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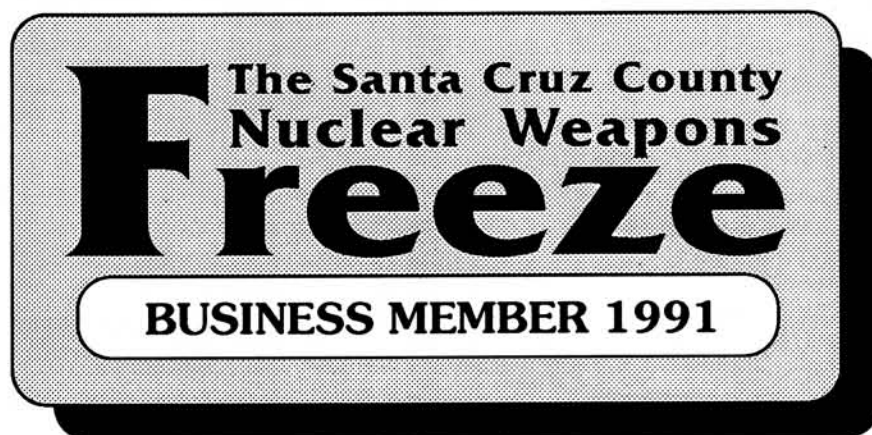
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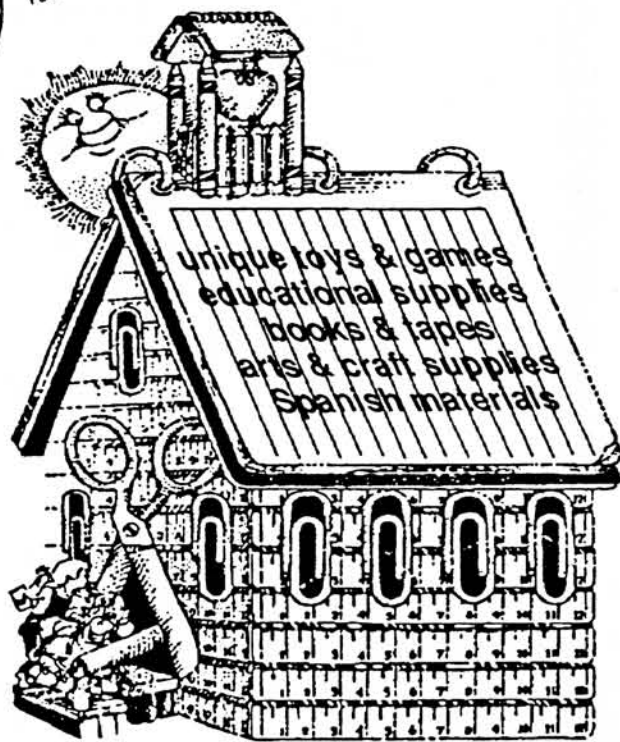
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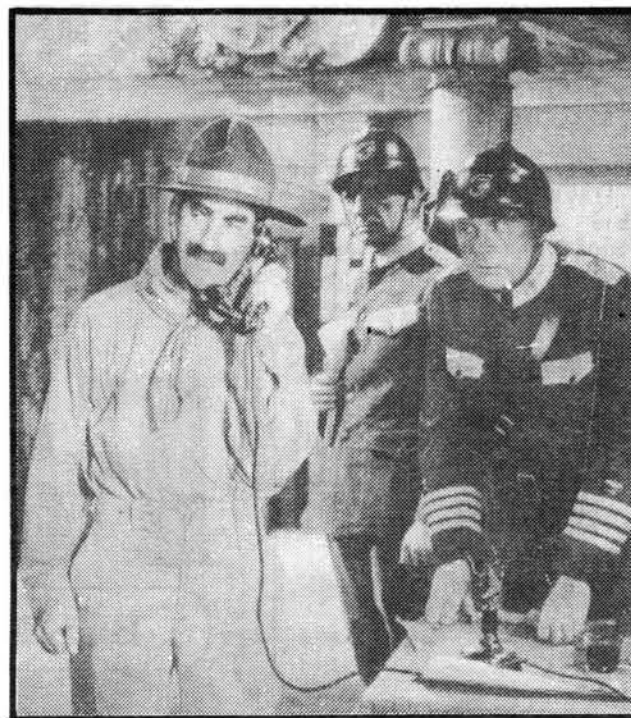
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DEADLINES

for the July *Monthly Planet*
(Publication date: Thursday, June 27)

Display Ads: Tuesday, June 18, 5 p.m.

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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.

SEAGATE HELPS DESTROY OZONE

In response to the articles on ozone destruction by Dahari and Karamanski [*Monthly Planet*, May '91], I find it unfortunate that both reporters missed the local connection concerning this issue. Seagate, the largest user of CFCs in the county, along with a number of other firms, is not only participating in the destruction of ozone by using CFC 113 as a cleanser of chips, but was able to undermine Earth Day '91 by, 1) installing Seagate's CFC "reduction" technician on the Earth Day

steering committee, and 2) leading a workshop on Seagate's in-house waste reduction on Earth Day. Reduction of a chemical like CFC 113 — a known ozone eater — when the only responsible route is elimination, is the equivalent of postponing the unraveling of the biosphere until the right technology comes along. In 1989, when I began work on a campaign to halt IBM's use of CFCs, "Big Blue" tried to push the same "reduction campaign" that Seagate is investing in. Amazingly, IBM had developed a safe alternative (soap and water) to cleaning chips with CFC 113 and we had to force them to use their own technology. Seagate can do the same.

You can't act locally until you're thinking locally and it's my hope local activists, including journalists, will start reporting on the damage being done to the ozone layer by local firms with a lot of P.R. money. It's time for an exposé and local action before we're all over-exposed to ultraviolet radiation.

Rita Uribe
Aptos

PLEASE EXPOSE NUCLEAR HAZARDS

Your newspaper fills a real need from your unique point of view. As a tenant in Santa Cruz for 10+ years, I am plagued with nuclear smoke alarms, which all landlords insist upon. I hear they are made from recycled nuclear bombs and are totally unsafe, irradiating unsuspecting homeowners and tenants permanently. Our local fire department, county and state health officials seem 100 percent ignorant about their danger and praise them to the skies.

Local hardware store owners and workers claim total ignorance of their irradiating themselves and us.

Would you please cover this? Would you please interview our congresspersons/senators concerning the toxic waste dumps at the Ford Ord basing closing 7/1/91?

I hear rumors of nuclear and chemical wastes making Fort Ord unusable for peaceful purposes for possibly hundreds of years.

Would you please comment on the danger to Santa Cruz County from San Francisco Bay Area/Diablo Canyon nuclear facility radioactive emissions triggered by earthquakes or carelessness?

If it is true Chernobyl released only 10 percent of its radiation by its accident, yet irradiated everyone within a 100+ mile radius, with up to 1,000,000 leukemia victims, and the power plant is identical to those in California and S.F. Bay Area, are we not in the greatest danger, ourselves, here? Would we not receive enormous crowds of refugees here when the Bay Area nuke plants melt down? Is it not inevitable they will melt down given congressional and presidential 100 percent indifference? And will not the irradiated victims number in the tens of millions given prevailing wind patterns?

Could you not cover the complicity in all of this of the U.C. Board of Regents and how UCSC supports and encourages our nuclear irradiation by its connection to these anonymous Regents and their nuke programs worldwide?

Thanks very much for years of fine newspapers.

Good health and luck.

Ronald Howardson
Santa Cruz

AN OPEN LETTER TO CITY COUNCIL

To the Santa Cruz City Council,
I was greatly saddened to discover you sent a letter of commendation to George Bush regarding the Gulf Massacre. I thought you surely would be sophisticated enough to see through the sham, lies, deceit, and propaganda our corporate-controlled government and corporate-controlled news media feed us. You quite obviously do not yet realize that we had a "coup d'état" in 1963 when the "military-industrial complex" that President Eisenhower warned us about assassinated President Kennedy and took over our government. You do not yet see how they are leading us from one disastrous war after another, playing us for dupes — patriotic dupes at that — using war to make themselves very, very rich. This Gulf slaughter was the criminal action of a criminal president of a criminal government at the behest of criminal corporations for criminal profit. Not only did you fail to protest the disease of militarism that is destroying this country, but you end up commending it instead. A letter of commendation to Henry Gonzales who is attempting to impeach George Bush would be far more in order. You speak of raising taxes, yet you offer not so much as a whisper of a protest against the corporate-war-profiteers who are the true source of our financial woes. I beseech you — as community leaders — to educate yourselves as to what is really going on in this country. Otherwise, this sad history is doomed to repeat itself.

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Mainstream media coverage of the recent federal budget process might lead one to believe that this fairy tale is real. Sorry kids, but it just didn't happen that way. Here are some harsh facts that will shatter some of the most fanciful fairy tales that the press is perpetrating about the 1992 military budget.

FAIRY TALE: Decline of the "Soviet threat" has led Congress to cut military spending.

