form chains meeting up around 2 p.m. for a time of silence when we will count the participants. Further activities will continue afterwards in Lighthouse Field, such as speakers, theater and music. Bring flutes, drums, whistles and rattles for the breaking of the silence and for a sunset free-for-all jam on the beach.

Thank you.

Katie Franklin
Santa Cruz

GATT AND CHEMICAL-FREE FOOD

As the war in the gulf broadens, and peace talks fail on the home fronts of the world, another kind of war is being fought. A chemical enterprise-fueled war is being fought and our food sources are being threatened by toxic import SCUDS.

Our only effective weapon in the United Nations Uruguay round is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that is being diluted by President Bush's request for extension of "fast track" authority which speeds up the passing of the U.N. general trade laws. New laws would establish U.N. trade representatives by Codex Alimentarius Commission, a United Nations scientific agency made up of government officials and representatives from chemical and food companies (mostly corporate) that are hungry for profit and that trade with other countries, which have looser trade laws and lower pesticide standards at higher tolerance levels than our present laws allow.

It is annoying that the permission of the extension of "fast track" could render useless the present local, state, and federal efforts to establish safer levels of pesticides and ban certain cancer-causing and birth defects-inducing pesticides, from the market universe wide. The Codex Trade standards would lead to trade laws that cause retaliation, impose levies or even trade sanctions on local markets that refuse to accept imported foods or products with higher pesticide levels than our present levels allow. It also could allow banned pesticides to be put on the market like DDT,

Alar, and others that we've fought to keep off.

Bush is asking Congress to extend the "fast track" authority before the March 1 Congress deadline for the upcoming Uruguay trade negotiations. "Fast track" is a general trade agreement designed to speed up the international trade law agreements. Its passing could, however, make it impossible for universal security, human rights, social and ecological coalitions to develop the comprehensive agreement they are advocating.

The 1988 GATT requires U.N. representatives to announce and hold public hearings for these negotiations, however,

thus far the U.N. trade representatives have deliberately refused to notify us or hold public hearings. They, also, have failed to achieve the objectives that our state representatives and senators have set forth in legislature. The result of the GATT coming from the negotiations is likely to be severely flawed.

I encourage you to write your local representatives and congresspeople regarding the above issue to protect the rights and health of people universally.

Harold Foster
Committee on Universal Security
Santa Cruz

AN OPEN LETTER TO CHANNEL 8

Dear Channel 8:

I'm concerned with your bias and lack of accuracy in covering the war and the demonstrations.

For example, the Jan. 19th demonstration in San Francisco, there was an estimation of 100,000 to 150,000, not 60,000. Why do you dwindle down the numbers? Then the slanderous allegation regarding the smell of marijuana everywhere. I am a free-lance photographer on the roam for a good photo and not once did I smell marijuana anywhere. What I

did smell was sage, which is notoriously burned at these gatherings. It is a Native American sacred custom. You instead portrayed the demonstrators as marijuana users to discredit and slander the demonstrators further in the eyes of your audiences as pot smokers passing out, quote "left-wing" literature. Your next clip was a pro-war gathering, but you didn't say they were passing out right-wing literature.

Are you concerned with accuracy in the media?

Thank you for your time.

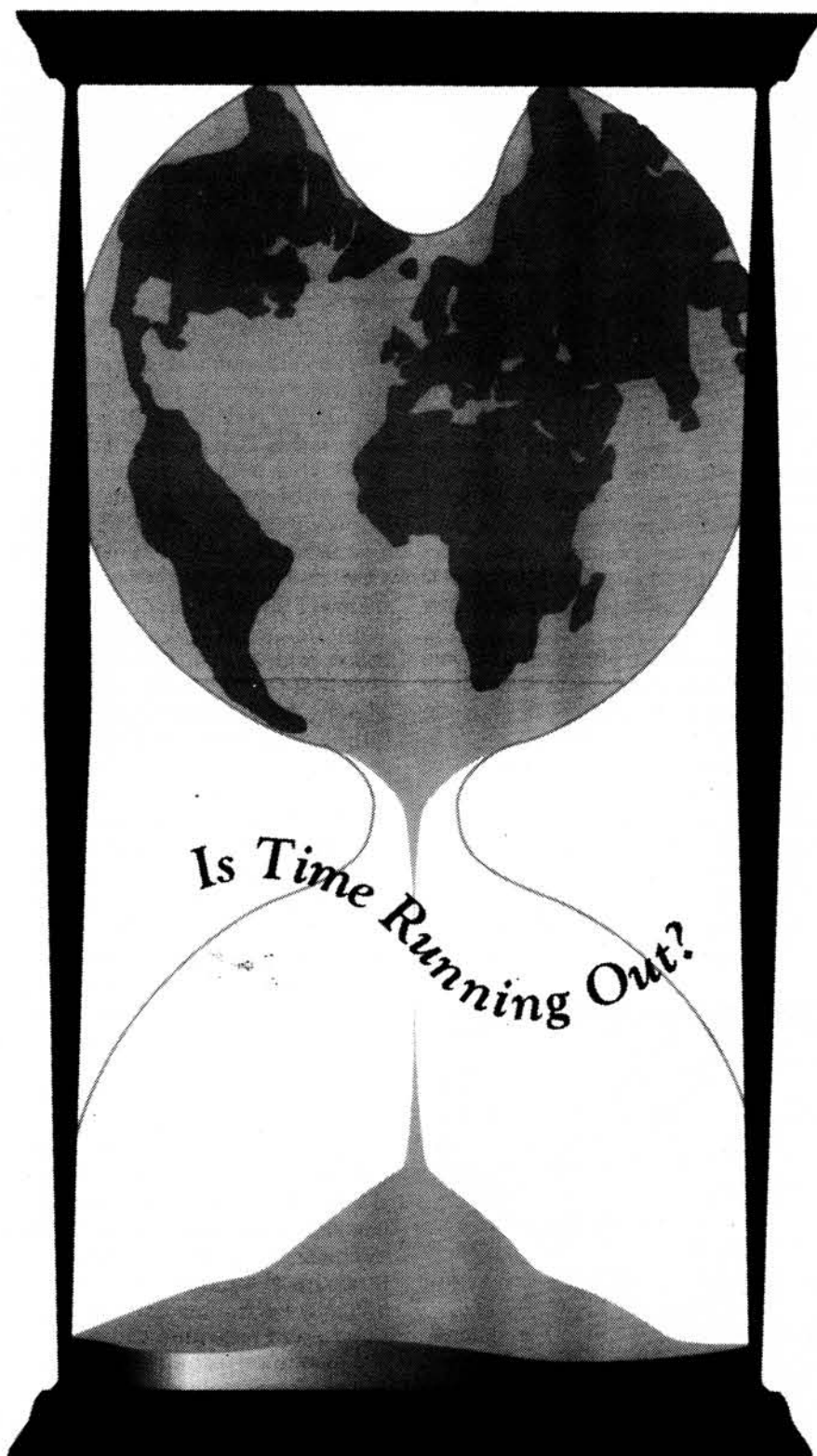
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A Post-War Postmortem

by Terry Teitelbaum

The dust is beginning to settle. Casualties are being counted; damage assessed. A barrage of post-game-style commentary from military experts streams over the airwaves as America catches its collective breath. If we can believe what we see on TV, it was a quick, popular little war, virtually bloodless and so righteous. It was a rout — when the final score was tallied, it was clear that the Patriots blew the Scuds away. America has something to be proud of again.

ACTIVIST'S NOTEBOOK

As usual, reality will sink in slowly. And once it does, once we see just how many people were killed, just how badly the environment was damaged, and just what a tangled mess the Middle East is now, the "euphoria" of a sound victory may well have anesthetized the already media-numbed American people. Even the arrival of the huge bill for the war may not jolt anyone into critical thought about what just happened in the Persian Gulf. For those of us who struggled to prevent

and then end this war, the question remains, "Why couldn't we stop it?"

The main reason we couldn't stop it was that meaningful debate about the war was successfully squelched once it started. All avenues and vehicles for questioning the violent course of action this country took were effectively closed. There was no time for thinking, only action and reaction to the threat of Saddam Hussein, our former friend turned monster.

On the propaganda front, the Pentagon and the Bush Administration applied the lessons of Vietnam well; they determined which justifications Americans would accept for fighting Iraq and then exploited those justifications. For example, a national public opinion poll taken in mid-November found that the most popular reason for going to war against Hussein would be to prevent him from developing nuclear weapons. Almost immediately, news reports stated that Iraq was close to achieving a nuclear weapons capability. This was reported even though Iraq, as a signatory to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, has been subject to inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency, which certified that there was no diversion of weapons-grade plutonium from any nuclear energy plant in Iraq and denied that the country was close to weapons capability. War planners also knew that by drawing parallels to World War II (the good war) by comparing Hussein to Hitler, they could generate frenzied support for the Gulf War while distancing it from the memory of Vietnam (the bad war).

One factor working against those trying to mobilize opposition to the war was the poor media coverage of the peace movement. Right before and after the war started, hundreds of thousands took to the streets to protest, in a spontaneous and perhaps natural response to the violence in the Persian Gulf. The media were quick to down play and marginalize these demonstrations; these biased reports soon became self-fulfilling prophecies for the peace movement. Activists may have started to believe press reports that their own movement didn't exist and had no power.

In addition to the media's treatment of



On February 25th, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Director Terry Teitelbaum delivered a statement to Rep. Leon Panetta's aide, asking Mr. Panetta to take a stand on the Soviet peace proposal.

the opposition, coverage of the war itself played a major role in promoting it to the American public. Probably the most significant lesson the Pentagon learned from Vietnam was the importance of completely controlling television coverage of the war. For most people, reality is what they see on television. What they saw was a war with bombs but no blood or bodies, unlike the gruesome nightly coverage from Vietnam. They also saw virtually no dissent. Almost all the analysis put forth as "objective" analysis came from military experts who dryly discussed weapons and strategy while pretending to let the American people in on how the war was being waged. There was no opportunity for any independent, critical coverage of the war. Every piece of media information had to be cleared by Pentagon censors. All of the war news was expertly and carefully managed, packaged and delivered to us via a compliant press, with only minimal

complaints about censorship.

The Pentagon also learned to make it a quick war. Historically, wars lose popularity over time. More people die and, in this TV age, Americans get bored quickly. A short war also limits the amount of opposition that can effectively be coordinated by the peace movement. Certainly, the peace movement was rather slow in challenging Congress' role in allowing the war to happen. Here in the 16th Congressional District, activists didn't realize until the war was almost over that their own representative, Leon Panetta, didn't really oppose the war, although he voted against it once.

Good, solid congressional opposition to White House policies, especially foreign policy, does take some time to build and take effect. If a politician doesn't have time to see which way the wind is going to blow in the long term, she or he tends to ride the first breeze that comes along. After looking at the national public opinion polls, one would tend to go with the perceived popular trend, especially if the war showed signs of being a short one.

For many of us in the peace movement, the behavior of those in Congress, including Leon Panetta, was disappointing yet unsurprising — in short, they rallied. Congress' role during war has historically been one of support for the commander in chief. The "proper" time for dissent, if it occurs at all, has been before force is officially used. Very few of the representatives and senators who voted against the resolution authorizing the president to use force against Iraq stood by that vote and spoke out against the war once the bombs started falling. Most expressed the need to get behind the president and focus on, to quote many congressional Democrats, "ending it as soon as possible." The prevailing logic seemed to be

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that wartime is not time for debate, but a time for unity and decisiveness, that there should be no wavering of conviction, even if the war is wrong. There will be time enough to figure out the details and the costs after we've won.

"Win" we did, and the costs were high indeed. We still do not know how many people were killed or disabled; we may never know. The financial costs will be astronomical, upwards of \$100 billion. This will be added to the existing \$300 billion annual U.S. military budget unless common sense prevails within Congress. A grassroots movement is currently under way to demand that Congress require the Pentagon to pay for the Gulf War out of its already approved budget. They could do it by cutting a large part of the \$160 billion still earmarked for NATO, which is designed to protect Western Europe from an invasion by the now-defunct Warsaw Pact.

Representative Leon Panetta actually opposes including the cost of this war in the military budget, claiming that it would hide the true expense from the public. In effect, he is supporting increasing military spending by as much as 30 percent. Much of the anti-war momentum generated by the peace movement can now be channeled into preventing such an addition of insult to injury, as the true human, environmental, moral, as well as fiscal costs of this war become clear.

One final question still nags at many of us who are facing despair at failing to stop the war: "How can we prevent this from happening again?" It's very likely

that we cannot. Perhaps that is the wrong question; we should ask instead what else we can do to keep the pressure on congressmembers to defend their actions

yet is because it is a very hard thing to do and we are up against tremendous obstacles. The same can be said about preventing or stopping a war. In my

so hard to wage a propaganda war against its own people proves that it sees the peace movement as a threat to be countered. This is news we'll never see on TV. Our task now is to make sure we exist, thrive and continue to grow so that we can remain a credible threat to the war planners and continue to organize effectively for lasting social change.

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

Leon Panetta actually opposes including the cost of this war in the military budget. In effect, he is supporting increasing military spending by as much as 30 percent.

or lack thereof. How can we hold them accountable for spending more than \$300 billion a year on the military while the crisis in unmet human needs grows and our country sinks deeper into recession?

As I've written before, the main reason we have not ended the nuclear arms race

opinion, the peace movement performed admirably and spoke clearly. There should be no shame in its failure; the shame belongs to those who perpetrated the killing as well as those who did not use every power they had to stop it.

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Former CIA Agent John Stockwell Discusses the Gulf War

John Stockwell is a 13-year veteran of the CIA and a former U.S. Marine Corps Major. Hired by the CIA in 1964, he spent six years working for the CIA in Africa and Vietnam. In 1973 he received the CIA's Medal of Merit (the agency's second-highest award). In 1975 Stockwell was promoted to the CIA's Chief of Station and National Security Council coordinator, managing covert activities during the first years of Angola's bloody civil war. After two years he resigned, determined to reveal the truth about the agency's role in the Third World. Since that time he has

SPEECH

worked tirelessly to expose the criminal activities of the CIA. He is the author of *In Search of Enemies*, an exposé on the CIA's covert action in Angola. Stockwell is a founding member of *Peaceways* and *ARDIS* (the Association for Responsible Dissent), an organization of former CIA and government officials who are openly critical of the CIA's activities. His latest book is entitled *The Praetorian Guard: The U.S. Role in the New World Order*.

On February 20th, shortly before the ground war began, Stockwell delivered a powerful speech in Santa Cruz entitled "The CIA and the Gulf War." What follows are excerpts from this talk, compiled and lightly edited by Dan Karamanski.

History of U.S. Warfare

You've got to understand that the United States is and has always been a war-loving nation, a warring nation, but one with a smile. We've learned how to put a twist on it so we can feel good about doing what other nations have done that we consider to be evil. In the CIA, they said if you want to figure out what a nation is going to do, don't take the circumstances on the table in front of



John Stockwell

you and say the logical thing is they'll do this. What you do is you look at the history of the country, its cycles of war. If it's a country that's gone to war frequently in its past, you expect it to go to war again. If it's a country that never goes to war, you expect it to find a peaceful solution.

I sat down and doodled how many wars the United States has been into. I count about 15, give or take two if you want to call them minor. We've spent 50 years or so at war. We've had 200-plus military actions about once a year in which we put our troops into other countries to force them to our will. The longest period between wars was between World War I and World War II. The second longest period was between the Vietnam War and the Persian Gulf War.

Now during the first period, the long-

est period, we put 12,000 troops with an Allied Force to invade Russia and we put our Marines repeatedly into Latin and Central American countries, again to force them to our will.

CIA Wars

Since World War II, we've had two serious wars, Korea and Vietnam. We've had the CIA running its low-intensity conflicts, its secret wars around the globe, a lot of them. We've been destabilizing target governments in every corner of the globe. We set up a system of governing by oligarchies, proxy governments working through oligarchies in these countries who are permitted to become fabulously rich. This is the case in the Persian Gulf, the oil emirates, billionaires and millionaires, who are 0.5 percent of the population and the rest of the people share less or none at all of the country's wealth. In Central America this same system is working. If the people don't like it, you organize the police into death squads, and you kill enough of them that they are emasculated and can't do anything about it. They're crippled. They are repressed and suppressed and oppressed and you can get by with this system of milking the countries to your will and your way.