HARSH REALITY: While it is true that there is no longer a Soviet military threat, Congress hasn't really been cutting military spending. In previous years, the more liberal members of Congress would boast about how they were controlling military spending by reducing the amount requested by the president. This year, they didn't even bother with that charade. With little debate or fanfare, first the House Budget Committee (headed by 16th C.D. Representative Leon Panetta), then the full House of Representatives, authorized the full \$291 billion requested by the Bush administration for next year's military budget. The Senate, which has a history of approving higher military budgets than the House, will vote on the Defense Authorizations bill after the Fourth of July recess.

For the last few years, even after the official end of the Cold War, military spending has hovered around \$300 billion. After accounting for inflation, next year's authorization represents a whopping 1 percent cut in military spending. (Both congressional leaders and the Pentagon are claiming that they will cut military spending by 25 percent by 1995 — how they'll do that at this rate will be interesting to see. Even a 25 percent cut would leave military spending at the level of the early Reagan years.)

Now, even this 1 percent reduction is a fairy tale because the 1992 military budget does not include the costs of the Persian Gulf War. Right after the war, Congress approved a \$15 billion supplemental bill to pay for the costs not covered by allies' pledges. Does this get added to the 1991 budget? The 1992 budget? Nope, it gets added to the deficit, but it has no effect at all on any spending ceilings set by Congress on the Pentagon.

FAIRY TALE: The 1992 Congressional Budget Resolution "promotes fairness for all Americans."

HARSH REALITY: The words in quotes are those of House Budget Chair Leon Panetta. Okay, the Congress' budget plan is a bit more fair than what the Bush administration proposed. The president wanted to cut \$46 billion

Furthermore, consider the fairness of this: last year Congress enacted legislation some activists have dubbed the "Anti-Peace Dividend Law." Under this law, rigid spending limits were imposed on three major categories of federal spending: domestic, military, and foreign aid. Each of these categories gets its own spending ceiling and

billion for the war did not result in a \$15 billion cut in any other military program — Congress has declared that the costs of the Gulf War, like the Savings and Loan bailout, be "off-budget," meaning the normal spending limits don't apply to these items.

FAIRY TALE: Congress slashed funds for Star Wars by cutting \$1.9 billion from the program. (And this is a big deal.)

HARSH REALITY: George Bush asked for \$4.6 billion for Star Wars. The House, to its credit, declined to fund the "Brilliant Pebbles" portion of the already dubious strategic "defense" program, thus reducing the administration's request by \$1.9 billion. The Senate will probably approve a higher figure, and a compromise will be struck. So, the reality is that Bush doesn't get all the money he requested for SDI. (Remember, folks, we're talking about Star Wars, Reagan's dream for the perfect shield against incoming missiles from the evil empire.) This ridiculous program should be eliminated entirely, so what's the big deal about not increasing its funding?

FAIRY TALE: George Bush is the "Environmental President" and the "Education President."

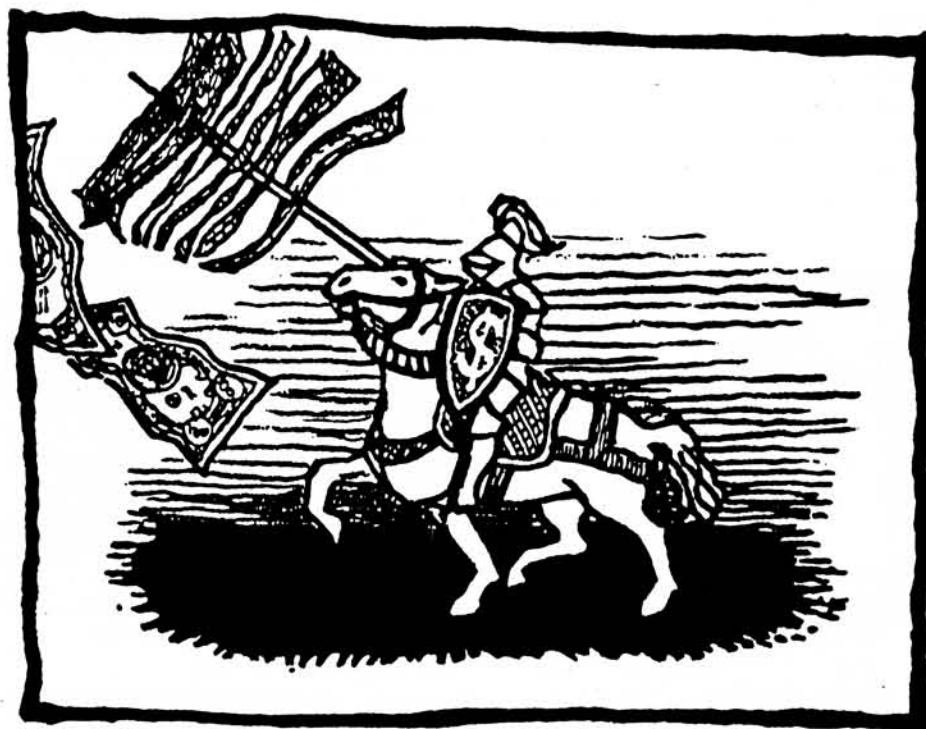
HARSH REALITY: There's lip reading and then there's lip service. After fighting a war for oil, President Bush proposed cutting transportation, including mass transit, by more than 5 percent and the Environmental Protection Agency by 3 percent. All of these programs have been steadily cut back over the past few years and are barely able to operate at existing levels. He's also proposed cutting funds for alternative energy programs while increasing nuclear power and offshore oil drilling.

More rhetorical speeches, a focus on tests, and less money characterize the president's commitment to education. His 1992 budget proposal calls for cuts in elementary, secondary, and vocational education, thereby reducing spending for education by nearly 5 percent.

FAIRY TALE: There's nothing you can do about all of this.

NOT SO HARSH REALITY: That's what they'd like you to think. There's a lot you can do. National, state, and local organizations all over the country are banding together to call for new federal spending priorities by shifting resources away from excessive military spending and toward meeting human needs. You can join this effort by writing letters, making phone calls, circulating petitions, joining the Freeze, voting, marching, talking, and generally raising hell. To find out more about the local Peace Economy Campaign and other efforts to re-prioritize federal spending, contact the Freeze at 458-9975.

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



Grim Fairy Tales

by Terry Teitelbaum

from the Medicare program and, to its credit, Congress' budget resolution rejected that move. It also added a bit more to education, job training, health, and veterans benefits than Bush called for. Yet the overall spending priorities established during the Reagan years still prevail. Social spending was slashed by nearly 50 percent from 1980 to 1990 while military spending doubled. Congress has a long way to go to re-establish the level of spending for human needs that existed before Reagan took office. This pre-Reagan level was inadequate then and human needs such as housing, employment, education, and nutrition have grown to crisis proportions. Token adjustments by Congress to Bush's budget priorities do little to "promote fairness."

savings from one area cannot be transferred to another. If Congress wants to spend more on housing, for example, it can't increase overall domestic spending or take money from the military budget. It can only cut another domestic program. Also, if Congress goes over the ceiling for any one category, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) can impose an across-the-board spending cut for all programs in that category. In fact, the OMB did just that by cutting \$7.3 million from domestic programs. Think about the fact that the government will spend \$3 million of our tax dollars on Washington's Desert Storm victory parade on June 8 and ask yourself, "Is this fair?" Also, the supplemental spending bill of \$15

HOT FLASHES

BY RICK VETRONE

MORE THAN AN APOLOGY

EARTH FIRST! ACTIVISTS JUDI BARI and Darryl Cherney are suing the FBI and the Oakland police department, which one year ago had named the pair as the prime suspects in a bombing attack on their own lives. While Bari and Cherney were arrested without charge and interrogated, law enforcement officials saw fit to track the would-be assassin by ransacking the homes of environmentalists throughout Northern California, using the occasion to portray the growing nonviolent Redwood Summer movement as "terrorist."

The lawsuit, filed by Bari, Cherney, and two other Mendocino activists, also faults Ukiah police and the sheriff's offices of Mendocino and Humboldt counties for ignoring assaults and death threats against North Coast environmentalists for two years. The suit also charges that federal and local investigators knowingly leaked false reports as part of a smear campaign against the movement. Although the authorities did their best to discredit the organizers in the media, they could not produce enough evidence to prosecute them.

While apologies are certainly in order, the activists want more. The lawsuit seeks over \$3 million in damages from police and four FBI agents, and an additional \$14 million from the still-undiscovered (and unsought) bomber. "There's a vicious potential killer out there that they've not found or looked for," said Susan Jordan, one of Bari's attorneys. "We don't feel the FBI or any other law enforcement agency is conducting any investigation. Nor do we feel they ever have."

By requesting a shift of responsibility for the federal probe of the bombing from the FBI to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Bari and Cherney hope to spur two

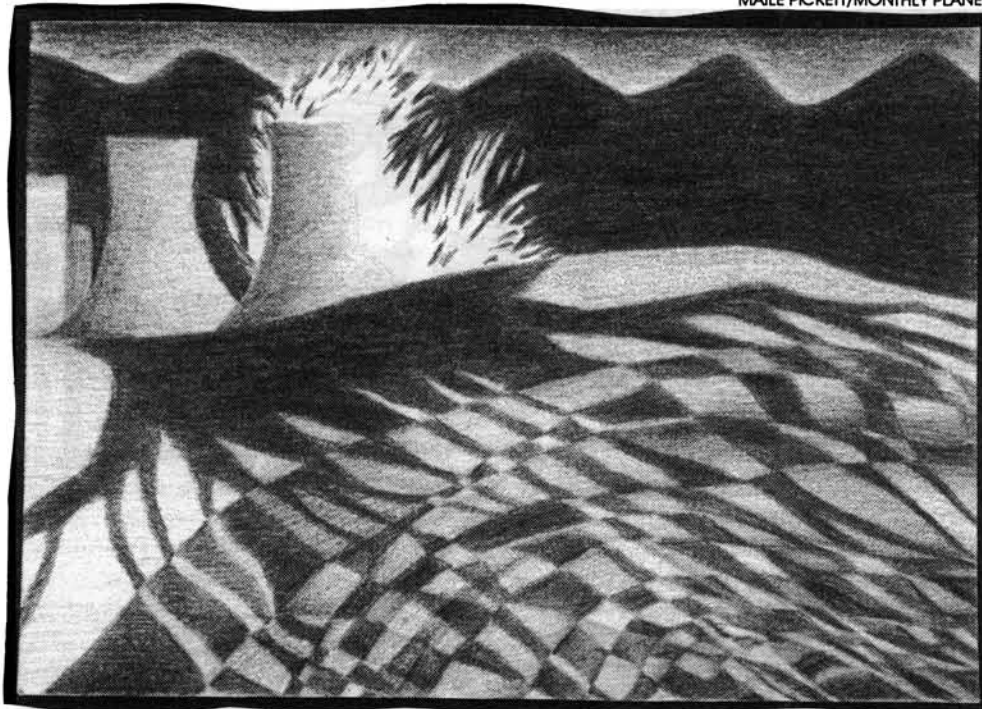
investigations: one, a true search for the bomber, and two, an examination of the counter-intelligence activities of local FBI agents. One of those charged in the suit is head of San Francisco's FBI office, Richard W. Held, whose long history of involvement with radical movements (such as the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement) deserves close public scrutiny.

(sources: *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Associated Press*)

not release any radiation to the public," the series of mishaps threaten to cloud the bright nuclear energy future foreseen by government and industry officials.

Charles D. Frizzle, president of the Maine Yankee Atomic Power Company, insisted that the fire could have happened at any power plant and characterized the accident as an "unusual" but "non-nuclear event." "This should not reflect negatively on the use of nuclear power," Frizzle said.

MAILE PICKETT/MONTHLY PLANET



NUKE PLANT BURNS; FRIZZLE FRAZZLED

WHEN FIRE BROKE OUT AT THE MAINE Yankee nuclear power plant on the night of April 27, it became one of three incidents in six days that caused emergency shutdowns of New England nuclear facilities. While the accidents were apparently not catastrophic and, according to *The New York Times* "did

"Their song is always 'Don't Worry, Be Happy,'" says Thomas Coffin of the Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, which has been working for the past 10 years to close the Maine Yankee plant. "But what I say is the potential for a severe accident is always there in a nuclear plant. I'm glad...that it didn't happen this time."

Official reports on the type and extent of the damage (not released

until more than 16 hours after the initial explosions) stated that the fire was probably caused by a short circuit that sent an immense jolt to the main transformer. The ensuing explosion occurred 100 to 200 feet from the building which houses the nuclear reactor. Officials said the fire burned for four hours and was hot enough to cause the main electrical transformer to buckle, spilling thousands of gallons of lubricating oil, some of it into a nearby river.

Weeks beforehand, antinuclear activists had warned that mechanical malfunctions (leading to nine shutdowns in nine months) and the company's practice of boosting the reactor's output were increasing the risk of a major accident. Although the reactor, the electrical generator, and other main components are nearly 20 years old, the plant had recently produced record amounts of electricity, most of it sold at a profit to utilities outside of New England.

(sources: *New York Times* 5/1, 5/2; *Associated Press* 5/1)

NUKE-BOOSTERS

IGNORING RECENT ACCIDENTS WHICH highlight the dangers of nuclear power, government and industry boosters are campaigning to return nukes to the national energy policy throne.

On May 2, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) approved the restarting of the Browns Ferry reactor in Alabama, site of one of the worst civilian nuclear power accidents in U.S. history. After a near-catastrophic 1975 fire at the plant, public pressure and revelations of flaws in the design, management and operation of the plant led to its shutdown in the mid-1980s.

Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) officials, who own and operate the

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plant, were positively glowing about the restart decision. "It was a kind of black eye for the nuclear industry that Brown's Ferry was down," said TVA's Dan Nauman. "We've worked so hard to get here." As part of that work, the TVA sought, and the NRC granted, exemptions from several fire safety regulations that were enacted as a direct result of the 1975 fire at the plant.

In Washington D.C., meanwhile, the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee has been doing its part to "streamline" the licensing procedures for nuclear power plants. Evidently the committee considers public input excess baggage, because the proposed changes would "make licensing a one-step process and eliminate almost every stage that enables the public to make comments," according to Senator J. Bennett Johnston.

And in what the *San Jose Mercury News* calls "an important psychological boost for the American nuclear power industry," GE Nuclear Energy has joined with two Japanese manufacturers in building what it calls "the world's first advanced-design nuclear reactor." The project — worth \$1 billion to GE — will be built northwest of Tokyo and become part of one of the largest power stations in the world, with a planned total of seven reactors.

Nuclear executives are no doubt hoping that new packaging and association with Japanese standards will change public perceptions of an industry whose reputation ranks about as high as that of General Motors. But Robert Pollard, a nuclear safety engineer with the Union of Concerned Scientists, challenges GE's contention that the new reactor's design is advanced. "There are some improvements, but it's really an evolutionary design. I haven't seen any technical support for a truly advanced design."

Beyond the limited debate about improving nuclear plant safety lies the environmental devastation caused by the mining, milling, and processing of uranium for nuclear fuel, and the dumping of the resultant radioactive wastes, troublesome details that the nuke pushers would rather forget about.

(sources: *New York Times* 5/1, 5/3; *San Jose Mercury News* 5/21)

THIRD WORLD WORRIES

CONCERN OVER THE THREAT POSED BY nuclear weapons has resurfaced in the mass media lately. This concern, however, is not a response to continued U.S. testing and development of new weapons systems, but rather to "a critically important new trend, the advent of potential nuclear powers with deeply ingrained hostilities toward the United States," says Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Speakers at a recent conference at the University of Maryland on nuclear weapons proliferation claimed that Argentina and Brazil are known to have launched nuclear weapons

projects; and that Iran, Algeria, Libya, Taiwan, and North Korea "harbor ambitions to join the nuclear arms club."

While fear of "Saddam's bomb" was primarily a propaganda tool to garner support for the U.S. war on Iraq, nuclear proliferation is a frightening international reality. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), developed by the U.S., USSR and Britain in 1968, has been signed by 141 nations. Under its provisions, the big three (China and France are not signatories) nuclear weapons states are obligated to work for nuclear disarmament, while states without nuclear weapons are pledged not to acquire them.

Progress towards the pact's stated goals has been stalled by the discriminatory nature of the agreement, which places a greater burden on the non-nuclear states. For instance, Middle Eastern nations are required

to allow "full-scope" investigations of all nuclear power facilities to guard against weapons production, while Israel (the only country in the region that hasn't signed the NPT) continues to increase the power and range of its nuclear arsenal. The unfulfilled obligation of the nuclear powers to disarm, and the refusal of the U.S. and Britain to even negotiate toward a comprehensive test ban, have done little to foster a commitment to non-proliferation.

As a result, "you've got a real nuclear arms race in the making in South Asia now," says Paul Leventhal of the Nuclear Control Institute in Washington D.C. While North Korean president Kim Il Sung has recently called for a "nuclear-weapon-free peninsula," others, including the South Korean Defense Minister, have charged the North with violating NPT agreements. David Albright, a nuclear proliferation

researcher for Friends of the Earth, estimates that North Korea may already be producing enough plutonium to make one bomb a year.

North Korea, which has signed the NPT, says it will not sign the Nuclear Safeguards Accord (which would open all nuclear-related facilities to inspection) "because the United States is threatening our sovereignty and security with nuclear weapons." The U.S. has over 43,000 troops and more than 1,000 nuclear weapons in South Korea. North Korea has repeatedly asserted that the country is not producing nukes, while Washington D.C. and Seoul have failed to respond to the North's call for disarmament in the South.

(sources: *San Francisco Chronicle* 5/22; *Nuclear Times*, Winter 1990/91)

Rick Vetrone is a UCSC Community Studies intern with *The Monthly Planet*.

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INTERVIEW



“We must maintain freedom of conscience — that’s crucial to a democracy. Without that, we don’t really have one.”

Aimee Allison:

From Army Reservist to Conscientious Objector

Interview by John Govsky

Aimee Allison is one of an estimated 2,500 members of the U.S. military who have applied for conscientious objector (CO) status during the Persian Gulf War. She joined the Army Reserve four years ago as an Antioch High School senior in order to help pay for college. On June 16th of this year, she will be graduating in history from Stanford University, where she served as student body

president. Allison’s work with the Palo Alto Veterans Administration and her study of the nonviolent tradition in the black community have greatly influenced her thoughts on war. Her CO claim, now pending, is based on religious beliefs which have their foundation in her upbringing in the United Methodist Church.