The Church Committee of 1975 investigated CIA action and found that we had run about 13,000-plus actions since we've had the CIA, since World War II. A lot of these are fairly benign, and some of them fairly trivial, but a lot of them are very violent and some of them lead into wars. A long destabilization-propaganda campaign led to the Korean War and another one to the Vietnam War. Now, scholars working with conservative fig-

ures come up with a minimum figure of six million people killed in the secret wars of the CIA, its destabilizations over these 40 years. A million in the Korean War; about two million in Vietnam; one to two million in Cambodia; 800,000 in Indonesia; about 50,000 in Angola, and that began with the war that I organized as commander of the Angola Task Force, working for a subcommittee of the National Security Council in Washington in 1975 and '76. Fifty thousand is the number that the Sandinistas and *The New York Times* agreed were killed and wounded in Nicaragua in the billion-dollar Contra destabilization in that country that we affected in the 1980s.

Military Advertising on TV

Then you get into the TV ads that we've been saturated with the past 10 to 15 years: "Join the Army. Be all that you can be." These things are tremendously motivating, as they're intended to be, but how many people remember seeing the ad on television in which part of the ad showed the young men and women with their legs blown off at their knees, and their intestines wrapped around their necks? How many people saw that one? Didn't exist, did it? See, that's what war's really all about.

Then there's the one about the young man who's coming home from a leave, on the train (I don't know who rides trains anymore) and he is met by his younger brother, and he says, "You know dad never did understand why I had to join the Army." And then they're in the car and he is saying, "Do you think dad will ever forgive me?" and then they go into the house and dad's standing there smoking a pipe and he turns and he melts and he hugs his son and all's forgiven. They spent hundreds of millions of dollars altogether on that particular ad with that theme. You see, the problem is that because of the Korean War and its cynicism, and the Vietnam War and its cynicism, there were too many dads who were telling their sons "Don't join the Army." And so they had to float the message out to the society that in this society it's okay to defy your father's wisdom and join the Army. And if you do he'll forgive you and hug you, and embrace you and respect you, and love you afterwards anyway.

"The American Syndrome"

The conditioning to war in this country begins at the age of two, when we put our children in front of the one-eyed baby-sitter and we turn it on, and then

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they get to where they're watching 10 to 15 to 20 shows a day, all the same story with different characters. I call it the American Syndrome. We have watched over recent years He-Man, She-Ra, the Thundercats, Scooby-Doo, and now it's the Ninja Turtles, always the same plot. Nice little people — attractive, usually light-skinned or light-complected — who are put upon by ugly, dark evil forces like Skeletor. And they always say "please be nice, we don't want trouble," and the evil forces always insist and at the last minute they leap around and miraculously defeat the evil forces — cut — commercial. And we plunge back into the same story with other characters.

The American Syndrome of the nice people who loathe war, who wouldn't go to war ever, except it's drummed into Americans from the age of two, that we're a nice, peace loving nation, the good guys of the world who very reluctantly go to war when evil forces force it upon us.

Parallels with Nazi Germany

But let me just suggest to you and I don't mean to be hard-nosed about this, but I'll give you two ideas to think about. When you are living history, it's hard to read history books and compare. Germany did evil things in 1920 and 1930 but that was somehow different because we're nice people. Let me just point out to you that, one, Germany was a Christian country; two, Germany was a democracy that allowed a segment to take over and direct it into a war mode. A lot of the German people did not like the leadership, did not like the Nazi party and had doubts about the war, but once the nation joined in the war, they buckled down and sacrificed to support their country and their troops, as they proceeded to get 30 million people killed.

George Bush, the Person

I worked for George Bush at the end of the Angola secret war where I was the task force commander for a subcommittee of the National Security Council and he was the CIA director responsible for fending off the Congress. Let me say that this is a very nice man to be around. He's considerate, he's personable, he has high positive energy. If your child gets sick, even if you're way down on his staff, you'll get a postcard in the mail very promptly, saying "Very sorry about Johnny." He shakes hands with people, smiles and remembers names, and is a considerate decent person at the human level. Of course he has rationales for what he does, and we're going to be talking about these things.

President George Bush, this nice man, came into the presidency haunted by this image of being a wimp. And it's a little bit of a red herring. This has never been a weak man; he's been intensely ambitious. There's a certain gawkiness about about him, which he's outgrowing, but we saw it in the CIA, and there were a lot of jokes. But he was a brilliant man, a brilliant director. He would take our Angola program, where we had broken the law and lied to cover it up, and he

would go to Congress and say, "Those nice people I'm meeting out there, I just can't believe they would do that," and he could sell this to Congress and get us off the hook. He did not investigate or punish any of us for breaking the laws; instead, he was building friendships and relationships that continue today.

This man inherited all the problems and all the responsibility for the wrecking of the U.S. economy that he and President Reagan had done. He was desperate to get the nation distracted from the internal problems. He's happy working with the hundreds and hundreds of contacts that he's built up internationally, telephoning chiefs of state all over the world, and saying "Hi Ahmad, how are things going? What can we do about this problem or that one?"

He's proud of his heritage in the British nobility. Yale, the Skull and Bones, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Knights of Malta; in World War II he served in the Pacific, he was ambassador to China, ambassador to the United Nations, CIA director, and a successful Texas and international oil man. He never really slaved or focused on social or domestic problems in the United States. And there are no solutions to the problems they've created of the debt and the deficit.

He's not concerned about the people of the United States. *Sixty Minutes* did a segment on him during the 1988 election campaign in which they revealed that 18 members of his campaign staff had collected six- and seven-figure honoraria from foreign countries and foreign com-

panies in the 18 months before that election. He has surrounded himself with internationalists who were plugged into the international financial and business community. He's been consistently vetoing more bills than any other president in history that grant a reprieve to the people of this country. And he vetoes any bill that tries to curtail the greed of the upper 1 percent.

Reasoning for the War

I want to give you all the essential elements and understanding to predict the next war. Because there certainly will be another one after this one, unless we can intervene and break the cycles and make a profound change in the United States system. Since the Vietnam War, the military establishment, which is the very powerful central engine in our society, has been working to erase the stigma of the Vietnam War.

Most of us were presuming that the cause of the trauma of the Vietnam War was that we had learned that these things are not cool, that they don't work, that we should never do them again. The military maintained that if the United States had gone in massively in Vietnam, with nukes if they had to, and had won in a few months time, that the American people would have supported it, and there would have been no trauma.

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John Stockwell

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Meanwhile, great victory over war and conflict. The Cold War is over. And we all celebrated. But my analysis of the Persian Gulf War was that communism capitulated, the Soviet Union's economy was broken, and the U.S. military complex was desperate for new rationales. How could we justify continuing to spend a huge segment of our budget on continuing military buildup if the enemy was gone and communism no longer existed? We had the United States war complex facing severe cuts. They had resisted the invasion of Nicaragua because the spigots were wide open and the money was flowing and they know if the body bags began to come back, people would get angry and they would shut off the spigots. And they would lose this great access to the flow of our money, this welfare program we have for the military-industrial complex. Once the Cold War was over and we began to cut the budget, they had nothing to lose. And they had tons of new equipment to test. And they needed to inspire the nation and recapture our imagination and our love for war.

Hence, adding all these things together, the U.S. cycle, the nightmare of the economic situation we have, the sliding into recession, the S&L crisis in which his own family was involved, the malaise that was setting in, and his own problem

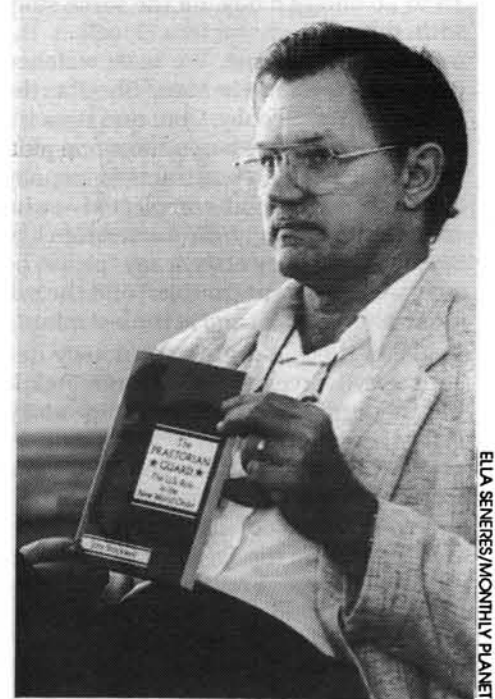
with his own masculinity, it was safe to predict that Bush would look for an overseas solution or war. It's been done time and time again, as you'll see if you read Howard Zinn's book, *A People's History of the United States*. Because Manuel Noriega had the information on Bush's connections to drug smuggling, Bush had to get rid of him. And he had to set the principle of the New World Financial Order, which he calls the New World Order, of transcending national boundaries, and that it would give the police of that order, the United States, the right to go into a country and pluck out their leader and put him on trial in U.S. courts for breaking, allegedly, U.S. laws. But not trying the others who were with him in the CIA, flying the planes and smuggling drugs, too.

The war was very successful in Panama. They tried out military equipment, got people excited, it was generally popular, but the trouble was it solved nothing and it was over in one week. They were visibly orchestrating Cuba, beating all of the drums. Just like they had done against Nicaragua. Just like they had done against Noriega in Panama. So I said they're going against Cuba. I didn't know what they were doing to create the conditions of a better war in the Middle East. And this erupted on us, the war that George Bush was shopping for.

Now we are at war. Saddam Hussein

invaded Kuwait on the 2nd of August. George Bush immediately responded with U.S. forces and he's had an unwavering commitment to a violent solution. They needed to get the nation back to war. They succeeded. Vietnam is history. They've erased the stigma. The united nation is enamored of war again, and hanging to the TV set and most of the nation is cheering and applauding. Bush announced the exciting concept of a New World Order, of which he perceives himself as being the leader, bringing together the New World Order that will probably dominate world activities for the next thousand years or twenty-five years, unless other events like pollution intervene.

This is not a good war. The oil that we're supposedly fighting for is not our oil. It belongs to the oligarchies of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and they sell it to Japan and Germany. We get 7 percent of our oil from that region altogether and we have alternatives. Japan, which depends on that oil, didn't want this war because it would interrupt the flow of oil and endanger the sources and installations, and they can buy the oil from Saddam Hussein just as well as they can buy it from the Saudis or the Kuwaitis. The United States insisted on this war for our own reasons, and there was a great rift in our society because even the commanders of the Marine Corps, (even General

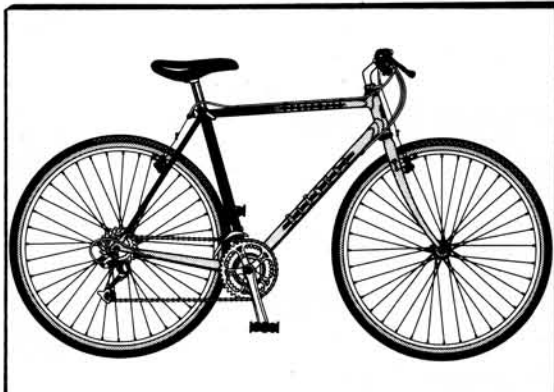


John Stockwell's new book is entitled "The Praetorian Guard: The U.S. Role in the New World Order."

Schwarzkopf himself), were against the war. They were saying let sanctions work, this is a dangerous thing, an unnecessary thing, we shouldn't do it. We were orchestrated into it because George Bush, the politician, and the people that he would rally to him, needed it and wanted it.

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World Financial Order

The four-and-a-half trillion dollar debt that is double-compounding — I'm sure you've wondered why it is that our government is not more upset and concerned viscerally with such a staggering debt, which probably can never be repaid? While talking to Admiral Carroll at the Center for Defense Information, he and I came up with a key to understanding this thing and their contempt for the American people and for America itself. The people who spent this money and the multinational corporations are part of the same world financial order that hold the paper on this loan, which means that the interest that's being paid is exactly like taxes to them; or at least, enforced debts and loans under which they're guaranteed by law to be paid at fixed interest rates. That's why they're not afraid of this debt; they're making money off of it for their own profit and policing the world.

And then you come up with understanding of what we're doing in the Persian Gulf. The United States has now become the "Praetorian Guard" of what George Bush calls the New World Order, policing the world for the people who own the world, effectively, of today and tomorrow.

Let me point out that this New World Order will clearly not be more peaceful. That would not suit them economically for it to be peaceful. It will not bring greater freedoms. On the contrary, it will bring continuing repression and forfeiture of the basic freedoms that we've enjoyed for so long. It will certainly not bring a greater equity in the distribution of wealth. The wealth will continue to flow from the poor and middle class to the ultra-rich. And it certainly will not bring greater social services in this country, because the New World Order is letting us go to the Persian Gulf to fight this war for them and letting us bear the lion's share of financing this thing as we fight the war in their interests over there right now.

Set Up for Future Wars

People are asking how could George Bush have miscalculated the response of the Arab people to this war. One thing is obvious: we have controlled so much of the world through oligarchies until this date, and we've done it successfully over there using brutal death squads when we had to, that they could easily think, well, we'll just go on doing it. If people don't like it, we'll slap them down.

But there may be a deeper point. They may have predicted and expected this reaction. Because what is now guaranteed in the Middle East is that there will be another war in five years or ten years and another one and another one. There are thousands of babies being born named Saddam Hussein right now today. And the anguish and the horror and the empathy for the ones who are dying in it are going to go on in conditioned violence.

We have the new rationale set up now against the Arab world and against countries of the Third World to actually build a more expensive army than the

one that we had in Europe to confront the Soviet Union.

Yellow Ribbons

The soldiers that we have over there today are volunteers. In Vietnam, a lot of them were draftees. This is a significant difference, although I would certainly agree that they were seduced into this thing, as I was at a comparable age. I look back in my own history when I was a determined, energetic member of the white male killer establishment, and I would come home and my friends would embrace me and love me and support me. They would say, we don't know what you're doing, we're not sure about it over there, but we support you, and I would go back feeling supported, as we got drunk, as we got raunchy, as we organized the killing of people.

I've analyzed carefully and even written a book about what made me change. And there were four people that I can

remember that significantly altered my thinking, and they were people who punched me in the intellectual belly. They were close friends who said what you're doing with your life is dead wrong, it's participating in evil, and you do have a choice and you can redirect your life. And I raged, I hurt, I was upset, I had insomnia, it was painful, but they made me think and the thinking led me to break away. It's called "tough love."

I am not going to wear a yellow ribbon.

What Can You Do?

Now to close on a note of motivation and hope, I want to remind you of what I said the last time I was here. You know what you're capable of, what your skills are, what you can do. I tell people if they can write, to write letters, write articles, write books, write telegrams. If they can travel, go to Nicaragua, go to Germany. See for yourself. Understand the world so that you can witness and discuss it in-

telligently. If you feel comfortable lying down in front of trucks with bombs on them, do it. You've got to do what you can do every day of your life, beginning today, because the course that we are on will definitely lead, eventually, to rendering this planet uninhabitable. It won't happen in five years or ten years, but eventually, unless we profoundly change what we are doing, there will be no more warm-blooded life on this planet. I urge people, because of the frustration and anger and fear and anxiety that we're submitted to, I urge people to remember to hug someone every day of your life. And hug some animal every day of your life, because they share this dilemma with us. Sooner or later, we must change or we will destroy ourselves.

John Stockwell is returning to Santa Cruz on Tuesday, March 12th. His talk, "Where Do We Go from Here?: The CIA's Role in the New World Order," will take place at Classroom Unit 2, UCSC, at 8 p.m.

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Military Spending Skyrockets Due to Persian Gulf War

by Shelly D'Amour

Now that the shooting phase of the war in the Middle East is over, the questions remain: how much is it going to cost and who's going to pay for it? The final figures are not in, and won't be for months or possibly even years. Aside from whatever minimal donations the U.S. government is able to extract from its allies, it appears that the American taxpayer will foot the major share of the tab.