Allison spoke with The Monthly Planet on May 23rd.

MONTHLY PLANET: Why did you join the military?

AIMEE ALLISON: The whole reason I joined the military in the first place was to help pay for Stanford because we couldn’t afford it in my family. I was attracted to the Army by the ads — they promised to help pay for college.

I joined as a medic because I believed at the time that when you were a medic that meant you helped people. I thought that being a medic would at least be a positive contribution. Later I found out in my military training that it’s actually part and parcel of the military mission. Being a medic always puts the military mission before life; I could never really help people as I was raised that I should.

MP: So your perceptions of what life in the military would be like were very different from the reality?

AA: Well, at the time I signed up I was 17, and so I hadn’t thought about these issues very carefully. In the military, in training, they don’t allow you to examine that part of yourself that reacts against killing or against destruction. There is a part of your humanity that the military wants to subjugate, and I think I allowed that to happen for a while. And then after four years, especially with the Persian Gulf War making me think about these issues more clearly, I actually clarified my position. At Stanford, I had been doing a lot of work registering voters, trying to empower people, working with children. I was working to serve my country or serve other

people, but I had started to become more and more critical of serving it in the military. So even though I wasn’t a conscientious objector for four years, it all came together August 2nd when the troops moved into the Persian Gulf. It was a long process of developing a clear understanding of my view of humanity; that I should work to bring people together and not to push people farther apart through war.

MP: Was there a specific event that triggered your decision to become a conscientious objector?

AA: I was in Oxford studying for the summer quarter, when the troops were moved into the gulf. All of sudden it was like, wow, they’re sending reservists over there and all of a sudden I’m personally involved. I think that’s what being a CO is about, taking personal responsibility for what’s happening. At the time I went through a lot of turmoil. I didn’t know about the regulations, so I returned in September and my dad gave me a copy of the CCCO [Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors] book to read. He felt that I would qualify as a CO.

MP: So, your family’s been very supportive?

AA: Yes, and I’m grateful. When I first I consulted with my lawyer Ann Ginger, I had already submitted my CO application and my unit was being activated. My future was very uncertain. Ann said that my father, who works for the federal government, and the rest of my family may suffer because of my actions. When I informed my family of the risk, they said, “Aimee, you’re more important than any of that other stuff.” It was very good to have that support.

MP: What’s your status now?

AA: Well, just this morning I looked over the regulations. I’ve already gone through the three required interviews: one with the chaplain who makes the recommendation, one with the military psychiatrist to make sure that I’m not crazy for wanting to get out, and then a long interview with the investigating officer, witnesses and a lawyer. That was three months ago and I haven’t heard anything since then. The regulations say that I was supposed to receive a copy of the investigating officer’s report three months ago, to be able to make a rebuttal. My lawyer thinks that we are winning. The military tells me that my paperwork has gone to the Department of Army for final approval. They claim, even though I haven’t seen any written proof, that they have recommended a discharge based on CO status.

The military sets up the whole process so that it takes so long that many people will decide to start breaking the military’s rules; some people don’t want to wear their uniform or go to drill. I’m struggling with myself not to get into that

"The drill sergeant stands up on a platform with a megaphone and yells to us, 'What's the spirit of the bayonet?!' And we were forced to answer, 'To kill, to kill, to kill with no mercy!' And then he says, 'What makes the grass grow?' And we all have to yell, 'Blood, blood makes the grass grow!'"

because if you start breaking the military's rules they criminalize you. They don't treat you as a person of conscience, they treat you as a deserter or as a troublemaker.

MP: Do you think you have been treated differently because you are a woman?

AA: Well, it's clear that this time around, as opposed to the sixties, that there are a lot of women doing this. And that most of the people who read my application and deal with me are men, although my investigating officer was a woman, which I think would not have occurred during the Vietnam era. She was a woman — a very regulation-minded woman. I'm finding that, even though there are women integrated into the system, it's still the same institution. And so in that sense I think that anyone who applies for CO has to jump through all these hoops that the institution has set up. My being a woman doesn't change this process. There are more issues than just gender issues.

I think that what is important is the way that I've been treated; for instance, in my unit, I'm very isolated now. Before the war people supported me and would pull me aside and say "Wow, I wish I could do this thing, you have a lot of guts." But then, after the war began, with all the jingoism that we saw, and all the positive media coverage of the war, people changed. In my unit that was reflected by people's attitudes toward me. My NCOIC, my non-commissioned officer in charge — I work at Moffet Field — yelled at me one day when I was discussing my CO views. It was important for me to talk about how I felt, even though I was following regulations, so they knew I wasn't just saying "Yes, ma'am, no ma'am," anymore, that I was thinking about what I did, and I was talking about the military mentality. He started yelling at me and saying, "We don't need your kind here." It was the way that he talked to me, being a woman, and also being a black woman, that brought all of these other issues into play.

MP: I understand that the profile of a

typical CO now is somewhat different than those of the Vietnam War era.

AA: Leonard McNeil, who is with the American Friends Service Committee in Oakland and a former black CO himself, told me that 85 percent of the people who applied for CO this time around were people of color. And a good percentage of them were women. That made me think about the kinds of people that applied for CO back in Vietnam — you could read any books about COs — those who applied for the official regulation tended to be college-educated white males in their mid-twenties. They weren't the only resisters, but they tended to be the people who could afford a lawyer, who understood the regulations, and got a lot of monetary support. And also they learned in college how to articulate themselves in the written word.

Because of their narrow definition of what makes a legitimate CO, the military asks you in the application to go into a lot of depth and philosophical analysis, and that's a skill that people learn in college. It's very difficult for people who haven't gone to college to do that. And so there's a bias there. But this time around there were a lot of college-educated people of color who took advantage of or were able to find out about the regulations and get the support that they needed. So it has changed a lot.

MP: Do you know how many COs there are now?

AA: The CCCO says that they know of about 2,500 and many, many, more that they don't know of. These 2,500 are people that have either come to the CCCO or gone public. I went public and I know at least two other people who decided not to and to try to play low key and work through the regulations that way. So there are many, many people and the mainstream media is ignoring what's happening with COs. I think it's bad PR for the military for it to be publicized that there are so many people, young people and people of color especially, that have taken a second look at their involvement in the military and realized that they were pacifists or couldn't support the war for any reason. And that's bad for the military. I said in a panel discussion that I participated in last week that the military attracts all these people — especially people of color — with the promises of education, and it's ironic that the same education we get helps us to rethink some of the ideas we were given when we were young.

For example, I never read King or Gandhi in high school. So reading them made a great impression on me and that was made possible through college. It's the same education that they make possible that offers alternatives to violence and makes a lot of people pacifists or COs. If the military wants to be effective in the future they're going to have to change their approach, and I think they're already starting to.

MP: How do you see them changing

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their approach?

AA: I see them concentrating more on job skills, but not on the educational aspect. And I think they'll probably change more in the future. I can't imagine what direction they'll go in, actually. But it's clear that they are realizing their mistake, and they're realizing that a lot of people who got education through the military are applying for discharges and now they're going to have to change their approach. I can only guess what they're planning. It will be pretty scary.

MP: What do you think will happen to you as a result of your CO application?

AA: After I get my results? Well, I talked to my lawyer and she thinks we're winning, but the military is breaking its own rules. In my case they didn't show me a copy of the chaplain's report before my investigat-

ing officer's hearing. That was in violation of their own rules. They didn't send me a copy of the investigating officer's report so that I could make a rebuttal. That was also a violation of their own rules. And if they don't resolve all of this by the 18th of June, it will have been 180 days since I applied — six months — then they'll have violated their own rules again. If they don't act by the 18th of June I think I am going to be forced to go to federal court. The only way to win this in federal court is to win on procedure.

Right now I'm going to have to be optimistic and wait and see, although I'm preparing to take it the next step. Because part of being a CO is not just in time of war, but the war helped clarify things for me. Now my position is clear: I must get out of the military. It makes me physically ill to be in the military. It really bothers me. I can't stand to put on the uniform and go to

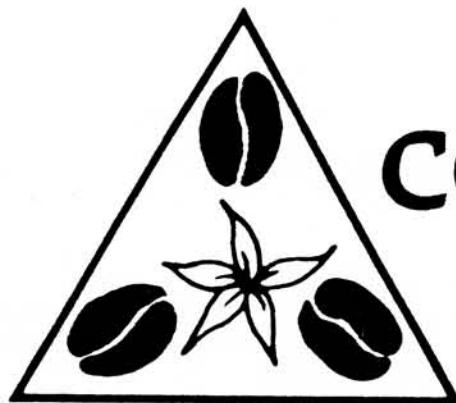
drill and learn about war anymore. So I'm willing to push the regulations and rules to the nth degree in order to get out.

MP: What sort of personal changes did you go through before you realized you were a CO?

AA: I think that there are four facets that helped my development. One was military training in and of itself. When I went to boot camp I had no realistic memory of war — I had no members of the military in my family and I had no memory of war except for Rambo or something like that — that even prepared me for what they were going to train me. Even though I was a medic we were trained to shoot M16s, throw grenades, and we did bayonet training. Actually bayonet training was one of the clearest things from boot camp in my mind. It started me thinking about what I was doing in

the military and how terrible it was and that its true mission was to kill and destroy people. Here we are out in Fort Jackson, South Carolina, five hundred women — all in fatigues with our M16s with bayonets on the end, and the drill sergeant stands up on a platform with a megaphone and yells to us, "What's the spirit of the bayonet?!" And we were forced to answer, "To kill, to kill, to kill with no mercy!" And then he says, "What makes the grass grow?" And we all have to yell, "Blood, blood makes the grass grow!" And I remember not being able to yell all those things because I always thought what makes us human is mercy. I remember them yelling, "Allison, you better yell it!" and looking to the side and seeing a chaplain who was shaking his head yes, like "very good, troops." For me, the whole relationship with religion and mercy and what my role was as a woman — all of that really upset me. I remember writing about it and telling my church about it when I came back. That was one of the first things.

Then when I went to advanced individual training school to be a combat medic I remember learning about triage. Triage in civilian life means that if there's an earthquake or some other disaster, you help the most people as you can in the time you have with the amount of people you have. But in the military it's skewed. Your whole goal as a medic is to preserve the fighting strength. So if you have a number of people who fall



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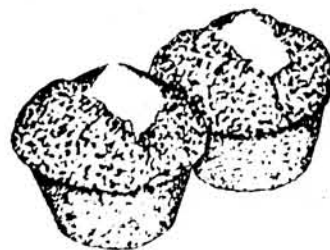
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in a battle, you are supposed to prioritize those people least injured — the ones most easily returned to their duty stations or the front. The people who have 85 percent of their body burned or who need surgery, major surgery, and will take up a lot of your time are the people we're taught to set aside and leave to die. Give them a shot of morphine and that's it. We can't waste time on people like that who may not survive. For me, that's immoral. If I were in that situation, I would try to help the people who need help the most.

So then my duty as a medic is not to just preserve life, but preserve the fighting strength, to patch people up and send them back out to kill or destroy. For me that made the connection between being a medic in the Army and shooting weapons. I've come to see that any job you have in the military contributes equally, I think, to the killing of people. Plus they limit the people you can help in the first place: you can't patch up the people that you're supposed to be fighting against; you're not supposed to do that.

The second thing is that my experience in my unit really helped me see the effects of war. I worked in the Palo Alto VA, and in the VA I actually had personal contact with veterans from the last three wars, not including the gulf conflict. These are men that are missing something of themselves. They are missing an arm or a leg, or a part of their spirit or mind. We weren't allowed to wear our fatigues on the wards because there are people who, at the sight of fatigues, have flashbacks and go crazy. Seeing that, I thought: "My God, this is what war does to people! It's not glory at all, it's horrible!" I was really upset just hearing their stories, and seeing the way this country treats its vets. It's clear that their lives aren't important to the military.

Another thing was when the conflict started I came back from England, and all of a sudden my unit, instead of going to the VAs as I did before the conflict, started having classes on how to use gas masks and how to put on the MOPP (mission-oriented protective posture) gear which is supposed to protect you from chemical attack. We were supposed to review how to shoot weapons, review how to "defend the hospital position." And they made it clear to us that if we were attacked as a hospital, that if we were sent to Saudi, that we would be expected to pick up weapons and shoot people. I cannot do that. It's against my religious code to kill people. Then they taught us how to dig foxholes and designate kill zones. All of a sudden the war became more real to me.

Against the backdrop of all this military training that helped me to see what the true mission of the military was, I was going to school. I'm a history major, and I learned a lot. I learned a couple of things in history that made it very important that I get out of the military. I learned about

"Eric Larsen and Tahan Jones were from the same Marine Reserve unit in Oakland and their unit was activated. These people both had applied for CO discharges, and they made the choice to refuse orders...Right now the government is threatening to charge them with desertion in time of war. And the punishment is death."

black people in the military and how we traditionally fought in this nation's wars and have disproportionately been killed — but then receive no rights. Then it was clear to me, looking at it from the black community's perspective, that war doesn't benefit people. Not only does it not benefit black people, but it doesn't benefit anyone. Then I could take that analogy and extend it to the rest of the society and say it really doesn't benefit the people that fight them. So that made it clear that I can't fight.

The other thing about history was [Martin Luther] King's movement. I want to consider myself a nonviolent soldier for peace. So learning about King and the proud tradition — the proud nonviolent tradition in the black community — made me make the personal connection between working for peace and my role in history.

There were all these factors. It was a progressive development, and it was never so clear as in August. It all came together. And actually working through those questions that the military gave me helped me really think about things. A lot of people ask me why I don't just follow through on my contract, why I don't just go ahead



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and finish. But I felt that after four years at Stanford — after four years of the education I wanted so badly so that I could make choices for myself — and knowing what I know about the military, I couldn't in good faith live with myself remaining in the military. I'm just glad that the military offers a way, even though it's a convoluted way, and a very difficult and frustrating way, to get out with an honorable discharge.

MP: I understand that there are some COs who might face the death penalty.
AA: Eric Larsen and Tahan Jones were from the same Marine Reserve unit in Oakland and their unit was activated. These people both had applied for CO discharges, and they made the choice to refuse orders. Eric was AWOL for 30 days before turning himself in. Tahan was AWOL for 90 days. They were both taken to Fort Lejeune, North Carolina, where they're awaiting their court martial. Right now the government is threatening to charge them with desertion in time of war. And the punishment is death.

I feel a connection with people like that who, for reasons of conscience, refuse to fight. The fact that the government would threaten to kill them shows a public tolerance of the criminalization of COs. That's something that in a democracy cannot happen. I think those are the important things about what's happening to us, especially people who are in jail now. We must maintain freedom of conscience — that's crucial to a democracy. Without that, we don't really have one. That's the important thing for me right at this point in history. If I get my CO discharge I feel like it would be a great victory for freedom. If I can just succeed in doing that I think it would be remarkable, especially in this time of history when this nation is so much asleep.

For more information about the plight of military conscientious objectors, please contact the Resource Center for Nonviolence at (408) 423-1626.

John Govsky is the editor of The Monthly Planet.

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LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

a MID CHARGES OF mismanagement and possible fraud, the Department of Energy (DOE) is undergoing intense scrutiny from Congress, even as it is gearing up to reopen two aging facilities and construct a new one that will insure the longevity of the U.S. nuclear arsenal well into the next century.

A series of investigations conducted by DOE inspector general John C. Layton over the past 18 months, as well as three audits conducted since November 1989, have uncovered a pattern of fiscal mismanagement at several of the nation's nuclear weapons facilities. Unauthorized expenditures, major cost overruns, and questionable accounting gimmicks have caused some congressmembers to wonder just who is minding the store at the DOE.

The Department of Energy contracts the management of its nuclear facilities out to private military contractors. For example, two of the facilities under investigation are the Savannah River plant in South Carolina, and the Feed Materials Production Center in Fernald, Ohio, both operated by Westinghouse.

In the case of the Savannah River plant, Westinghouse was found to have illegally transferred funds in and out of accounts in order to hide cost overruns. Westinghouse used about \$13 million to disguise cost overruns in the construction of a new tritium facility at the Savannah River site. Savannah River was the nation's sole production facility for tritium, a radioactive gas that extends the "shelf life" of nuclear weapons, until it was shut down for safety reasons in August 1988. Two of its aging reactors are being refurbished, one of which is scheduled to restart by the end of the summer. Although there are 17 principal facilities operated by the DOE, Savannah River takes the largest chunk of the pie with an annual budget of \$2 billion. That represents almost 20 percent of the entire DOE budget for nuclear weapons programs (\$10.5 billion).

In order to expedite construction and facilities operation, certain operating expenses incurred at the various plants can be charged by contractors to two special accounts set up by the Energy Department. New projects costing less than \$1.2 million can access the general plant project account without prior authorization. However, any project estimated to cost more than \$1.2 million must receive congressional approval. In the course of their audit, energy department investigators discovered numerous violations of this regulation.

A May 7 *New York Times* article detailed how Westinghouse, and its



JASON TRAUT/MONTHLY PLANET

Fraud and Mismanagement at Weapons Plants: Who's Minding the Store?

by Shelly D'Amour

subcontractor Bechtel, hid the existence of a \$13 million warehouse in order to avoid congressional oversight. In a separate instance, Bechtel was cited with improperly charging \$18.2 million to DOE construction accounts to cover the costs of its move to the Savannah River plant. Additionally, monies were transferred between accounts with the apparent purpose of deceiving Congress into thinking that costs were being held down, when in fact overruns were in the millions of dollars. One popular tactic is to subdivide a project into smaller parcels which would cost less than \$1.2 million a piece. Each parcel is then treated by contractors as a separate project in terms of spending ceilings and reporting requirements. As long as auditors don't connect all the pieces, contractors can spend more money while making it look like less. In an ironic twist, Energy Secretary James D. Watkins commended Westinghouse last year for its prudent and efficient management of the Savannah River plant.