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

Prior to the commencement of war on January 16th, the United States had spent about \$30 billion for Operation Desert Shield, according to House Budget Chair Leon Panetta. Once the bombing started, war costs jumped close to a billion dollars a day. Add in to that veterans' benefits, reconstruction and reparations costs, Arab allies' debt forgiveness, and the cost of maintaining an extended military presence in the region for the foreseeable future.

It is likely that the Congress will support President Bush's \$15 billion supplemental budget request to cover Persian Gulf War costs. This amount stands outside of the spending cap that Congress imposed on the military during last fall's budget agreement. Among other costs, the supplemental is intended to replenish equipment and missiles expended during the war. The Pentagon insists that it is not trying to sneak in funding for additional military hardware, but some in Congress are skeptical. A request for 500 Patriot missiles is receiving extra scrutiny from congressmembers who find that number excessive and want the Pentagon to account for the exact number of Patriots used.

Peace groups are pressing Congress

to include the costs of the Gulf War within the current year's military spending cap. However, this approach is not gaining much support within Congress. Rep. Panetta disagreed with the strategy, stating that if war costs were included in the current year's defense cap, it would increase the spending base and erode the whole idea behind the institution of caps — a view echoed by California Democrat Barbara Boxer. This is a curious argument for a budget chair to advance, since in fact the exact opposite is true. To finance anything via supplementals is to embrace deficit spending, since such items are off-budget. Supplemental spending undercuts the authority of budget caps, acting as an incentive for federal programs such as the military to spend without consequence.

The truth is that including the war costs under the current year's spending cap would mean cutting back on other Pentagon programs, and few in Congress, much less the current administration, are willing to live with that.

Under the terms of last year's budget compromise, Congress compartmentalized the federal budget into three broad areas: military, domestic, and foreign aid. Separate caps were imposed on each area. This means that if Congress wants to authorize additional funding for a program contained under a given category, it must decrease funding from another program within the same category. The positive side to this arrangement is that if the Pentagon wants more monies for a certain kind of weapons system, it has to deduct the cost out of another military program.

The down side is that the same system forces social programs to compete against each other for ever-dwindling funds. Most importantly, it eliminates the possibility of a peace dividend. The agreement is projected to remain intact through 1995, but negotiations to change the agreement may begin as early as next year. "The instincts of this institution," noted Rep. Panetta, "are not to accept constraints."



DAVE EASON/MONTHLY PLANET

The Bush Administration sent to Congress a \$1.45 trillion budget request for fiscal year 1992, which begins on October 1st. Included is a request for \$295.2 billion in military outlays, representing a 1 percent overall decrease from current levels. Costs for Operations Desert Shield/Storm are not part of the budget request. However, increases are sought for Star Wars, Stealth bomber, Midgetman, advanced air-launched cruise missiles, and SRAM-T air-to-ground missiles.

The largest increase being sought is for the Star Wars program — up 77 percent from last year's 2.9 billion to this year's request of \$5.2 billion. Pentagon planners are enthusiastic about the performance of the Patriot missile and want to utilize Star Wars funding to produce more Patriot missiles and develop similar missile defense technologies. The futuristic and seemingly unworkable technologies that came to characterize the Star Wars program under the Reagan Administration eventually convinced

most of Congress that the expensive price tag was just not worth it, and appropriations for the program began to decline for several years. Last year the Pentagon restructured the focus of the Star Wars program toward anti-missile defenses and away from the concept of an "umbrella" defense protecting populations. Given the "successes" of the Patriot in the Middle East, Congress may be in more of a disposition to fund Star Wars technologies than it has in a number of years.

Requests for the B-2 (Stealth) bomber have increased slightly from last year's \$4.2 billion to this year's \$4.8 billion, for the purpose of producing four bomber planes this year and to provide a headstart on next year's planned seven planes.

Twenty-eight additional Trident II (D-5) nuclear missiles are on order at a cost of \$1.3 billion, compared with last year's \$1.7 billion. Thirty-one are in the works for fiscal year 1993.

Funding for the Trident Submarine program is nearing completion, with 18 submarines in various stages of pro-



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duction. Appropriations for the subs are steadily decreasing (\$1.4 billion in FY91, \$153 million in FY92, \$45.8 million in FY93). Unfortunately, this is not due to any action on the part of Congress, or any appreciable successes on the part of the peace movement. With the efficiency and measured speed of a steam locomotive, the entire Trident program has moved forward inexorably toward its planned conclusion. Missile production has also continued at a steady clip, and budget figures do not indicate there will be any decrease for some time. Ultimately, each Trident II submarine will come equipped with 24 D-5 nuclear missiles, each missile carrying eight warheads.

For the second year in a row, there will be no production funds for the MX missile system. However, the Air Force is seeking \$549 million in funding for the Midgetman.

Domestic programs are going to hurt most of all in the proposed budget, and you can be sure that nobody in Congress is going to propose supplemental spending bills to cover their needs. Incredibly, veterans' benefits are slated to be cut back — \$3.5 billion over the next five years — even as a new generation of veterans emerges.

Peace groups are pressing Congress to include the costs of the Gulf War within the current year's military spending cap. However, this approach is not gaining much support within Congress.

How do the costs of the war compare with spending on the domestic front? According to an analysis produced by the Institute for Policy Studies, the same amount of money could provide a public works job for every unemployed citizen at an annual salary of \$20,000, and have money left over. IPS further estimated that a 30-day ground war would cost 28 times more than the nation's commitment to elementary and secondary education, and 900 times more than the nation's commitment to maternal and child health.

In a similar study conducted prior to the ground offensive, Jobs With Peace estimated that the costs of a ground war could reach as high as \$2 billion per day. At this rate, one day's war expenditure totals one-third of the entire annual budget for environmental protection (\$6 billion), one-half of the annual federal job-training budget (\$4 billion), and more

continued on next page

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Military Spending

continued from previous page

than the entire annual budget for the Head Start program (\$1.9 billion). Furthermore, just one day at war cost almost five times more than the nation's annual commitment to federal energy conservation (\$422 million).

But perhaps the clearest statement of our nation's priorities lies in the contrast between military spending, and federal spending to fight AIDS. According to an analysis by HandsNet director Sam Karp, government spending on Operations Desert Storm/Shield to date have outstripped 10 years of AIDS funding. The newly proposed federal budget, Karp states, provides 60 cents toward AIDS research for every 100 dollars earmarked for a new weapons system.

When all is said and done for Operation Desert Storm, the United States will have sacrificed approximately 300 of its young men and women to shadowy and dubious goals in the Middle East. Meanwhile, on the homefront, a quieter, less heralded war is being fought and lost in our community's hospitals and research centers. The Centers for Disease Control reported in February that over 100,000 Americans have died from AIDS, with another quarter-million deaths anticipated over the next three years.

Absent are the flags, the yellow ribbons, the speeches, the massive front-page

headlines, for those who wage that war daily. You won't be treated to the sight of Peter Jennings in front of San Francisco Community Hospital night after night with a blow-by-blow description of the medical technology being employed, or of the lives won or lost. And when Johnny and Jane come marching home, a proportionate number will be carrying that deadly virus. Will they be left alone to discover that "troop support" carried only a six-month warranty, and that the very people who asked them to give up their lives on the battlefield won't be around to "support" them when they die at home?

Voting Records

National SANE/FREEZE recently released its 1990 congressional voting record and analysis, tracking 15 key arms control and foreign policy votes in the House and 12 in the Senate. SANE/FREEZE monitored votes on issues dealing with nuclear weapons systems, the military budget, nuclear testing, economic conversion, and certain foreign policy issues such as funds for El Salvador and Angola, and support for the president's policy to deploy troops to Panama and to the Persian Gulf. SANE/FREEZE gave local 16th district Rep. Leon Panetta (D) a 73 percent approval rating, 12 district Rep. Tom Campbell (R) a 60 percent approval rating, Senator



Alan Cranston (D) a 92 percent approval rating, and handed Senator (now California Governor) Pete Wilson (R) his 8th straight 0 percent approval rating.

SANE/FREEZE gave Mr. Panetta high marks for his votes on nuclear testing, Star Wars, economic conversion, MX/Midgetman, certain military spending amendments, and on aid to Angola and El Salvador. Mr. Panetta got a negative rating for his vote in favor of establishing a homeport at Staten Island, for his vote against the Congressional Black Caucus alternative budget, for his support of the U.S. invasion of Panama, and for his support of the U.S. troop deployment to the Persian Gulf last August.

Mr. Campbell received low marks for the same votes as Mr. Panetta, plus for his vote against a budget resolution to set military spending caps, and for voting against an amendment to suspend mili-

tary aid to the Angolan rebel group UNITA.

Senator Cranston got a positive rating for his votes on the B-2 bomber, ASAT's, Star Wars, the Peace Dividend, and on military aid to El Salvador. Mr. Cranston received a negative rating for his vote in support of President Bush's pursuit of the passage of U.N. resolutions concerning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Senator Wilson has proved to be a relentless champion of Pentagon spending programs and U.S. military intervention abroad. His 0 percent approval rating is well-earned. The challenge for Freeze supporters now lies with his hand-picked successor, John Seymour. Mr. Seymour began his senatorial career in January with voting in support of the use of force in the Persian Gulf.

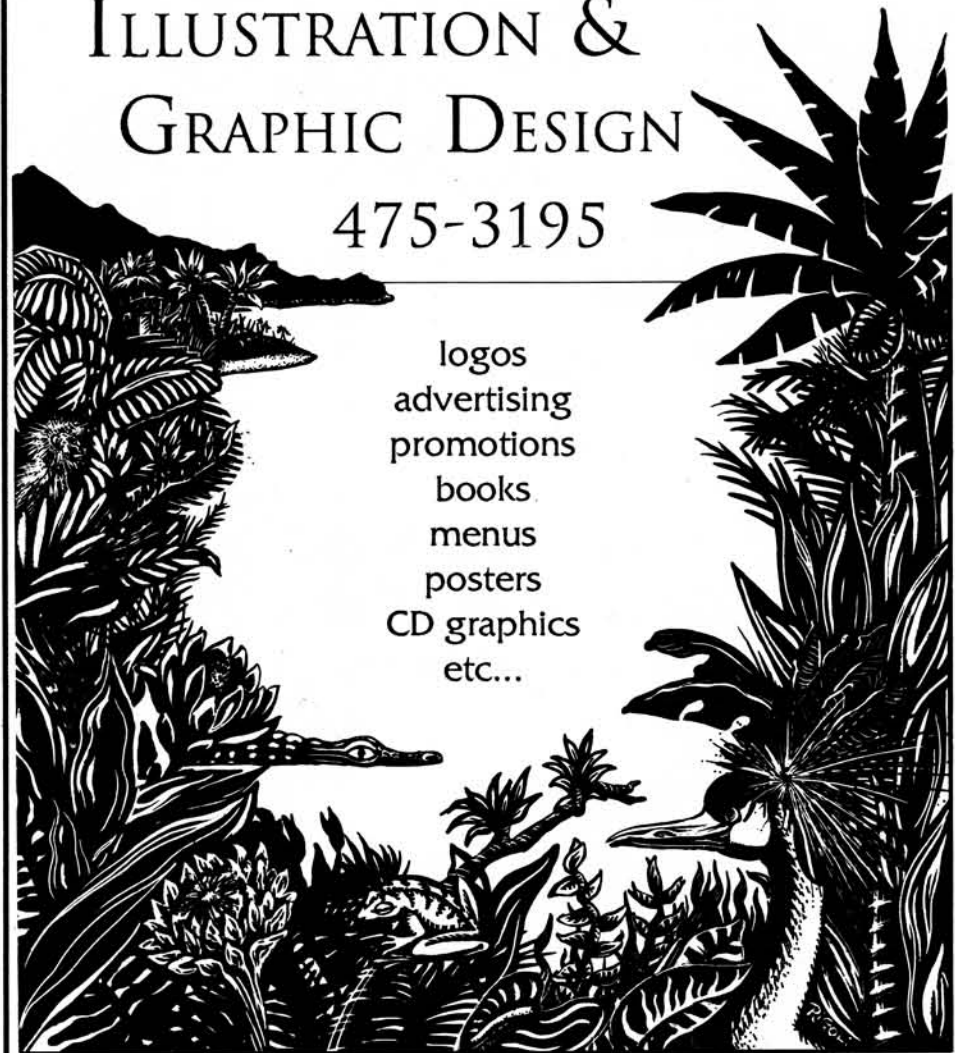
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El Salvador

As the war in the Persian Gulf consumed the attentions of the American people over the past months, the U.S. financed war in El Salvador continues unabated.

Citing renewed Salvadoran guerrilla activity, President Bush authorized the release of \$42.5 million in military aid to the government of El Salvador. Last fall Congress appropriated an \$85 million spending package, but withheld half of it in order to send a message to the Cristiani government that further military aid would be tied to improvements in human rights. At issue in particular was the still unresolved murders of six Jesuit priests by Salvadoran security forces in November 1989.

Conditions placed on the escrowed funds stipulated that the monies could be released only if the Salvadoran rebels failed to negotiate with the government in good faith, or otherwise engaged in acts of violence against civilians. The Congress then gave the president the power to make this determination.

On January 17, President Bush sent to Congress a 12-page report outlining the conditions that led him to release the aid. Chief among these was the apparent execution-style murder of two U.S. servicemen after their helicopter was shot down by Salvadoran guerrillas on January 2nd.

Although release of the funds has been authorized, they are not scheduled to be expended until sometime in March. Efforts are underway in the House and Senate to block the transfer of military aid to the Cristiani government.

Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and

Patrick Leahy (D-VT) together with Representatives Joe Moakley (D-MA) and John Murtha (D-PA) authored a letter objecting to any release of the aid. The letter is currently being circulated and in need of co-sponsors. The four legislators authored the original legislation last October that produced the 50 percent aid cut. In response to administration charges that release of the aid is justified, Rep. Moakley declared: "The deaths of the U.S. servicemen is a horrible tragedy, but the beneficiaries should not be the same Salvadoran military that killed six priests in cold blood."

Reps. Bill Green (R-NY) and Harry Johnston (D-FL) have written a letter to El Salvador's President Cristiani, expressing concern for the need for free press coverage of the upcoming Salvadoran elections. Co-signers are still needed. Last month, El Salvador's last remaining independent newspaper was burned to the ground. Additionally, 18 foreign journalists were detained and "seriously harassed" by a detachment of the Salvadoran military according to press sources.

Finally, Senator Brock Adams and Rep. Jim McDermott, both Democrats from Washington State, will introduce the "Peace, Democracy and Development in El Salvador Act." The bill will contain five major provisions: 1) prohibit all military assistance to the Salvadoran government until certain conditions, to be determined by Congress, are met; 2) withdraw all U.S. military advisors; 3) prohibit U.S. covert operations; 4) establish a fund for reconstruction; 5) restrict economic support funds to meet basic human needs. Senator Adams' office stated that the bill will be introduced sometime in March, and is in need of co-sponsors.

ACTION: Contact your representative and senators and tell them to sign on as co-sponsors to these important bills. The message should be: "Please oppose all efforts to restore military aid to El Salvador."