However, private industry contractors aren't the only ones coming

under fire. The DOE was criticized by its own inspector general for wasting millions of dollars on unnecessary projects. A prime example is the Rocky Flats plant, located outside of Denver, Colorado. Rocky Flats is the sole producer of plutonium triggers for nuclear warheads. It has been closed since December 1989 due to safety reasons, and is scheduled to be shut down permanently at the end of this decade — less than nine years away. However, DOE is pushing ahead in the construction of a new facility at Rocky Flats — building 707 — to temporarily continue production. The costs of repairing Rocky Flats have already run in excess of a billion dollars since 1988. This year, \$283 million from the Desert Storm appropriations bill has been set aside for Rocky Flats. A May 13 *Washington Post* article indicated that even if Rocky Flats were up and running by 1995, it may not have enough storage space left for nuclear waste materials created by the production facility to last beyond nine months.

The DOE panel of the House Armed Services Committee has adopt-

ed an amendment by Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) to require Secretary Watkins to certify that major health and safety problems have been resolved at Rocky Flats, prior to start up of any building. Colorado Senator Tim Wirth (D) will carry that message to the Senate Armed Services Committee. Furthermore, Congress may attempt to remove jurisdiction over the restart certification from Mr. Watkins and give it to the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board.

Another glaring example of wasteful spending is DOE's handling of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) in southern New Mexico. The plant was designed as a repository for plutonium-contaminated wastes which are currently being stored at 10 DOE facilities around the country. The plant was shut down in September of last year, again due to safety reasons. More than 700 workers remain employed there, at a cost of over \$300,000 a day. In his report, Mr. Layton criticized the Energy Department for not cutting spending at the facility, essentially operating a closed plant at full capacity as though it were open.

A total of \$1.8 billion is slated for DOE construction projects in fiscal year 1992. Investigators found that 12.7 percent of the construction budget has been going to design contractors, compared with 6 percent in other government departments and 5.4 percent in the private sector. A controversial item in this year's budget is \$552 million set aside for design work on a new tritium production reactor.

The Department of Energy plans to build the new tritium facility either at Savannah River or at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory. The DOE is pushing ahead with construction of the plant, despite a recent report from the General Accounting Office that indicated that the United States had enough tritium to last through 1994, due to the decommissioning of nuclear warheads. The report also raised questions as to the actual need for tritium production in the long term.

On a different front, attempts are underway to bring the DOE into compliance with federal regulations regarding the environment and worker health and safety.

There are several major environmental laws governing hazardous waste materials. Theoretically, government agencies like the DOE are expected to abide by these laws, however the Environmental Protection Agency lacks the enforcement authority necessary to see that they do.

The issue received renewed attention recently when the Energy Department was fined in excess of \$500,000 by the EPA for failing to meet its cleanup schedules at the Feed Materials Production Center in Fernald, Ohio. The EPA levied a \$20,000 a week fine against the DOE for every week it was out of compliance at the Ohio facility. The DOE contended that the EPA had no authority to impose fines on other

government agencies, but eventually withdrew its challenge and agreed to a \$100,000 settlement. In this case, the DOE was prosecuted under the Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act, or "superfund" law, that sets stringent penalties for violations of regulations regarding hazardous waste management. The law has primarily been applied to private industry, although the EPA has been trying to find a way to enforce it against government agencies as well. A May 14 *New York Times* article quoted EPA spokesperson Christian Holmes who termed the settlement a "milestone": "It demonstrates the fact that we are committed to making the U.S. government accountable to environmental protection laws as we are committed to making the private sector accountable."

At Colorado's Rocky Flats facility, the Energy Department and the EPA have recently entered into an agreement setting a timetable on hazardous waste disposal. The agreement was written so as to comply with the provisions of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), an anti-pollution law which bars the storage of untreated wastes for indefinite periods. There are no fines provided for under the terms of the DOE/EPA agreement. The State of Colorado indicated it would not enter into the agreement unless enforceable fines were attached.

As a result of these and similar incidents over the years, Representatives Dan Schaefer (R-CO) and Dennis Eckart (D-OH) are sponsoring a bill that would clarify EPA enforcement authority against government agencies, including the use of fines. "The Federal Facility Compliance Act of 1991" (HR2195) would bring all federal agencies under full coverage of RCRA regulations. As of May 8th it had 140 cosponsors. A similar initiative is under way in the Senate, S596, introduced by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME). Previous attempts to enact enforceable legislation have been defeated. The Bush administration opposes such legislation.

In the Senate, New Mexico's two senators, Jeff Bingaman (D) and Pete Domenici (R), are attempting to ensure that the DOE will be required to comply with RCRA prior to beginning radioactive waste testing at the WIPP plant.

In a similar vein, DOE facilities are exempt from requirements found in the Occupational Safety and Health Safety Act (OSHA), the federal law which sets standards for worker health and safety on the job. DOE states that its policy is to comply with OSHA standards. However it is not under any obligation to do so and there is no means of enforcement. In December, at the request of Energy Secretary Watkins, the U.S. Department of Labor completed an audit of DOE facility contractors to determine how OSHA's health and safety guidelines were being applied. The labor department found that DOE facilities remain "production oriented...in which pressures to get the job done often overrule safe-

ty and health concerns."

In the House, Rep. Joe Gaydos (D-PA) introduced the "Nuclear Facilities Occupational Safety Improvement Act of 1991" (HR2098), which would extend OSHA protections to include DOE facilities workers. The bill currently has 21 cosponsors. Unfortunately, Rep. Gaydos appears willing to drop his legislation if the DOE makes improvements in OSHA compliance. A proposal by Rep. Lane Evans (D-IL) to establish training programs for workers involved in hazardous waste removal was adopted by the DOE panel of the Armed Services Committee.

House members are also engaged in closing up another DOE loophole with regard to worker protection. Congress enacted "whistleblower" legislation in 1989 to protect federal employees who disclose evidence of fraud, abuse, or illegal activities. The legislation does not cover employees of DOE contrac-

tors. Representative Schroeder has introduced HR1488, which would extend the protections of federal whistleblower legislation to employees of DOE contractors. The DOE is also drafting its own whistleblower regulations, however they do not provide the same level of protection as the Schroeder bill. For example, under the DOE proposal, workers who first disclose their findings to the public or even to the EPA prior to informing the DOE will not be protected.

The point person at the center of all these controversies is Energy Secretary James D. Watkins. Watkins came into his post in 1989, promising widespread reform of the nuclear industry. His primary focus has been safety at the nation's weapons facilities. While Mr. Watkins generally enjoys strong support within Congress, critics contend his credibility as a fiscal manager has been

damaged by recent revelations. "The issue here is who is in control?" said Oklahoma Democrat Mike Synar. "His [Watkins'] commitment to changing things has to filter down to line people."

In leveling the charges, Congress must take a share of the blame for itself, since it continues to fund the very projects it criticizes the Energy Department for undertaking. There are notable exceptions, of course. Colorado representatives Patricia Schroeder and David Skaggs (D), as well as Senator Tim Wirth, have worked hard over the years to keep Rocky Flats shut. However, others embrace the nuclear industry like a member of the family. In this category, South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond (R) deserves special mention. Thurmond indicated he may ask the Senate Armed Services Committee to simply bypass the environmental

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impact research process required as part of site selection for the new production reactor, and just designate Savannah River as the chosen location for the facility.

Such thinking underscores all the more need for Congress to develop comprehensive, cohesive policies on two fronts: defense and energy. The Gulf War has shown that the two are very concretely linked. Congress needs to create an energy policy that addresses long-term energy needs without reliance on nuclear technologies or fossil fuels. (If you haven't noticed lately, the mainstream press has been boosting nuclear energy as the new environmentally-conscious alternative to oil and coal.) Likewise, the collapse of a Soviet-dominated East Bloc has eliminated any possible rationale for the U.S. maintaining massive stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Congress should seize the opportunity that the present time affords and keep the weapons plants shut down permanently, redirecting available funds toward cleanup.

ACTION: Call or write your representatives concerning the bills discussed above. Your message should be: 1) keep Rocky Flats shut; 2) bring the DOE under enforceable compliance with all EPA and OSHA regulations; 3) support the Schroeder bill on whistleblower protection. Thanks to the folks at Plutonium Challenge, the Natural Resources Defense Council, Physicians for Social

A series of investigations conducted by DOE inspector general John C. Layton over the past 18 months, as well as three audits conducted since November 1989, have uncovered a pattern of fiscal mismanagement at several of the nation's nuclear weapons facilities.

Responsibility, Friends of the Earth and the Government Accountability Project for all of their excellent research which was used in this article.

EL SALVADOR

The administration has requested \$294 million for El Salvador: \$85 million in direct military aid and \$120 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF's). To date, the House Foreign Affairs Committee and its Western Hemisphere Subcommittee have postponed action on the request pending the outcome of the current series of negotiations between the Salvadoran government and rebel forces.

In general, the mood of the House appears to remain strongly in favor of withholding all or part of any future military aid monies until significant improvements are made in the political situation in El Salvador. Specifically, House members are looking for a successful prosecution of the November 1989 murders of six Jesuit priests by Salvadoran security forces. In April, House Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) reappointed his El Salvador Special Committee, chaired by Massachusetts Democrat Joe Moakley, for the express purpose of monitoring developments in the case.

One congressional vehicle to address U.S. foreign policy in the region is the "Peace, Democracy, and development in El Salvador Act of 1991." Introduced by Washington Democrats Senator Brock Adams (S601) and Rep. Jim McDermott (HR1346), the bill currently has 10 cosponsors in the Senate and 90 in the House. If enacted, the bill would: prohibit all military aid to El Salvador; require the withdrawal of all U.S. military advisors; prohibit U.S. covert operations; establish a fund for reconstruction; and restrict the use of ESF's for meeting basic human needs. Both local Representative Leon Panetta (D-Monterey) and Senator Alan Cranston (D) are cosigners to this legislation.

On March 8, Representatives Moakley and Murtha, together with Senators Dodd and Leahy, delivered a letter to President Bush urging him not to release \$42.5 million in military

funds which had been escrowed by Congress the previous fall. The letter was cosigned by 113 members of the House and 35 members of the Senate, including Rep. Panetta and Senator Cranston. Last fall Congress authorized \$85 million in military aid but set aside half in order to press the Salvadoran government to improve its human rights record. President Bush indicated in January that he would release the aid, following the execution-style murder of two U.S. servicemen after their helicopter was shot down over El Salvador by rebel forces. However, to date, he has not done so.

Finally, 51 members of the House signed on to a letter authored by California Democrat George Brown, addressed to Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani, concerning human rights violations directed against Salvadoran repatriates by the military. Representative Panetta was also a cosigner to that letter.

The March 10 elections in El Salvador produced a long-awaited change in the composition of the National Assembly. The ruling ARENA party lost its numerical majority, gaining 39 of 84 seats, although right-wing forces as a whole still dominate. Nevertheless, there is much cause for optimism. The new Assembly is more representative of those who look for fundamental change in El Salvador. Renewing military aid at this time would send the worst possible message.

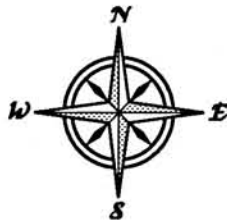
ACTION: Contact your representative and senators and tell them: 1) to oppose all military aid to El Salvador; 2) to restrict the use of ESF's to purely humanitarian purposes and; 3) see that Congress, not the administration, must control the release of any escrowed funds.

GUATEMALA

On April 17, the House Western Hemisphere Subcommittee recommended an end to U.S. military aid, arms sales, and military training to the government of Guatemala until substantial political and human rights reforms are undertaken in that country. The subcommittee further drafted language aimed at restricting the use of Economic Support Funds

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(ESF's) to meet basic human needs. The combined strategy of prohibiting military aid and restricting ESF's is an important one, because typically the dollar amount set aside for military aid is much smaller than that for ESF's, and ESF monies are often used to subvert congressional bans on military aid. This year the Bush administration is asking for \$2 million in military aid to Guatemala, and \$30 million in ESF monies.

According to the provisions outlined by the subcommittee, military aid could be restored only if the Guatemalan government demonstrates fundamental progress in subordinating the armed forces to civilian authority, and in prosecuting certain high-profile human rights cases such as the abduction/torture of U.S. Ursuline Sister Dianna Ortiz, and the assassinations of U.S. citizen Michael Devine and Salvadoran political leader Hector Oqueli, among others. Such progress might be a long time in coming. A May 25 *New York Times* article stated that Guatemalan military officials did not see the need to make concessions since they were "winning" the war against the 30-year old armed insurgency.

Traditionally, Congress allows the president to make the determination about releasing escrowed funds. Not surprisingly, the president always manages to find a rationale for doing so. This year's Guatemala aid bill attempts to close that loophole in that it reserves for Congress the right

to review the presidential findings, and to object to the release of funds. As expected, the administration is lobbying heavily against any and all restrictions on aid to the Guatemalan government.

The Guatemala bill will be forwarded to the House Foreign Affairs Committee sometime in June. From there it will go to the full House floor for a final vote. The bill will face stiff opposition along the way as attempts are made to weaken it. It is important that representatives hear from their constituents on this matter.

ACTION: Contact your representative and tell him/her to: 1) support a ban on all military aid to Guatemala; 2) restrict ESF monies to purely humanitarian purposes; 3) support congressional oversight of presidential decisions to release aid.

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

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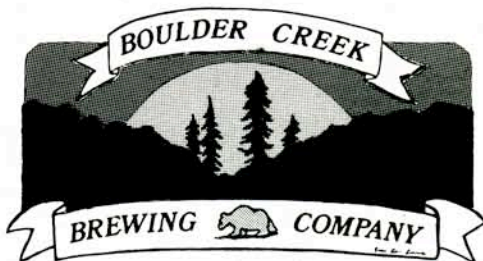
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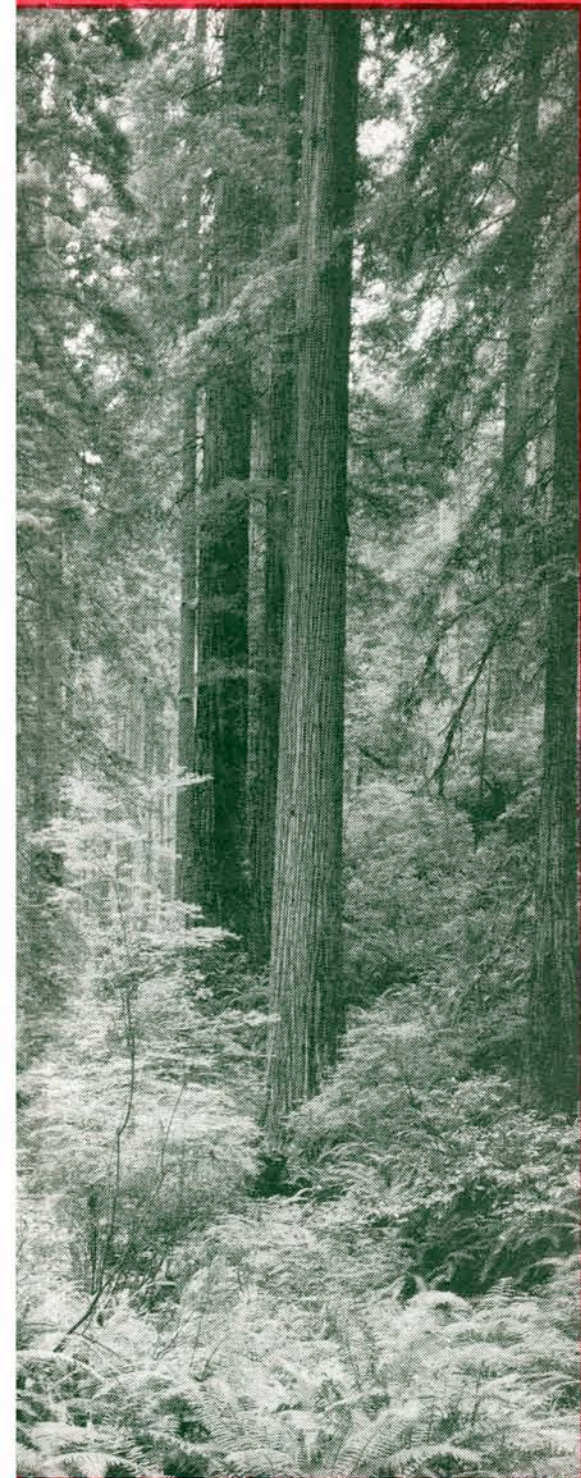
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C E N S O R E D

By Igal Dahari

REREAD HIS LIPS

DURING THE FIRST FEW MONTHS following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, countless pronouncements were issued from the White House on various aspects of the conflict and its resolution. Iraq's invasion was cast once as a threat to American jobs, another time as a danger to the economies of Eastern Europe.

Policy statements on the United States' objective in the area were also issued, only to be changed shortly after. At a press conference on August 8, 1990, President Bush stated: "The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long." This was before we were to learn about the "Desert Storm" being planned.

At a press conference on November 30, 1990, President Bush claimed there was still time for negotiation with Iraq. Bush said he would extend an invitation to Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz to come to the White House. He also stated: "And I will suggest to Iraq's president that he receive the [United States] secretary of state at a mutually convenient time



between December 15th and January 15th of next year." Checking the contents of any establishment media story on this subject appearing between the dates given by Bush reveals that the president actually rejected Iraq's bid to send Aziz to the White House by January 13th.

Not surprisingly, there is little

analysis in the establishment media, especially of the kind that would peel back the thin veneer covering the horrible adventure known as the Persian Gulf War. As long as that is true, history will be written in the minds of many Americans by the Executive Branch and its allies.

BASHING ENVIRONMENTALISTS

When a pipe bomb seriously injured Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in May of last year, the establishment media were quick to trumpet police and FBI claims that the two Earth First! activists were somehow guilty. As long as Bari and Cherney were suspects in their own bombing, the media closely followed the story.