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

Hotlines

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Friends Committee on National Legislation
(202) 547-4343

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

Testing Alert Network Hotline
(American Peace Test reports on activities at the Nevada Test Site)
(702) 386-9831

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

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(202) 223-NICA

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President George Bush
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Washington, DC 20500
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Senator Alan Cranston
112 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
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Senator John Seymour
720 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-3841 / (415) 556-4307

Congressmember Leon Panetta
339 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-2861 / (408) 429-1976
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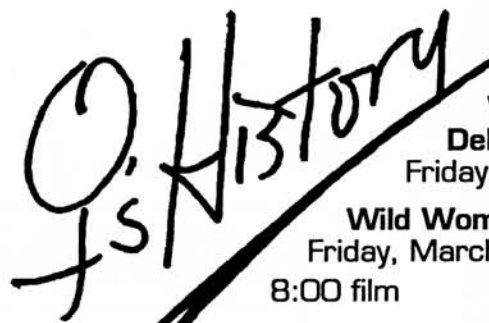
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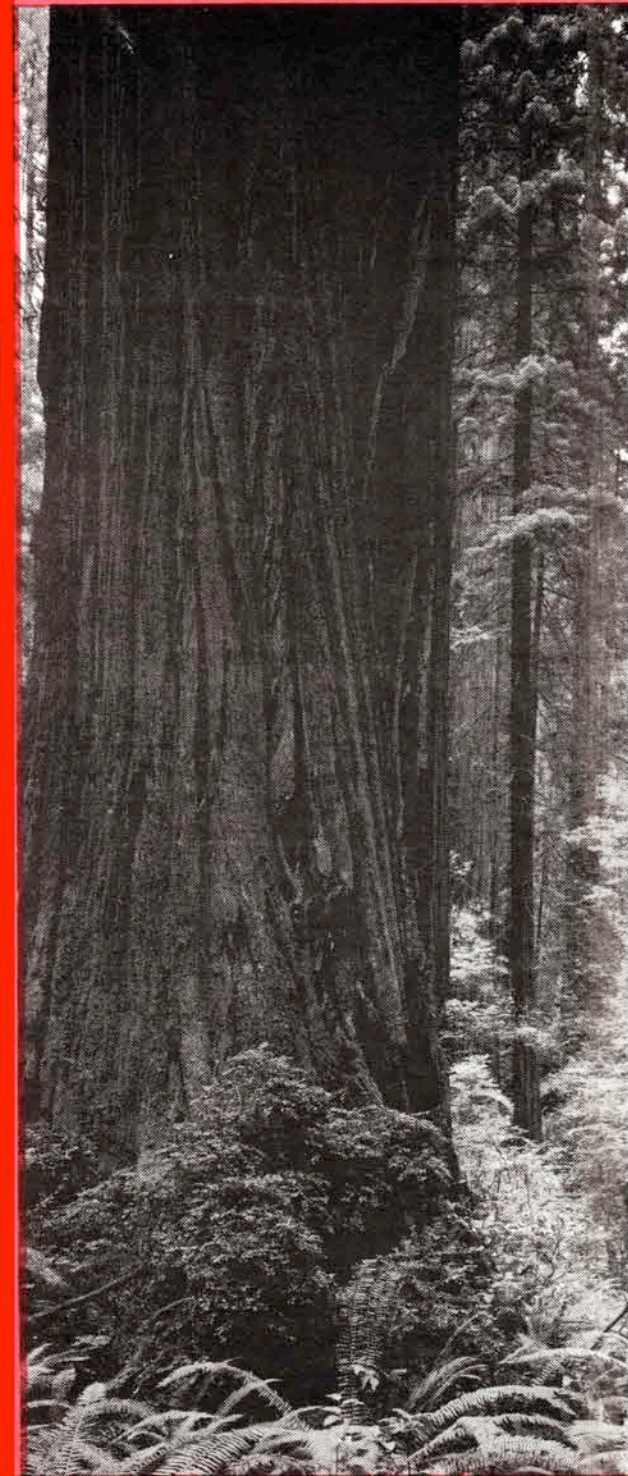


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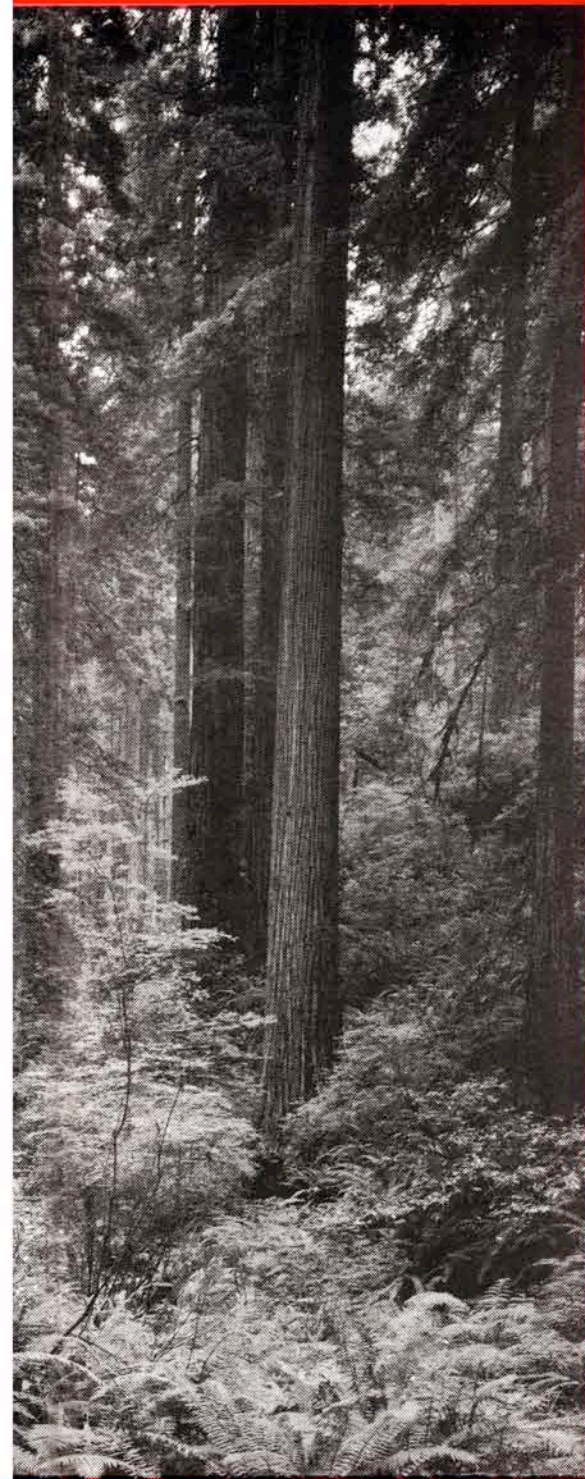
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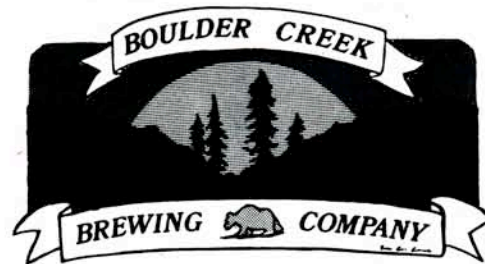
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An Unsanitized Look at the War

by Joseph A. Palermo

Following 38 days of merciless bombing, the United States and its coalition partners went ahead with the ground war despite the Soviet-brokered peace plan that secured an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The U.S.-led coalition's main objective of forcing Iraq from Kuwait had been achieved, but President Bush chose to launch the ground offensive on February 23. Thus began the short but brutal "second stage" of the Persian Gulf War — a stage that could have been avoided had the United States showed a true commitment to the original aims of the United Nations.

It appears now there was nothing the Iraqis, the Soviets, or anyone else could have done to prevent the U.S. ground attack. For five weeks the U.S. Army sat back and watched as the Air Force pummeled Iraq and Kuwait in preparation for the land war. For the Army to abandon the offensive after all of the planning, exercises, and dreams of future budget requests was simply unthinkable. Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell said, "Our strategy for the Iraqi army is very, very simple: first we are going to cut it off, then we will kill it." Now that General Powell has accomplished his mission, U.S. leaders hope that by prolonging the suffering of the Iraqi people through post-war economic sanctions, the Iraqis themselves will oust Saddam Hussein.

One-hundred-and-ten-thousand sorties later, the U.S. and its allies have bombed virtually every significant public building in the country, every power plant, factory, major road or bridge, any structure that could possibly have a "military" use. The population of Iraq is reeling from the effects of the bombing that grew even more intense during the ground war. Air attacks on bridges, highways, and bus terminals have chopped the transportation system to bits. American bombing has destroyed mosques, churches, and hundreds of homes in the Shiite holy cities of Karbala, Samarra, and Najaf. On February 6, when Iraq officially severed diplomatic relations with the nations of the coalition, Iraqi

Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz said the bombing was "taking Iraq out of the 20th century."

The Jordanian Red Crescent has put the number of civilians killed and wounded in Iraq at 112,000, with 60 percent of them children. News agencies

based in France estimate between 150,000 and 250,000 civilian casualties in Iraq since the war began. Reports of Iraqi civilian deaths have been widespread and continuous. At least 47 civilians died when U.S. warplanes attacked the al-Nasir bridge in Baghdad; 70 people

were killed near Basra following repeated air attacks on a communications tower; 130 people died when British warplanes bombed an apartment building in Fallujah, east of Baghdad; 30 civilians died when a missile hit a public bus near the Iraq-Kuwait border; a family of five



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burned to death when a bomb hit a home in Baghdad; U.S. planes strafed a bus near the town of al-Nasiriyyeh killing 16 people; 14 people died when bombs hit a merchant neighborhood in Baghdad; bombs hit a mosque near Basra killing a family of ten, and so on, and on, and on.

Former United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark gave a firsthand account of the effects of the U.S. bombing campaign which was uncensored and not the product of "pool reporting." His report is based on a six-day trip to Iraq he made in early February with a television documentary crew. Mr. Clark covered some 1,400 miles by car in Iraq and could travel anywhere he pleased without government interference. In Basra he saw six continuous blocks of homes that were turned into smoking rubble. "The damage we saw was staggering," Clark said. "We saw hundreds of dwellings demolished."

In the countryside, Mr. Clark saw food processing plants that had been "systematically hit," and "hundreds and hundreds of vehicles damaged or destroyed." He saw strafed and bombed-out public buses, mini-vans, taxis, and private cars. He also visited four hospitals, all of which had no heat, no running water, little electricity, and very little medicine. The hospitals were filled with badly injured women and "lots of children," Clark said. The health care system in Iraq has been severely disrupted, forcing doctors and nurses to perform major surgery by candlelight with no antibiotics or clean water. Doctors have

been forced to amputate the arms and legs of children without painkillers, intravenous tubes, or blood transfusions. Mr. Clark said he saw a 12-year-old girl in one hospital who was moaning in pain after doctors amputated her leg near the hip with no anesthesia.

But the single most horrific atrocity committed against civilians in this war (made public so far) was the bombing of the air raid shelter in the Amiriya district of Baghdad on the morning of February 13. At approximately 4:30 a.m. Baghdad time, two U.S. Air Force F-117A stealth fighter planes dropped two laser-guided bombs on the shelter where over 400 people, mostly women and children, were sleeping. One bomb exploded, sealing off the entrance to the building, while the other bomb struck 10 seconds later slicing through the 10-foot-thick concrete ceiling and incinerating everyone inside.

In the first few hours after the bombing, rescue workers used blankets to remove the charred, twisted bodies of 91 children, 55 women, and 48 men. The youngest victim was ten days-old. Ninety-four other bodies were burned beyond recognition. Grieving relatives waited anxiously outside the building as the bodies were removed, hoping to hear word of survivors; there were only eight. One survivor was identified as Omar Adnan, 17, who told reporters that his mother, father and three young sisters were killed. "I was sleeping and suddenly I felt heat and the blanket was burning,"

he said. "Moments later, I felt I was suffocating. I turned to try to touch my mother who was next to me but grabbed nothing but a piece of flesh."

Journalists reported that 500 to 1,500 people had been sleeping inside the shelter every night since the war began. It was located near a mosque, a school, and a supermarket in the center of a middle-class neighborhood and large road signs marked the building to be a civilian air raid shelter. It was originally built for that purpose in 1985 during the Iran-Iraq War.

images broadcast during the war and were promptly ordered off the air by CNN's executive vice-president Ted Turner, who said the coverage "was not serving a journalistic function." By February 16, even before all the bodies had been recovered, the major television networks and print media had dropped the story completely.

The Pentagon chose not to release a single document, photograph, or videotape to back up its claim that the shelter was a "military target." Journalists on the scene searched the building thoroughly for evidence of a military function and found none. To provide documentary evidence, the U.S. military contends, would jeopardize sensitive intelligence sources. So we are left with only the Pentagon's word that it is being truthful in its dual claims that the shelter was "a valid military target" and that the U.S. military did not know civilians were using the building. The Pentagon claims to have known virtually everything about the building, the thickness of the ceiling, when and how it was built, the existence of communications equipment, and the fact that Iraqi military personnel had been in the vicinity. But it also claimed it did not know that 500 to 1,500 civilians had been sleeping there every night since the bombing of Baghdad began on January 17. At the very least, the Pentagon's own version of the event shows a reckless disregard for the lives of Iraqi civilians, at a time when U.S. officers

continued on next page

Virtually every significant public building in Iraq has been bombed.

The Iraqi government allowed Western journalists to cover the story free of restrictions. CNN's Peter Arnett said it was "one of the most grisly sites I have ever seen." He and his BBC colleagues were visibly shaken as they toured the grounds and reported on the progress of the rescue effort. Arnett beamed back images of grief-stricken husbands and fathers weeping as the bodies of loved ones were removed from the shelter. These scenes were among the most powerful television



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Unsanitized Look

continued from previous page

claimed they were doing everything possible, even "risking American lives," to avoid killing civilians.

Shortly after the air war began President Bush boasted that Saddam Hussein's nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons capacity had been permanently destroyed. The bombing of the Taiwatha nuclear research facility near Baghdad resulted in the release of an unspecified amount of radioactive materials. Anthrax and other dangerous substances were detected in the atmosphere above northern Europe following the bombing of biological and chemical plants in Iraq. Like other environmental consequences of the war, these too have been played down by the mainstream media.

As we go to press, there are now over 250 oil-field fires burning out of control in Kuwait; 30 percent of the oil fields in the country. Never before has more than a handful of such facilities been ablaze at the same time. It is an unprecedented environmental disaster, and with the temperatures rising above 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit at the base of each fire, extinguishing them all could take years. The resulting cloud of smoke, which covers over 10,000 square kilometers, has caused a black, sticky rain to fall over parts of Iran. The fires have already released into the atmosphere amounts of hydrocarbons and pollutants (including known carcinogens) that exceed the yearly output of Germany and Japan.

The 460-million-gallon oil spill in the Persian Gulf has reportedly broken up and has been followed by several smaller ones. Each subsequent spill would have been considered disasters in their own right, had they not been preceded by the largest spill in history. The oil in the gulf is expected to destroy far more wildlife than did the 11-million-gallon Exxon Valdez spill which killed over 90,000 birds. There are major migratory bird areas along the gulf coast that are suffering from the effects of the oil. Sea turtles, marine mammals, and other rare species have been killed or are threatened. The war might be over, but the ecological

consequences will continue for years.

The cost of rebuilding Iraq is estimated to be between \$200 and \$250 billion and will take decades to accomplish. The Iraqis will be lucky to survive, let alone rebuild their shattered society, yet some United States government officials are still demanding that Iraq pay reparations to Kuwait. The rebuilding of Kuwait, which is estimated to cost about \$50 billion, will be a much easier task. The ruling Al Sabah family began signing contracts with Bechtel and other major Western corporations for post-war reconstruction as early as last November.

The Emir of Kuwait and his royal family own the 10th largest oil company in the world, the Kuwait Petroleum

and own Santa Fe International Company, an oil exploration company based in Houston. They are also minority stockholders in Atlantic Richfield and control a significant percentage of stock in over 70 of the largest, most powerful corporations in the world. The Al Sabahs have shrewdly diversified their holdings to become minority stockholders in important multinational firms. By placing the Al Sabahs back on the throne in Kuwait, President Bush not only secured access to oil and the flow of petrodollars to Western banks, but also rescued "friendly" minority shareholders in major American and European companies that would have felt a capital squeeze had the Al Sabahs been forced to liquidate their assets.

The political future of Iraq remains uncertain, but the politics of post-war Kuwait have been spelled out in an un-

severely restrict freedom of expression in Kuwait and make it illegal to criticize the regime or even quote the Emir without permission. The police will enforce a bevy of harsh security laws aimed particularly at what the document calls "stay-behind Palestinians and Iraqis," who are described as potential "terrorists." The political order of post-war Kuwait, like Saudi Arabia, will be a form of nonmilitary despotism with a powerful secret police that will torture, jail, or execute dissidents.

As we go to press, the American military casualty toll for the entire war stands at 89 killed in combat, 44 missing, and 243 wounded, making the Persian Gulf War one of the most lopsided victories in history. While U.S. military casualties have been measured in *individuals*, Iraqi casualties have been measured in *divisions*, each one containing approximately 12,000 men. During the ground war Americans saw television images of hundreds of Iraqi soldiers gratefully surrendering to U.S. troops, but did not see the thousands of Iraqi soldiers bombed to death in their trenches. Estimates of Iraqi military deaths from Saudi Arabian sources vary from 60,000 to 120,000. Referring to the Iraqi army, General Norman Schwarzkopf said, "there were very, very large numbers of dead in those units." Both American and British military officials refuse to give estimates of Iraqi casualties. British army Colonel Barry Stevens said the subject was "meaningless" and "rather distasteful."

The swiftness of the ground war and the collapse of the Iraqi army tells us something about the ferocity of the air war. The carpet bombing of Iraqi soldiers allowed U.S. and allied troops to march into Kuwait and Iraq over corpses. The Bush Administration was fearful that high American casualties would sour public opinion on the war. This political consideration translated into the military strategy of prosecuting the most intense air war in history. The U.S. "won" this war by breaking the back of Iraqi society, destroying the country's infrastructure, killing thousands of people, and raining cluster bombs and napalm on troops.

The United States government and the mass media succeeded in thoroughly demonizing Saddam Hussein in the weeks prior to the start of the air war. The media tended to portray the conflict as a per-



Company, and control assets and investments in the United States and Western Europe valued at more than three times the gross national product of Greece. They also own a chain of over 6,000 "Q-8" gasoline stations operating throughout Europe. The Al Sabahs have invested heavily in the Texas oil industry

classified Pentagon document prepared by the Civil Affairs Command based in Riyadh. As outlined in the document, Kuwait is now under martial law and could remain so for a year. The United States will provide security assistance for up to five years and the 1976 legal system will be reinstated. The 1976 laws

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sonalized struggle between George Bush and a Third World dictator. Given the pervasiveness of anti-Arab racism, demonizing the Iraqi leader was a relatively simple task. Saddam-bashing was the subject of "comedy" on American television and spawned groups such as "SMASH" (Students Mobilized Against Saddam Hussein). There were Saddam Hussein "voodoo" dolls, dart boards, and even video games. And who can forget the "star-studded" singing "Valentine video" for the troops? An estimated 95 million Americans watched the Super Bowl halftime show on January 27 that featured thousands of children waving yellow ribbons and holding up cards that formed a gigantic American flag. In the midst of this display came a two-minute videotaped "support-the-troops" message from George and Barbara Bush.

The anti-war movement had a formidable task. But peace activists rapidly mobilized tens of thousands of people across the country and held the largest demonstrations since the Vietnam War. There were enormous protests in San Francisco and New York, particularly the mass mobilizations of January 19 and 26. Colleges and universities held teach-ins and debates, and there were hundreds of vigils, rallies, and nonviolent direct actions at government installations. Symbolic protest took on new and creative forms and peace groups formed important new coalitions with other grassroots organizations. The national news media consistently undercut the significance of these actions. But even with all the pro-war propaganda, the Bush Administration was fearful that the anti-war movement would grow in strength if the war dragged on.

The most dramatic individual action taken in protest of the Persian Gulf War deserves special reflection. On February 18 in Amherst, Massachusetts, 30-year-old Gregory D. Levey, a 1984 graduate of the University of Massachusetts, an English teacher, and the son of a *Boston Globe* columnist, bought two gallons of turpentine at a hardware store in Amherst and a cigarette lighter at a convenience store. He then went to the grassy commons in front of the Town Hall, the scene of constant protests and vigils since the war began. He taped his Massachusetts drivers license to a sign that simply read "PEACE," and poured the turpentine over himself, soaking his skin and clothes. On February 18 at 1:50 p.m. in the Amherst village commons, Gregory D. Levey immolated himself in protest of the Persian Gulf War.

Now that the war is over, George Bush is being heralded in the media as a hero — the president who successfully exorcised the "ghost of Vietnam." "Americans are feeling good about their country these days," a CNN commentary recently chimed. The nation now awaits the homecoming parade for the troops, a blizzard of flags and yellow ribbons, ushering in a "new world order" of future projections of American military power free of the deterring influences of the Cold War.

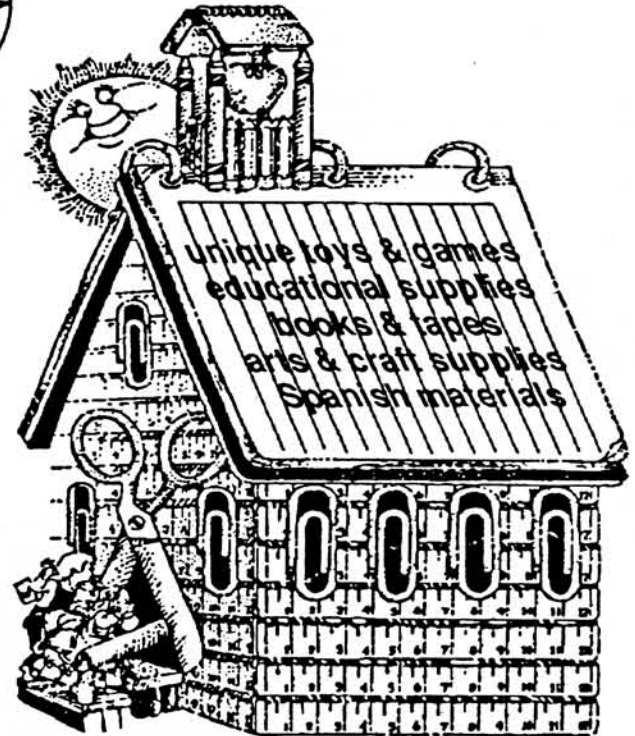
But many questions remain unanswered regarding this war. To what extent did the Kuwaitis themselves contribute to the Iraqi invasion by slant drilling into

Iraq's oil fields, violating OPEC production limits, and rebuffing Iraqi attempts at diplomacy before August 2, 1990? What about the U.S. State Department's signals to Saddam Hussein from Ambassador April Glaspie in July 1990 (saying an invasion of Kuwait would be viewed as a "dispute between friendly Arab nations") that may have emboldened the Iraqi leader to invade in the first place? As the U.S. tries to hunt down Saddam Hussein to put him on trial for "war crimes," are we expected to forget about the United States' arming of Iraq during the Reagan-Bush years and its "tilt" toward Iraq in the war with Iran? And what about George Bush's rush into war before the economic sanctions were allowed to run their course and the bombing of Baghdad and other cities which was never given approval by the United Nations?

The American "victory" has resulted in the reinforcement of a very unjust political and economic order, not only in the Middle East, but at home too. This war has distorted our national priorities back to the old Cold War militarism. The martial spirit of the media's war coverage has led many Americans to embrace an inane and power-drunk form of "patriotism." — an ideology that accepts, with flag-waving fervor, increasing poverty at home while America spends its national treasure policing the world.

Joseph A. Palermo teaches United States history at Hartnell Community College in Salinas.

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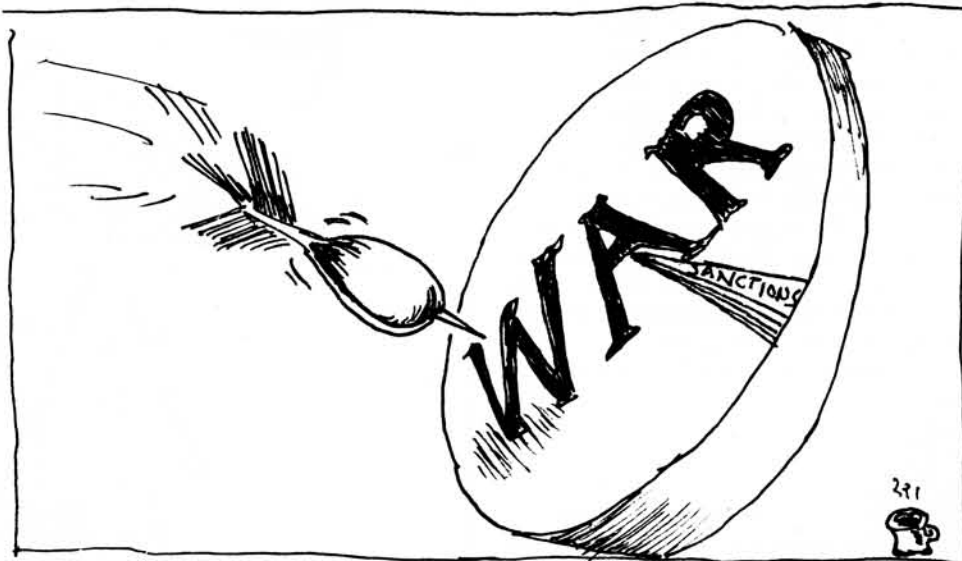
The War as a Reflection of America: A Reply to Tom Campbell

by Dan Karamanski

In early February, I received a letter from 12th Congressional District Representative Tom Campbell in which he outlined his reasons for voting to authorize the president to begin the war against Iraq. Though these reasons were commonly given by many others to justify American participation in this war, I believe that they deserve some scrutiny.

ANALYSIS

Mr. Campbell believes that this war mandated that America end the threat posed to the world, not by Iraq, but by Saddam Hussein. One theme of Campbell's response is that Hussein, a villain unpopular in his own country, has taken over the innocent nation-state of Kuwait, and now the good guys must ride to the rescue. I will not deny the aspects of truth in this view. Hussein is a dictator who represses dissent with imprisonment, torture and death. From those facts, however, it would be impos-



sible to tell him apart from many Arab leaders, both inside and outside of the coalition. Nor was Kuwait a completely innocent bystander.

This war did not occur in a vacuum separate from the actions and policies of the United States; it was one of the consequences of U.S. Middle East policy

designed to ensure enough stability in the area to enable international trade (especially in oil) to proceed unhindered, but not enough stability as to allow Arabs to control this trade. It was not a policy to promote the development of democracy, promote the welfare of the Arab people, or to protest human rights abuses (except when those aims assist U.S. goals).

Mr. Campbell is appalled by the atrocities committed by the Iraqis in their occupation of Kuwait, and rightly so. But to maintain that this is reason enough to go to war, Campbell would have American troops in combat over most of the globe.

Just as the average American citizen should examine his or her own contribution to the situation that preceded this war, so must Congress. I remind Mr. Campbell, or any member of Congress, that every vote must demonstrate responsibility for what our nation has done in the past to contribute towards situations in which this confrontation became inevitable.

The U.S. supported an Iraqi government which used chemical weapons to fight and destabilize an "enemy" (Iran); but now, Campbell sees these same chemical weapons are "the most compelling aspect of the Persian Gulf crisis," and they are one of his three primary reasons for going to war. The only thing compelling about this is that the chemical dagger is now pointed at us rather than one of the "enemies." For a long time, the U.S. supported a government in Iran that maintained the channels of trade, but was hated by many of the Iranian people. We support the Saudi government (a monarchy), though its human rights abuses have been decried by Amnesty International.

Mr. Campbell favors the use of force against the Iraqis, but connecting his reasons was a sense of urgency that he felt impelled our nation to choose war. In his summary, he states that "It was war now, or a much worse war later." Of course, one of the key ingredients in obtaining public support for the decision to go to war was the lopsidedness of the

conflict — this war was easy to support because it was easy to obtain a military victory without widespread public inconvenience.

In a confrontation between nations, war is only one of the possible results, but it is the one most detrimental to the development of a sense of humanity and the growth of understanding between peoples. But Campbell sees the war option as unavoidable. He denies that this confrontation could have been solved without resort to war, and states that "...now is the most opportune moment to eliminate this danger." This distorts the choices we had in this matter. This was not just an opportunity for military action; it was a chance to establish a truly new world order of peace without war.

Campbell also states that we had to go to war now and bring a quick end to this confrontation because the U.S.-led coalition could not have succeeded with sanctions. My assessment is that the coalition would have fallen apart because of its construction upon promises of a quick removal of Iraq from Kuwait, either through threats or execution of a military action. Having thus defined its goal and structured its alliance, the coalition was "forced" to go to war. But it was possible, in August, to structure a coalition with a truly multi-national force that could have contained the Iraqis. Campbell also does not discuss the possibility of holding meaningful negotiations which could have restored Kuwait to its people. This option is apparently not available in the New World Order of U.S. military strength and diplomatic inflexibility.

Mr. Campbell thinks it is terrible that the Iraqis made "no apologies" for the use of chemical weapons, as if the use of these weapons would be more acceptable if they apologized. It is clear to me that Iraq's mistake was not in using chemical weapons, but in becoming an enemy of U.S. policy. Congress does not hesitate to accept excuses in lieu of action from repressive, immoral governments so long as they support U.S. policy.

Mr. Campbell wants a new world order and believes that peace can be achieved through war. I, too, want a new world order, but I believe that peace is not achieved through payoffs of debtor nations, coercion, and the maintenance of a predatory economic structure upon those countries.

Though Mr. Campbell and others want to treat war as a mere policy decision, war is not and can never be simply another available course of action. It is a failure of the human society; war itself is an atrocity. Our nation had the power (purchased at grave domestic cost) to wait out sanctions, but not the will. In resorting to this war, we have already failed, no matter how loudly the marching bands greet the returning warriors.

Dan Karamanski is a resident of the 12th Congressional District.

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Barbara Boxer on the Gulf War

interview by Shelly D'Amour

U.S. Representative Barbara Boxer was in Santa Cruz on February 16 to promote her candidacy for the U.S. Senate. Elected to Congress in 1982, Boxer, a Democrat, represents California's 6th district, which includes San Francisco, Marin County and San Rafael. In January, Rep. Boxer voted against the Solarz-Michel resolution, authorizing the use of force in the Persian

INTERVIEW

Gulf. However, like most of her colleagues, she then supported a resolution to commend the president as commander in chief and to commend the troops.

The Monthly Planet spoke with Rep. Boxer for a few minutes at the conclusion of her speech to the Santa Cruz Democratic Women's Club.

Monthly Planet: After the Solarz-Michel resolution was approved by Congress, most of those in Congress who had opposed the use of force then went on record as backing the president, apparently feeling the need to pull ranks...

Barbara Boxer: No, no. That's not correct. The vote was to commend the troops, and part of it said, "and commend the commander in chief, and his policy." A lot of us didn't approve of that part, so we were able to get it to say, "and commend the commander in chief, and commend the troops," and be silent on the policy. Because we really feel there is a difference between the war and the warrior, and we really want to make the point, we do feel for the men and women over there; and most of us, the vast majority, weren't going to vote against commending the men and women who are over there, since their lives are in jeopardy.

MP: How then would you assess the disposition of the Congress with regard to the war at this point?

BB: I think, very somber. They're very nervous. I think we need to pull together to finish this and to, bring our people home with the fewest number of casualties.

MP: You recently coauthored a statement to President Bush which garnered 41 signatures (40 House members and 1 senator), a statement that simply said, "It is our belief that there is no need to escalate the war in the Persian Gulf." Do you envision other such strategies coming out of members of Congress who continue to stand on record as opposed to the war?

BB: We continue to meet to try and end it as soon as we can with the fewest number of casualties...that's our goal; and we do meet, often, for lengthy meetings.

MP: The president is expected over the next few days to submit a supplemental request to cover the costs of the war. The current federal budget



Representative Barbara Boxer

has been compartmentalized into three areas, the military being one of those areas, each with its own separate cap. Theoretically, then, increases in any particular military line item would have to come at the expense of another such line item. In light of the escalating costs of this war, will the Congress stick to the budget agreement and force the Pentagon to pay for the war under the existing cap, or will they approve a supplemental?

BB: Oh, there's gonna be a supplemental because both the S&L crisis and the war are off budget so you need to pay for them outside of the budget agreement. I think that there are ways to pay for the war within the Pentagon budget, for example from the NATO budget and from the budget we used to defend the Japanese sea lanes. That ought to be used, but unfortunately these caps are there.

MP: The secret "black budget" has been back in the news the last couple of weeks. You have a history of efforts to open up that process to congressional accountability. Will anything more be happening in Congress on this issue this year?

BB: Well, my bill did pass a couple of years ago which stated that the black budget must be made available to the members of the Arms Services Committee. And it is. [It] has to have the title of the program, the purpose of the program and the cost of the program. But from what I understand there are still problems surrounding the black budget. I just got

back on Armed Services, and I intend to make it a priority to check this out.

MP: What post-war scenario do you envision for the Persian Gulf and what future role will the U.S. play there?

BB: Again, this is something [where] the president hasn't really put out his plan. But I think the important thing to do is to have a multinational peacekeeping force that is truly multinational, and that we keep the peace in the area. And, of course, there's going to have to be bilateral discussions of all the various problems in the Middle East. I don't know what Bush's plans are, but I can tell you that

there will never be a lasting peace unless these disputes are discussed. Be it the Iran/Iraq dispute, the Syria/Lebanon dispute, the Palestinian/Israeli dispute, Turkish/Iraq dispute, Saudi Arabia/Iraq — all these disputes have to be resolved. Otherwise, you're never going to see peace.

MP: One critical piece of this discussion is the fact that the United States and other nations routinely arm people like Saddam Hussein. Also, economic foreign aid is often used by recipient countries for military purposes. Is Congress addressing this issue, and is there anything legislative in the works aimed at plugging up these loopholes?

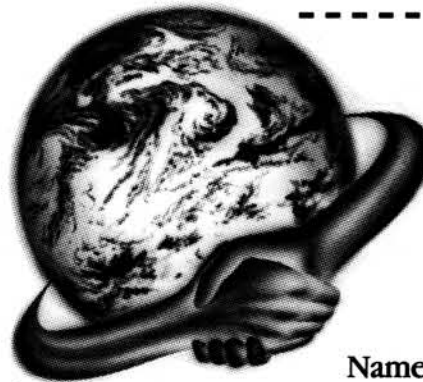
BB: Well, there are many bills dealing with the non-proliferation of weapons. Definitely the feeling is there that one of the causes of this war is that all these nations are armed so heavily. When you arm people they're going to use the arms. I think you're right to point that out that, if there aren't agreements to these disputes, and if we don't get to the heart and soul of the arms race, there's not going to be lasting peace.

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The Propaganda War at Home

by Norman Solomon

The day after hundreds of Iraqi civilians died in the U.S. bombing of a Baghdad shelter, the *Los Angeles Times* began a front-page article this way: "In the shadow war of the Persian Gulf — the battle for public sentiment — Iraq on Wednesday delivered the equivalent of a fuel-air explosive through the images of charred Iraqi women and children."

Combatants posing as observers in the fierce propaganda wars, the U.S. news media swiftly recoiled from the heavy impact of those "images." The gory TV footage from the Baghdad shelter stimulated a quick barrage of spin control — denial masquerading as sober analysis and punditry.

That evening, on PBS, the *MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* presented a five-man panel which unanimously discounted the importance of the massacre. By the next night, *MacNeil-Lehrer*, like the rest of the major network news shows, had largely redirected the uproar to center on whether U.S. journalists covering the Baghdad slaughter were tools of Iraqi propaganda.

In its editorial about the massacre, *The New York Times* expressed no grief for the victims or reproach for the killers. Instead the newspaper focused on "the public opinion damage," and gave ad-

vice about the optimum military moves "at this point in the air war." *The Times* concluded: "Civilian casualties hurt the allied cause; it seems reasonable to ask, why not stop bombing cities?"

Under a magnifying glass, such prestigious comment might have seemed to indicate a departure from the prior mass media consensus on the war. But the objections were tactical; instead of questioning the war, they merely called for a revision of strategy.

Far from weakening the American propaganda system, such variations within the big media enhance its strength. "Controversies" flare, but remain in the war parade. The biggest news outlets may not always march precisely in step with the Pentagon's ideal formation, but they are careful not to go A.W.O.L. from the U.S. war effort.

While the mega-media aren't exactly monolithic, they don't have to be. The dominant interests are well served by a narrow range of views, with occasional dissent thrown in.

Mass media function to re-adjust public perceptions — implementing mid-course corrections more effectively than a rigidly slavish press could. Thus, two days after the shelter massacre, the main headline on the *Times* front page dutifully provided salve to a sudden P.R. sore spot: "Allies Study New Steps to



Avoid Civilians in Bombing."

Meanwhile, the guile of a country under murderous air attack required acute journalistic vigilance. Reporting from Saudi Arabia on Feb. 17 amid talk of an imminent ground war, CBS anchor Dan Rather explained to viewers that when inevitable civilian casualties occur, "Saddam Hussein makes the most of it with propaganda." As key enlistees in the war drive, major media prefer to discuss the horrors of war as anything but human realities. Behind Iraqi civilians killed by "coalition" bombs, editors and anchors back home are inclined to see little more than enemy plots.

Similarly, the U.S. press had no more use for Iraq's Feb. 15 peace offer than the White House did. "Saddam Hussein could be trying to arouse false and divisive hope," *The New York Times* editorialized the next day. "By moving now, he could also be trying to capitalize on widespread sympathy over civilian casualties." News accounts stayed within similar bounds.

The offer to withdraw from Kuwait as

part of an overall settlement "was a public relations ploy by Iraq aimed at casting the allies as warmongers and searching out potential weak links in the multinational coalition ranged against it," the *Los Angeles Times* declared in a news article. (A few days earlier *The New York Times* had begun its lead page-one article by stating that Saddam Hussein was "displaying little readiness for peace." The same could have been said — but of course wasn't — about George Bush.)

The U.S. media's constant war footing has given rise to routinely slanted wording that is likely to go unnoticed. So, for instance, Iraqi soldiers — alluded to as abstract extensions of Iraq's much-demonized dictator — are frequently referred to as "Saddam's troops." But the same media never refer to American soldiers as "Bush's troops."

Constantly pressuring people's minds, news media portray and mold public opinion within manipulative confines. A front-paged pie chart, depicting the results of a *New York Times*/CBS News Poll

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on Feb. 15, proclaimed that 79 percent of the U.S. public wanted to "continue bombing from air" while 11 percent wanted to "start ground war." People who did not favor either activity were reduced to non-existence; the poll listed the remaining 10 percent as "don't know" or "no answer."

As outrageous as they are routine, such methods for discounting and discouraging anti-war views have caused deep alarm among peace activists. No one wants to be "marginalized." But in efforts to avoid such a fate, we may be tempted by false pragmatism.

"The simple slogan 'Bring the troops home now' will not do," *The Nation* magazine editorialized Feb. 18, "for how can any President possibly do that, especially if he has the apparent authorization of both the world community of nations and his own Congress? He cannot, and will not, drop millions of tons of bombs on a foreign people to force their surrender, or to prepare the way for a counterattack into Kuwait, and then simply say it was all a mistake and call the whole thing off."

But if we avoid making demands that President Bush "cannot" and "will not" meet, we have bought into a definition of politics as the art of the seemingly possible. Amidst the ongoing calamity of this war, however, our politics must become the art of the imperative.

It is not the responsibility of the peace movement to finesse its way into the pseudo-logic propagated by the Bush Administration and mass media. It is our task to unequivocally challenge the U.S. government's claim that it has a right to intervene militarily in the Persian Gulf.

By striving to fit within the media-approved range of respectable discourse, we may end up shooting the peace movement in the foot while inadvertently giving the war propagandists a shot in the arm.

"For the first time since the end of World War II, the United States is in a position to 'negotiate from strength' in the true meaning of that phrase," *The Nation* contended. "We have demonstrated our strength beyond all doubt; we need not fear to negotiate. Superior strength can produce magnanimity, even or especially toward those who seem least to deserve it." Coming near the close of an often-eloquent editorial denouncing the war, these words gave back to the warmakers much of their ground.

One of the most insidious effects of how mass media frame this war's "issues" is that we are encouraged to accept — or at least pretend to accept — dubious premises of those who are making a killing, literally and figuratively, from business as usual. But it is not truly pragmatic to accede to the mindsets of the military-industrial-media complex.

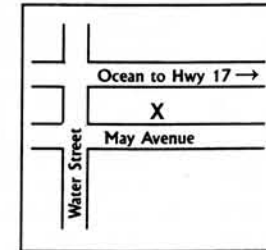
If, in our eagerness to become players, we mouth the counterfeit lingo of mass media and politicians, we may be permitted to join in a game that the anti-war movement should not be playing. The news media's cues and inducements notwithstanding, we have better things to do.

Norman Solomon is co-author of Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media.

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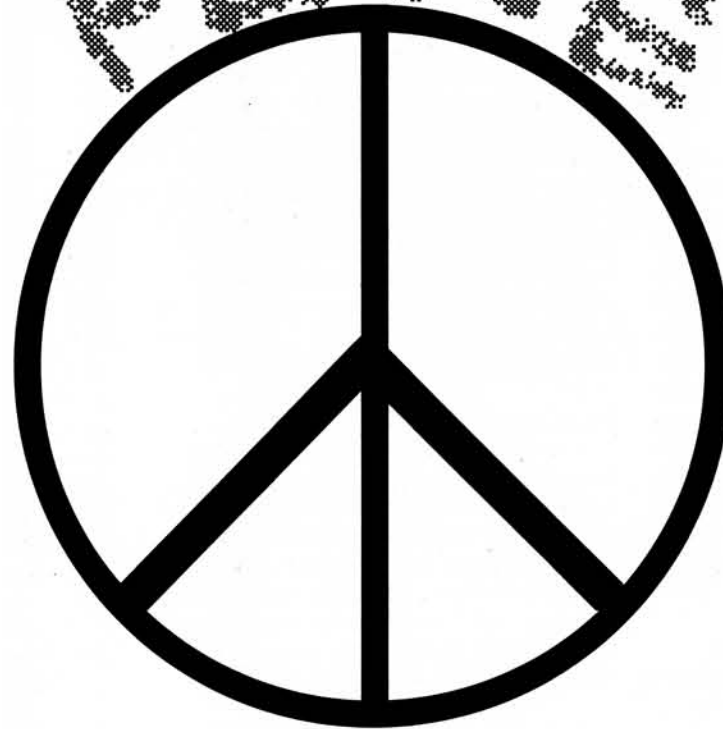
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Pundit Watch

For the past six weeks, the folks at Greenpeace have posted — on the PeaceNet computer network — a weekly report entitled "Pundit Watch." What follows is a sample of some of these fun facts to know and tell.

Pundit Watch is written and researched by Peter Dykstra, Andrew Davis, Blair Palese, Jeanne Whalen, Bill Arkin, Julie Brenegar, and Bob Lyons.

FRONTLINE STEPS IN LINE

Normally one of the few intact vertebrae where the PBS spine used to be, the weekly *Frontline* documentary series removed a rerun of an Iran-Contra documentary from its March schedule. Executive producer David Fanning and program host Bill Moyers nixed the re-broadcast of "High Crimes and Misdemeanors" because it raises "serious questions about then-Vice President Bush's involvement and actions" in the guns-to-Iran scandal. The two did not explain whether their primary motivation for self-censorship was the war, or the fact that March is a PBS Pledge Month. (*Washington Post*, *Village Voice*)

WE'RE NOT MAKING THIS UP

The BBC sent a memo to 37 local radio stations suggesting "caution" in airing these and other songs during wartime: "Bang Bang (My Baby Shot me Down)" by Cher; "Give Peace a Chance" and "Imagine" by John Lennon; "In the Air Tonight" by Phil Collins; "Atomic" by Blondie; "Love is a Battlefield" by Pat Benatar; and the Bangles' "Walk Like an Egyptian." (*Entertainment Weekly*, 2/8).

VIETNAM WINS AGAIN

According to a *Congressional Quarterly* report cited on Fox TV's "Off the Record" (1/27), Vietnam was invoked in the pre-war congressional debate on Iraq 413 times. Adolf Hitler finished second with 198 mentions, while Winston Churchill was the show-horse with 46. His predecessor and the right wing's favorite historical lesson for everything, Neville Chamberlain, finished out of the money with 45. President Bush has also played the name-dropping game, prompting Christopher Hitchens to tell his "Off the Record" pals, "If George Bush quotes Churchill once more, we're going to throw up everything we've ever eaten."

FOR ALL THE WRONG REASONS

London's Birkbeck College distributed tips to American students on how to avoid drawing terrorist attacks. The pamphlet cautions against appearing overly American. Students should thus avoid McDonald's and the Hard Rock Cafe, and should not "conspicuously purchase or carry *USA Today*." (*Washington Times*, 1/29).

HIDDEN MEANINGS?

During what *Village Voice* press critic Doug Ireland called "The carefully Deaverish staging" of President Bush's February 15th speech at Raytheon's Patriot Missile plant, Bush appeared

before a large homemade banner with the word "Patriot" displayed vertically. NBC's newscast that night opened with a Bush soundbite with the bottom half of the banner as a backdrop. The picture consisted of Bush, plugging the war in front of the word "R-I-O-T."

AN EXTRAORDINARILY LARGE POLLING SAMPLE

The *Washington Post* reported (1/30) that "millions of Americans have told pollsters they support the U.S. intervention."

BIG LEAGUE SPIN CONTROL

Persian Gulf "Talking points are faxed (by the White House) almost every day to party leaders, business executives and religious figures friendly to the Administration. 'Don't forget to mention these points,' one memo instructed, 'whether it is at a cocktail party or a board meeting.'" (*Newsweek*, 2/11).

SADDAM PARTS THE PERSIAN GULF

NBC Consultant Edward Peck explained on January 16th that Americans had a New Testament heritage of "turning the other cheek," while Iraqis were "an Old Testament people."

WHY THE SQUEAMISHNESS?

"I do not understand this squeamishness about the use of gas. I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes. ...[chemical weapons represent] the application of Western science to modern warfare. We cannot in any circumstance acquiesce in the non-utilization of any weapons which are available to procure a speedy termination of the disorder which prevails on the frontier." Response of Winston Churchill, then in Britain's War Office, 1919, when asked by the RAF for permission to use chemical weapons "against recalcitrant Arabs as an experiment." (Alexander Cockburn, 2/18 *The Nation*).

REALLY GOOD INTELLIGENCE

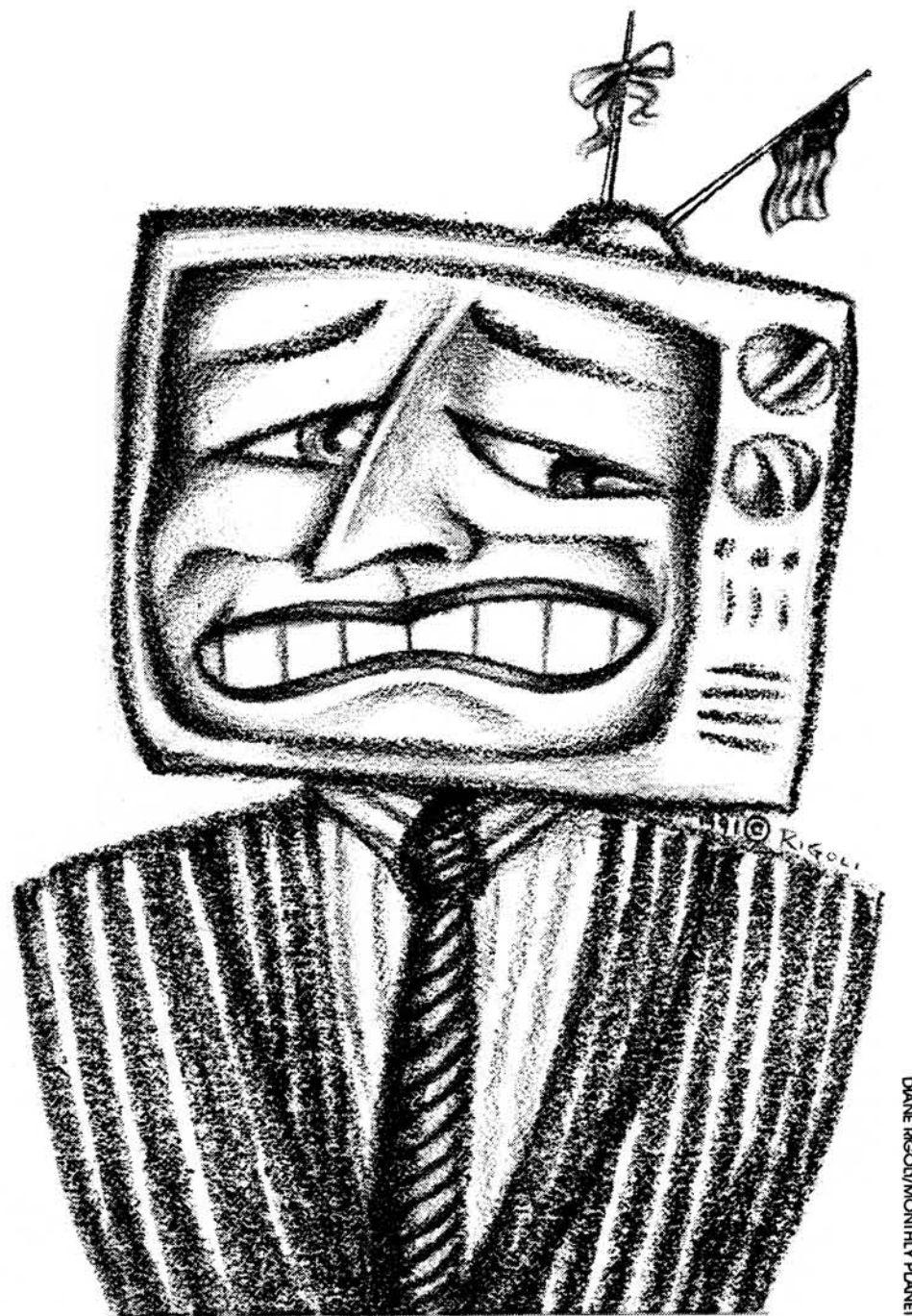
"...if one finds an important target that has a key communications node, a key area where communications come together, and it happens to be in an area where civilians live, it would still be important, I believe, for the United States to take that out." Air Force General Michael Dugan, CBS Consultant, January 16.

WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

"I'm not very tolerant of any dissent to what we stand for: freedom," Everett McConnell, a 60-year-old retired Air Force sergeant told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (1/18).

WAR AS PRIME-TIME ENTERTAINMENT

Has TV made newspapers irrelevant? As viewers slowly began to realize that TV's mile-wide coverage of the war was only inches deep, daily newspapers have garnered some after-the-fact prestige. But



DANE RIGOLI/MONTHLY PLANET

TV cornered the market on early war coverage in a way which played to, if not created, America's early-war euphoria. Since the 1960 Nixon-Kennedy debate, TV's influence over public opinion has been preeminent, and its dominance is still growing. Recent readership surveys offer more troubling news for print journalism: The number of young adults and minorities who read and rely on newspapers is declining steadily. The inevitable question is a troubling one for American journalism: Has TV's see-it-now technical prowess moved newspapers one step closer to being irrelevant to public opinion?

Time Correspondent Richard Zoglin (2/11) reported a telling statement from *LA Times* reporter Kim Murphy in Saudi Arabia: "A friend took a picture of me taking notes in front of a TV set. That's what being a war correspondent has come to."

A poll by Murphy's employer, *Times-Mirror*, reported "By a margin of 75 percent to 7 percent, the public thinks television reporters are digging harder to get the news than newspaper reporters." Seventy-three percent said that "newspaper accounts pretty much cover the same ground [as TV], while 23 percent say they have been given a better understanding of what they have seen on TV."

Journalists on both sides of the print/broadcast fence down play the disparity in influence between the two media. "I don't think it's changed the equation, but it has emphasized areas where the print press is not competitive with TV," said former *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* Editor Bill Kovach.

But many consider TV's dominance to be a victory of style over substance. "I've never seen so much news and so little information in my life," said Danny Schecter, producer of "South Africa Now!" and a former producer at ABC's "20/20." "The quote that stays with me is the person who told me his mind is being carpet bombed by CNN. As a TV professional I never thought I could be shocked and amazed by anything. I am shocked and amazed by the degree to which the networks can be a transmission belt for Pentagon pronouncements."

"CNN has become the 'newspaper of record,'" said Michael Schiffer of New York University's Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, referring to the *New York Times*' traditional title.

SPONSORING THE WAR

Some of the first stateside casualties of the Gulf War were the ad revenues of the major news organizations. Each of the networks has reported huge financial losses since the beginning of the conflict.

The networks scrambled to "sell" the war to advertisers. Promises to compromise editorial integrity may be part of the sales pitch.

Gun-shy advertisers began pulling ads even before shots were fired, worried that hawking Big Mac attacks might seem ghoulish juxtaposed against news footage of Scud attacks. The networks delivered a 15 percent increase in viewers the first week of the war, yet losses from advertising revenues combined with the exceptional cost of covering the war could put losses as high as \$1-3 million per day. The travel industry and oil companies have led the retreat. TWA put all advertising on hold with the outbreak of the war. Oil companies have scaled advertising back considerably, perhaps not wanting to seem overly gleeful about a war that's already boosted fourth quarter profits upwards of 50 percent for some oil companies.

Paradoxically, CNN, which appeals to clients accustomed to advertising during news programming, has attracted a surge in new advertisers, but is still losing money. CNN was able to jack up ad rates for 30-second commercials from between \$4,000 to \$5,000 before the war to \$20,000 to \$60,000 today for new clients. However, expanded war coverage has bumped more than 14,000 of CNN's commercials prompting losses of up to \$500,000 a week, according to *Advertising Age* (2/4).

Since the first week of the war, networks have cut back on war updates that pre-empted entertainment programming and dumped news specials about the war. But even with these concessions and the dearth of actual combat images,

advertisers still aren't buying. *Advertising Age* (2/4) reported that advertising giants like Procter & Gamble Co., General Motors Corp. and McDonalds are exercising options that allow them to cancel up to 50 percent of advanced advertising commitments 90 days before the new quarter starts on April 1.

The networks have launched a counter-offensive to lure back sponsors which may threaten both the extent and the editorial integrity of their war coverage. *Broadcasting* (2/21) reported that CBS and NBC sent letters similar to ABC's which assured clients that "no commercial breaks will be scheduled immediately before or after scenes of actions."

"After a segment about a chemical attack that includes a shot of a disfigured face, it might not be the best time to talk about Oil of Olay skin care," Richard Dale, an ad executive with Deutsch Advertising, told the *New York Times* (2/7). Ironically, as James Workman reported in *The New Republic* (2/18) an ad for Vaseline Intensive Care "to reduce that itchy, burning sensation" aired right after a CNN report on missile attacks in Tel Aviv that included a demonstration on how to minimize skin damage from gas attacks.

CBS went a step further, hinting it would provide plenty of patriotic coverage. Network execs assured advertisers that special programming could be tailored so commercials could be inserted after segments "that were specially produced with upbeat images or messages about the war, like patriotic images from the home front," wrote Bill Carter in the *New York Times* (2/7).

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Adelante	724-2997
101 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076	
Alliance for the Mentally Ill	426-7462
Box 1516, Santa Cruz 95060 Emily Winfree	
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	429-9880
411 Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Bob Taren	
Amnesty International	423-0323
134-E Blaine St., Santa Cruz 95060 Cheryl Bentley	
Aptos Neighbors	688-3460
Box 1732, Aptos 95001 Peter Smithy	
Aptos Transmission Meditation Group	688-6866
Box 2215, Aptos 95001	
Baha'i Faith	688-0221
176 Alta Dr., La Selva Beach 95076 Ann Miller	
Beach Flats Housing Improvement Association/ Vecinos Unidos	458-3174
302 Raymond St., Santa Cruz 95060 Estaban Reyes	
California Certified Organic Farmers (CCOF)	423-2263
Box 8136, Santa Cruz 95061 Phil McGee	
California Grey Bears	479-1055
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CalPIRG	
311 Laurent St., Santa Cruz 95060	
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Box 2960, Santa Cruz 95063	
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A-Frame, UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064 Juliet Peck	
Cannabis Conversations	685-1241
P.O. Box 8137, Santa Cruz 95061 Theodora Kerry	
Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO	475-1335
2920 Soquel Ave., Santa Cruz 95062	
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Children for Peace	358-2956
106 Olca Ct., Los Gatos 95030 Tom Franklin	
Children's Creative Response to Conflict	426-3381
Box 624, Santa Cruz 95061	
Christic Action Team	426-3254
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	458-0303
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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 Knaption	
Communist Party of Santa Cruz	728-8824
Box 1501, Freedom 95019 Jim Brough	
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Conflict Resolution Program	427-3234
Box 7224, Santa Cruz 95061 Sandy Sweitzer	
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6500 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003	



Davenport Resource Service Center	425-8115
100 Church St., Davenport 95017 Amy Weiss	
Democratic Central Committee	423-6445
Box 7763, Santa Cruz 95061	
Democratic Management Services	425-7478
310 Locust St., Santa Cruz 95060	
Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)	
2435 Felt St., #95, Santa Cruz 95062	
Democratic Women's Club	479-0641
Box 1901, Capitola 95010 Rachel Haskell	
Earth First!	425-8094
Box 344, Santa Cruz 95061	
Earth Save	423-4069
706 Frederick St., Santa Cruz 95062	
Ecology Action of Santa Cruz	476-8088
Box 1188, Santa Cruz 95061	
Educators for Social Responsibility (UCSC)	426-1597
441 High St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sigrid McLaughlin	
Environmental Council	426-2286
Box 1769, Santa Cruz 95061 Becky Luening	
Epilepsy Support Group of Santa Cruz	425-0725
125 Torrey Pine Ter., Santa Cruz 95060	
Familia Center	423-5747
302 Raymond St., Santa Cruz 95060 Lucy Trujillo	
Family Service Association	423-9494
104 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060	
Filipino Community of Watsonville	722-6522
2448 Freedom Blvd., Watsonville 95076 Frank Irao	

First Strike Prevention Project	427-0322
Box 7061, Santa Cruz 95061 Peter Lumsdaine	
Food & Nutrition Services	688-8840
236 Santa Cruz Ave., Aptos 95003	
Freedom Song Network	338-7283
Box 559, Felton 95018 Mark Levy	
Friends Committee on National Legislation	423-2605
118 Miles St., Santa Cruz 95060 Herb Foster	
Friends of Porter-Seanon	475-6104
3407 Gross Rd., Santa Cruz 95062 Vickie Powell-Murray	
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217 Marnell Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Ned Van Valkenburgh	
Gabriella/Philippines Women's Support Group	476-5371
1555 Merrill St. #15, Santa Cruz 95060	
Gay and Lesbian Vegetarians	336-3255
Box 7971, Santa Cruz 95061	
Gray Panthers	475-2435
Box 1015, Santa Cruz 95061 Zena Druckman	
Harbinger Communications	429-8727
250 Homestead Trail, Santa Cruz 95060 Bill Leland	
Homeless United For Friendship & Freedom	427-1205
614 Hannover Street, Santa Cruz 95062 Robert Norse	
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1110 Emeline Ave., Santa Cruz 95060	
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Janus Alcoholism Services	462-1060
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Box 7293, Santa Cruz 95061 Jo Kenny	
Lesbian News	
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528 Chestnut St., Santa Cruz 95060 John Leopold	
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Box 3138, Santa Cruz 95063	
Media Watch	423-6355
1803-7 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060 Ann Simonton	
Men's Alternatives to Violence	425-5248
Box 2126, Santa Cruz 95061	
Mental Health Captives Liberation Front	426-3201
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Pledge of Resistance 458-0276 P.O. Box 562, Santa Cruz 95061 John Hunter		Save Soquel 476-1871 4453 Fairway Dr., Soquel 95073 Judy Parsons	Women for International Peace and Arbitration 106 Comstock Lane, Santa Cruz 95060
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Progressive Business Network 475-7787 3016 Buckingham Ln., Santa Cruz 95062		School of Spiritual Impeccability 338-7139 14197 Hwy. 9, Boulder Creek 95018 Kythera Ann	Women's Health Center 427-3500 250 Locust St., Santa Cruz 95060
Psychiatric Inmates Rights Collective 438-8424 Box 299, Santa Cruz 95061 Jane Kysor		Senior Citizens Legal Services, Santa Cruz 426-8824 343 Church St., Santa Cruz 95060	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) 425-7618 Box 61, Santa Cruz 95063
Rainbow Coalition 761-0861 432 Winchester Dr., Watsonville 95076		Senior Citizens Legal Services, Watsonville 728-4711 127 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076	YWCA, Santa Cruz 426-3062 303 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060
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To update this information, or to add your organization, call *The Monthly Planet* at 429-8755. Mailing labels for this list are available for \$2.00 from the Santa Cruz Action Network, 458-9425.

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by Kiakima Simon

Dear President Bush,

You are a very bright person. I know you could have solved this situation in peace. War is only a powerful man's ego. I am only eleven years old, but I am afraid, afraid that millions of people will die, innocent people who have no part in this war. Being a president is a privilege because you can speak for the people and not for yourself. And what I see is that you are doing the opposite.

P.S. Correct your mistake.

Christer Cole, grade 6
Gault Elementary School

Kids are at once windows into society and speakers of their own particular wisdom. Young people offer fresh insight, while also adopting their parent's ideas, or those from television, their teachers, or their peers.

Children marched and demonstrated for peace in downtown Santa Cruz on January 21. At this children's rally, while making origami cranes, a traditional symbol of peace, kids offered some advice for President George Bush. The president and Saddam Hussein "should go together in a room and talk this out. The troops are not mad at each other," advises Lily Ragan, a sixth-grader whose mom teaches her at home.

They also saw contradictions in fighting this war. "In his speech Bush said he wanted world peace and then he bombed Iraq," pointed out Lisabeth Smyth, a sixth-grader at Bay View School. Malakia from the Co-op adds, "On the radio Bush said that the bombing was a great success. But how can it be a success if we started a war?"

Part of their disagreement with U.S. policy is the discrepancy they see with moral values they are taught. According to Maggie Reynolds, co-founder of No More War Toys, "Kids are getting such mixed messages. Most kids are taught at school and by their parents that words are a better way to solve problems than hitting. Yet the government is saying it's okay to kill to get your way." No More War Toys is a group working to help children



and parents end their dependence on violent play, which they say fosters a violent way of life.

Kids have reacted to the war in primarily two ways, according to poet-teacher Patrice Vecchione, who has worked for three years at Gault school teaching poetry to first- through sixth-graders. "The overall sense is that they are afraid and don't want war; they use very little rhetoric."

On the other hand, children are incorporating the war into their play, observes Vecchione. Their play helps them make sense of the war, what she sees as an understandable reaction to the uncontrollable events occurring in the Persian Gulf. In the playground kids demonize Saddam Hussein, and make the war a game by acting out scenes of killing and death.

Reynolds says that the war in the Persian Gulf was a consequence, in many ways, of the military buildup in the U.S., but also of the "war toy buildup," which she says leads to the impression that war can be both unharmed and even fun.

Low Christmas toy sales have been offset by a surge in the war toys market since this war began, according to Reynolds. From replicas of the most advanced U.S. fighter planes to baseball-style armed forces trading cards, kids (and adults) are being told this is all a game, marked not by human tragedy but by "tactical maneuvers" and "surgical strikes."

Vecchione feels that kids have been inundated by glamorized images of war even from the news media, which, she says "is still glorifying war on TV while we are involved in one: it's like watching a

movie." Still, Vecchione believes that many have confronted the realities of war, and poetry was a tool to facilitate that. "My goal is to take the discussion out of the political realm and give them the opportunity to express their feelings. Writing a poem removes something from you, it diffuses it, articulates it, or simply gets it off your chest."

The war is a black shadow
Whatever it moves over
It causes total destruction

Toby Thierman, grade 2
Gault Elementary School

Jabbed in the side by a pain,
a fear of war, a conflict
of two opposing countries.
The deadline. It's as deadly
as it sounds. The thought of
blood and oil in the same tanker.
They run without thought
and make innocent people grieve,
without reason.

Corey Null, grade 6
Gault Elementary School

Many of the kids at the rally on January 21 voiced uncertainty that their dissent would mean anything to U.S. leaders. "It seemed pretty silly when a bunch of kids marched around the playground at school. Who's gonna see them? Some kids got upset when they marched through their handball game," says Jessie Nichols, a sixth-grader at Bay View School.

But children are the foundation for the future; they will decide how future conflicts are resolved. "During the Vietnam War G.I. Joe was taken off the market because of the level of anti-war protest and anti-war sentiment of parents and just the general public. I hope we don't need so much violence before we get the message this time," says Maggie Reynolds.

Kiakima Simon is a writing intern with The Monthly Planet.



DREAMS: A Way to Release Tension in Times of Anxiety

With the unsettled conditions in the Middle East, the recession, drought, and residual effects of the earthquake, many are becoming aware of underlying anxiety and tension in their daily lives. There is a natural desire for a way to understand and release these inner tensions. Dreams are one way that relief from the pressures of the day can be achieved. Dreams come from deep within. There is a drive within all of us to alleviate or at least to live with greater equanimity with the undesirable feelings from within. Deep within us there is a wisdom that can assist in making some sense out of these feelings.

Joan Forest is holding ongoing sessions on Monday evenings from 7:30 to 9:30 P.M. Participants will look at their dreams to see in what ways they may be helping individuals adjust to these difficult times. Group members will also take time to share ways in which current events are increasing inner anxieties, and Joan will lead guided visualizations to release anxiety and stress.

Joan works at Redwood Therapy Center, 6005 Highway 9, Felton, a peaceful 15-minute drive from downtown Santa Cruz. Call Joan at 335-4210 for information about the group or for individual appointments.

PEACE & JUSTICE CALENDAR

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

Calendar items must be typed or legibly written and sent (along with any photos) to *The Monthly Planet*, 320-G Cedar St, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. We do not take calendar items over the phone. We must receive your listing no later than 5 p.m. Tuesday, March 26 for inclusion in the April issue (publication date: Thursday, April 4).

THURSDAY, MARCH 7

Premiere: *La Ofrenda, Days of the Dead.* Filmmaker Lourdes Portillo will introduce her film about the Mexican celebration for the dead. The film explores the Indian roots of the Days of the Dead and its continuity in the Chicano community. Co-sponsored with History of Consciousness Board of Studies, Center for Cultural Studies and Oakes College. The Women's Center, U.C.S.C., 7:30 p.m.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8

Silent Vigil for Peace. In front of the Military Recruitment Center, Capitola Road and 43rd Street, Capitola. Noon-1 p.m. (No signs please; keep a silent vigil; wear black.) Sponsored by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Info: 423-0796.



Dr. Helen Caldicott will speak on "Global Vision/Citizen Action" in a benefit for the Environmental Council at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium on Thursday, March 21.

Panel on "Perspectives: Women, Sexuality and Ethnicity." Panelists representing various inter-cultural and personal points of view will discuss feminism, sexuality and ethnicity from their own perspectives as members of an African-American, Chicana/Latina, Asian-American or Native-American community. Co-sponsored with Center for Cultural Studies, Feminist Studies O.R.A., History of Consciousness, Kresge College Intersections and others. Kresge Town Hall, 7:30 p.m.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8 - SUNDAY MARCH 10

A Decade in the Desert: Lenten Desert Experience X. Las Vegas, Nevada and the Nevada Test Site. Prayer and protest against nuclear testing. Contact: Nevada Desert Experience, Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127; (702) 646-4814.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9

A Human Chain for Peace in the Middle East II. To form a human chain from the Lighthouse

to Natural Bridges. Free vegan pasta for participants. Meet at the Whole Earth Restaurant, U.C.S.C., at 11:30 a.m. for a march at noon to Lighthouse Field, or come to Lighthouse Field at 1:30 p.m. Chain-forming at 2 p.m.; speakers and theater 3-6 p.m. Bring donations of non-perishable goods for the Spring Big Mountain Convoy. Sponsored by The Youth Federation, Santa Cruz Action for Big Mountain, and Positive Pasta. Info: 458-2345.

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. Preregistration required. Info: 426-3062.

Vision Santa Cruz Planning for Downtown, public participation workshop. "Public Spaces: What are they? Where should they be? What will they cost?" 9:30 a.m.-3pm, Vision Santa Cruz Downtown Information Center, 1543 Pacific Ave. Free. Info: 459-0900.

SUNDAY, MARCH 10
"Spiritual Alternatives to War" with speakers Scott Kennedy and Deena Hurwitz, both Resource Center for Nonviolence Middle East staff. Live Oak Methodist Church, 2091 17th Ave., 7 p.m. Info: 423-1626.

"Visions and Voices: A Jewish Feminist Presentation." Fundraiser for *Bridges Magazine*, National Jewish feminist magazine. Kresge Town Hall, 3 p.m. \$8-\$12 sliding scale, includes reception. Info: 462-6711.

MONDAY, MARCH 11

John Stockwell returns. Former CIA operative returns to Santa Cruz to speak on "Where do we go from here? The CIA's Role in the New World Order." Sponsored by S.C. Students for Social Responsibility. Free, donations requested. 8 p.m. Classroom Unit 2, UCSC. Info: 429-9267.

continued on next page

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PEACE & JUSTICE CALENDAR

Support workshop for women rape survivors. Free, 10-week drop-in group, January 9–March 13. Free childcare available. Women's Health Center, 250 Locust Street. Sponsored by Santa Cruz Women Against Rape. Info: 426-7273.

"Celebrating Women's Reproductive Choices." Surprise Guest Appearance. U.C.S.C. Women's Center special event. Kresge Town Hall, 3:30 p.m. Info: 459-2072.

"Reproductive Choice: Challenges of the '90s." Speaker is Faye Wattleton, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of



An exhibition of Nicaraguan art, sponsored by the Coalition for Nicaragua, will take place on Wednesday, March 13, at 7 p.m., at the Loudon Nelson Center in Santa Cruz.

continued from previous page

War Tax Resistance Workshop and Counseling Session. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street, 7–9:30 p.m. Sponsored by War Tax Resistance Fund. Info: 427-2399.

Film, *A World Apart*. Winner of various awards, this film is a tender coming-of-age story and a wrenching indictment of political oppression in South Africa. 7:30 p.m., The Women's Center, U.C.S.C.

TUESDAY, MARCH 12

Santa Cruz Museum Association Lecture Series: Gary Griggs, Professor of Earth Sciences, U.C.S.C. on "Monterey Bay: Its Unique Geological Setting"; and John Pearse, Professor of Biology, U.C.S.C., speaking on the intertidal zone. Loudon Nelson Community Center Auditorium, 301 Center Street. Tickets \$20 for 3-event series (see March 19 and 26), \$15 Association-members, seniors, and students. For a single evening \$8 (\$6 Association members, senior, and students). Info: 429-3773.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13

Exhibition of Nicaraguan Art to celebrate International Women's Day. Proceeds from sale of paintings go to the Single Mother Workers Project in Managua and to fund a daycare center in El Salvador. Music and food. Sponsored by the Coalition for Nicaragua and UNA (Union of North American Women for Peace and Justice in El Salvador). 7 p.m. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street. Free. Info: 476-7411.

America and an internationally recognized leader in the field of family planning. Planned Parenthood of Santa Cruz Annual Meeting. \$50. Aptos Seascap. Info: 425-1551.

FRIDAY, MARCH 15 - SUNDAY, MARCH 17

Santa Cruz Spring Equinox Encounter. A holistic health and New Age Fair, dedicated to your well-being. Demonstrations of various healing modalities, noted speakers, workshops, a visionary art show, craft booths, psychics, continuous live music and entertainment, food, and many special events. Sponsored by Elysium-Center for Unfoldment of Heart, Mind and Spirit. Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium. Tickets \$5. Booth space available. Info: 1-800-4-UNFOLD.

SATURDAY, MARCH 16

"Campaign For The Earth" discussion with Gary Zukav, Barbara Marx Hubbard, Sasha White, and Rashmi Mayur. Speakers share their visions and insights on the importance of global awareness. Music by Carol Isis, Mt. Madonna Choir, What Four. Ceremony by Rainbow Hawk and Colleen Wendeagle. Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium, 307 Church Street, 7:30–10 p.m. \$20 ticket includes 1-day pass to Spring Equinox Encounter. Tickets available through Bass and Civic Box Office. Co-sponsored by Center for the Unfoldment of Heart, Mind and Spirit.

Vision Santa Cruz Planning for Downtown, public participation workshop. "Solar Access: How & where to let the sunshine in." 9:30

ONGOING EVENTS

Some ongoing Persian Gulf peace events may be ending soon; call the contact numbers for confirmation.

MONDAYS:

Santa Cruz Action for Big Mountain meets at the Loudon Nelson Center, 7 p.m. Info: 464-8633.

Drop-in Draft Counseling Sessions are held Mondays at 7:30 p.m. at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Draft information materials are available and can be picked up at the Resource Center. Info: 423-1626.

Coalition for Nicaragua regular meeting. 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., Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center Street. Info: 458-0303.

Progressive Animal Rights Alliance meeting. 7:30 p.m., 409 Washington Street. Info: 426-5072.

Drop-In Peace Support Groups — For anyone concerned about levels of loyalty, and present, future, or past military service, and for their families and families of GI's throughout the world. Mondays, 8–10 p.m., Elysium Center, 2-1245-B East Cliff Dr., Santa Cruz. \$5/session, negotiable. Sponsor: Elysium Center. Info: 336-5961.

San Lorenzo Valley Peace Coalition meetings — Mondays at United Methodist Church, Boulder and Mountain Sts., Boulder Creek, 7 p.m. Info: 338-7040.

TUESDAYS:

HIV Positive Drop-In Support Group. Meets every Tuesday night at 7 p.m. at the Santa Cruz AIDS Project (SCAP) office, 1606 Soquel Avenue. All HIV+ individuals are welcome. No fee. Facilitators: Terry Cavanagh and Mark Evans. Info: Wendy at SCAP 427-3900.

Persian Gulf Peace Committee meetings — Tuesdays at Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 7:30 p.m. Info: 427-2024.

WEDNESDAYS:

Student Power. A UCSC student group working for better representation on campus. Meeting is upstairs at the UCSC Student Center, 12:15 p.m.

UCSC Anti-Growth Group. Meeting is upstairs at the UCSC Student Center, 4 p.m.

Santa Cruz Greens regular meeting. Environmental Resource Center, 212 Locust Street (enter from Union Street), 8 p.m. Info: 476-5957 or 335-3216.

Drop-in Draft Counseling Sessions are held Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Draft information materials are available and can be picked up at the Resource Center. Info: 423-1626.

THURSDAYS:

Mental Health Professionals' Drop-In Support Group — On peace and levels of loyalty issues. Thursdays, noon–2 p.m., Elysium Center, 2-1245-B East Cliff Dr., Santa Cruz. \$5/session. Sponsor: Elysium Center. Info: 336-5961.

AIDS/ARC Support Group meets Thursdays 4–6 p.m. Facilitator: Alan Dampsey. Info: 427-3900.

12-Step Group for People with HIV. Meets every Thursday night from 6–7 p.m. at Trinity Presbyterian Church Fireside Room, 420 Melrose. All HIV+ individuals involved with or interested in any 12-step program are welcome. No fee. Info: Wendy at SCAP, 427-3900.

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, 320-C Cedar Street, 9 p.m. Info: (415) 322-4303.

FRIDAYS:

Drop-in Draft Counseling Sessions are held Fridays at 3 p.m. at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Draft information materials are available and can be picked up at the Resource Center. Info: 423-1626.

SUNDAYS:

Earthbeat. A KZSC (88.1 FM) program in search of justice, peace and environmental sanity. Hosted by Tom Kruzik, 6:30–7:30 p.m.

Santa Cruz Action for Big Mountain meets at the Loudon Nelson Center, 7 p.m. Info: 464-8633.

Drop-In Peace Support Groups — For anyone concerned about levels of loyalty, and present, future, or past military service, and for their families and families of GI's throughout the world. Sundays, 7:30–9:30 p.m., Coastal Psychotherapy, 8046 Soquel Dr., Aptos. \$5/session, negotiable. Sponsor: Elysium Center. Info: 336-5961.

Santa Cruz Students for Social Responsibility meetings — Sundays at Third Floor Lounge, Adams Dorm, Cowell College, UCSC, 7 p.m. Info: 458-2719

a.m.–3pm, Vision Santa Cruz Downtown Information Center, 1543 Pacific Ave. Free. Info: 459-0900.

MONDAY, MARCH 18

Forum on the Environmentally Acceptable Packaging Ordinance passed by the Board of Supervisors on July 18, 1989. Food service establishments and interested persons are encouraged to send a representative. Sponsored by the County Planning Dept. and

Ecology Action of Santa Cruz. 8:30–10:30 a.m. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St. Info: 425-2783 or 426-5925.

TUESDAY, MARCH 19

"War At Home, War In The Gulf." International forum on the U.S. war against Arab self-determination. Palestinian and Native American speakers join the African People's Socialist Party in an evening of analysis and culture. Loudon Nelson Community Center,

7 p.m. \$3-\$5 donation requested. Sponsored by Uhuru Solidarity Committee. Info: 462-1353.

Santa Cruz Museum Association Lecture Series: Chris Harrold, Research Scientist, Research Division in the Monterey Bay Aquarium, lectures on "Glasnost at Sea: Deep Diving with the Russians." National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration, "Meteorology and the Monterey Bay." See March 12.

THURSDAY, MARCH 21

Dr. Helen Caldicott will speak on "Global Vision/Citizen Action." Dr. Caldicott was a professor of pediatrics at the Harvard School of Medicine when she resigned in the early part of the last decade to devote her life to speaking on peace and environmental issues. As founder and president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, she has spoken throughout the United States on the dangers of nuclear war. Proceeds from this event will benefit the Environmental Council. Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium, 307 Church Street, 7:30 p.m. Tickets \$10, available at the Civic. Info: 459-8141.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23

"Concert For Kids," featuring Bob Reid and "The Dads," a benefit for Planned Parenthood of Santa Cruz County. Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. Admission \$5 adults, \$3 children. Bob Reid's concerts usually sell out, so advance tickets are recommended. Available at Planned Parenthood, Trader Tots, Dino Source, Kaleidoscope, Teddy Bear Toys, Pinnacle Grouse, and Cotton Tales. Info: 425-1551.

Vision Santa Cruz Planning for Downtown, public participation workshop. "Architectural Heritage: Integrating Past & Future." 9:30 a.m.-3pm, Vision Santa Cruz Downtown Information Center, 1543 Pacific Ave. Free. Info: 459-0900.

SUNDAY, MARCH 24

Interfaith Religious Service in honor of the 11th anniversary of the martyrdom of Archbishop Oscar A. Romero, the Catholic Archbishop of El Salvador who was assassinated March 24, 1980. Calvary Episcopal Church, 532 Center St., Santa Cruz. Info: 426-4467.

TUESDAY, MARCH 26

Santa Cruz Museum Association Lecture Series: Mary Silver, Professor of Marine Sciences, U.C.S.C. "Marine Snow" (food webs in the bay). Gary Patton, Santa Cruz County Supervisor, "Politics of Protection: The Fight to Establish a Monterey Bay Marine Sanctuary." See March 12.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27

Women's History Month speaker. Local historian and author Carolyn Swift discusses local pioneer women in "Back in Plenty of Time." \$2. 7:30 p.m. Loudon Nelson Center, 306 Center St. Child care and info: 425-3499.

SUNDAY, APRIL 7

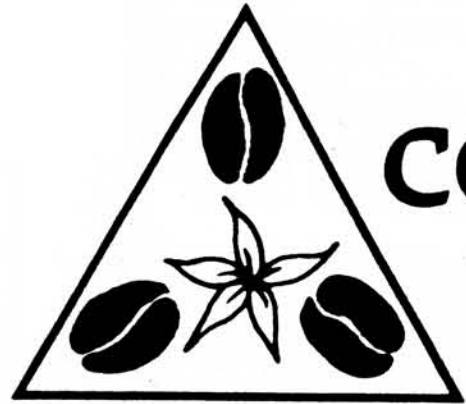
Green Party Gathering. Come meet other Green Party registrants. Find out what the Green Party is doing in Santa Cruz and how you can help. Everyone welcome! Loudon Nelson Center, 2-5 p.m. Info: 427-2792 or 423-2220.

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