But generally, establishment media pay less attention to stories concerning the threats and attacks against outspoken environmentalists. One such attack was aimed at Pat Costner, research director for Greenpeace's U.S. Toxics Campaign ("Greenpeace Activist Target of Arsonist," Bob Ivry, *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 5/1/91). Costner's home

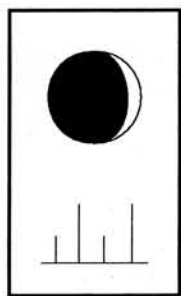
was burned to the ground on March 2, and her extensive private library on pollution, along with a final draft of a report on toxic-waste incineration, was destroyed. Private investigators have concluded that the blaze was not accidental.

Meanwhile, Bari and Cherney learned recently that, as early as June 1989, Northern California timber company officials were exchanging letters praising acts of violence against environmentalists ("Timber Bosses Applaud Death Threats to Earth Firsters," *Christine Keyser, San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 4/17/91). Over a dozen such letters were obtained by Arcata attorney Mark Harris. One letter shows admiration for a logger who punched an activist during a nonviolent Redwood Summer demonstration, while another praises a shadowy vigilante group known as the Sahara Club. A civil case against Pacific Lumber Company and Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, two of the timber companies involved, is currently underway.

BASHING ENVIRONMENTALISTS II

In a bold 2-inch-high headline reminiscent of supermarket tabloids, the *San Francisco Examiner* recently told the "Tale of a Plot to Rid Earth of Humankind" (Jonathan Tilove, *Newhouse News Service*, 4/14/91). "Ex-CIA Agent Says Environmentalists Are Secretly at Work," declared the sub-headline. Much of the article was, in fact, based on the unsupported allegations of the CIA's former chief of counter-terrorism, Vincent Cannistraro.

The article contained a mish-mash of not-too-subtle insinuations that Earth First! is out to commit genocide, with Cannistraro's assertions that "there are small organized clandestine cells working on the development of technologies to diminish or even eliminate the race of man from



George
Jarrett

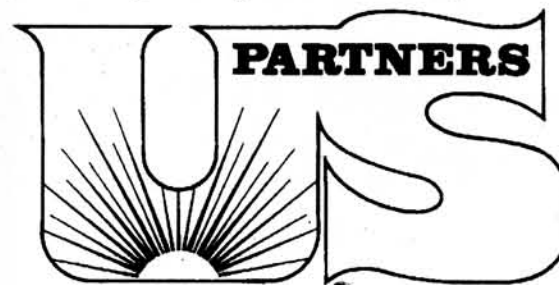
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the Earth."

On April 17, an organization of local Bay Area media activists, calling itself For Organized Response to Unfair Media (FORUM), protested outside the *Examiner's* offices. FORUM members wanted the paper to print a rebuttal to the article, which most viewed as nothing short of a hit piece. On April 20, the *Examiner* did run a commentary by Earth First! activist Judi Bari.

MORE TOXICS ON INDIAN LAND

An article in the Spring 1991 issue of *New World Times*, self-described as being "Dedicated to the Renaissance of the American Indian," concerns recent events regarding the dumping of wastes on Native American reservations (see also "Dances With Dumps," in last issue's CENSORED).

The article, entitled "Desecration of Indian Land: Activists Fight Toxic Waste Disposal," was written by Greenpeace Southwest Toxics Campaign Coordinator Bradley Angel. Angel details how local activists on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations in South Dakota are fighting off attempts to set up secret landfill agreements by two subsidiaries of O&G Industries of Torrington, CT.

Angel also tells how Waste Tech, a Colorado company, is meeting resistance in its bid to put five hazardous waste incinerators on Native American reservations. Waste Tech, a subsidiary of oil-giant Amoco, is being opposed by local Indian groups from Arizona, where it has approached Paiute-Kaibab and Navajo people, to Oklahoma and Alaska.

In California, Chambers Development and W. R. Grace are attempting to make similar deals. These companies, like their colleagues around the nation, are eager to capitalize on openings created by the conditions of economic impoverishment and loose environmental enforcement standards found on many reservations.

However, awareness of the long-term repercussions of hasty waste-disposal deals is growing, both on and off the reservation. A conference entitled "Protecting Mother Earth: The Toxic Threat to Indian Land" is scheduled to take place near the Black Hills in South Dakota. More

information on the conference may be obtained from the Native Resource Coalition at (605) 867-5479.

FOOD AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

One story which rarely receives attention, much less analysis or investigation, is the way the United States government uses food, among other types of aid, as a political tool. When stories on this issue do appear in the establishment media, they are almost always very short, and lack any political or historical context.

An example is a recent wire story that appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* ("Ethiopian Rebels Accuse U.S.," *Chronicle Wire Services*, 5/8/91). In barely 5.5 column inches, we learn that "Ethiopian rebels accused the United States yesterday of cutting off grain supplies to famine-stricken northern Ethiopia to put pressure on the rebels to join peace talks with the [Ethiopian] government." No mention of the rebel's organizational name was made, nor was it told that the Ethiopian government is a hard-line military regime allied with the Soviet Union.

Interestingly, relations between the Ethiopian and United States governments have been improving. Ethiopia, as a member of the United Nations Security Council, approved the pro-war measures sponsored by the United States early this year. But meanwhile, the embattled Ethiopian regime has been losing substantial ground to the rebel groups based in Tigre and Eritrea provinces. Putting those facts together with the knowledge that the U.S. aid was to be distributed in rebel-held territory, it is not difficult to guess at what the motivation behind the recent cutoff of grain shipments might be.

The short *Chronicle* piece does go on to say the U.S. move "threatens emergency supplies of food to 2.5 million people facing starvation in the region."

Igal Dahari is a media observer, networker, and former editor at The Monthly Planet. Please send your ideas for this column to him at 400 Oyster Point Blvd., Suite 325, South San Francisco, CA 94080, or fax any questions and information to (415)



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Was the 1980 Election Held Hostage?

The "October Surprise" Story Re-Emerges

by Joseph A. Palermo

DURING THE 1980 presidential election campaign between then-President Jimmy Carter and the Ronald Reagan-George Bush campaign, the country was in a state of crisis — 52 Americans were being held hostage at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran. Carter's re-election bid went down to defeat, and five minutes after Reagan took the oath of office on January 20, 1981, the Iranian government released the hostages. But some think the timing of the hostages' release is more than coincidental.

George Bush coined the term "October Surprise" to warn the American people against what he saw as the sinister machinations of the Carter administration to win the release of the hostages in the last weeks of the presidential campaign for partisan political benefit. Ironically, "October Surprise" now is widely used to refer to the alleged deal struck between the Reagan-Bush campaign and the Iranian government, not for the release of the hostages, but for them to be held longer.

The possibility that a deal was made between the Iranians and the

Reagan-Bush campaign to delay the release of the hostages until after the November election — thus depriving Carter of an October Surprise to boost his standing in the polls shortly before election day — has re-emerged as a topic of discussion in the mainstream media. Renewed press interest in this story was sparked by the publication of Gary Sick's April 15 op-ed piece in *The New York Times*, entitled "The Election Story of the Decade." Sick served in the National Security Council during the Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations and is now a professor of Middle East history at Columbia University.

The press originally portrayed the release of the hostages as a triumph of the new administration, motivated by fear on the part of the Iranians. But if the October Surprise scenario proves valid, it would suggest the hostage release occurred at this time for exactly the opposite reason: the Reagan administration was on much friendlier terms with the Khomeini regime than was publicly known. United States arms began flowing to Iran on Israeli-chartered planes as early as February

continued until the exposure five years later of the secret arms sales that were part of the Iran-Contra scandal.

The information now surfacing indicates that two series of meetings may have taken place between the Reagan-Bush campaign and representatives of Iran regarding the 52 American hostages. Several meetings allegedly took place in Madrid in the spring of 1980, and the deal might have been finalized in Paris in October 1980.

In his article, Sick states that many of the people who talked to him about these events over the past two years as he researched a book had nothing to gain by talking about this and genuinely fear for their personal safety. Sick states he has contacted "fifteen sources who claim direct or indirect knowledge of some aspect of the meetings." Moreover, five of the sources who say they were in Paris in connection with these meetings in October 1980 insist that Bush was present for at least one of them, and, Sick writes, "three of the sources say that they saw him there."

Robert Parry, the chief investigator for the PBS *Frontline* documentary which aired April 16, 1991, entitled "The Election Held Hostage," compiled interviews with 20 individuals from eight countries on four continents. This documentary is the most powerful presentation of the facts produced thus far, and corroborates a great deal of information that has surfaced on the subject in recent years. For example, *Frontline* confirmed that Ari Ben-Menashe, a former Israeli intelligence officer who claims intimate knowledge of both the October Sur-

prise and the Iran-Contra scandal, worked for the External Relations Department of the Israel Defense Forces Military Intelligence (IDFMI). Gary Sick told *Frontline*: "There are a very large number of people who really do believe this happened...I finally, I guess, passed a point where it was harder to explain away the people who were supposedly all lying to me for reasons that I couldn't understand than it was to believe that something in fact happened."

The hostage crisis itself had its roots in CIA activity. In January 1979, the Shah fled Iran after months of civil unrest. Lest we forget, the Shah's troops routinely fired into crowds of demonstrators and his CIA-trained secret police, SAVAK, tried to put down the rebellion by arresting, torturing, and executing thousands of dissidents. It should also be noted that the CIA-engineered coup d'etat in 1953 originally installed the Shah. The U.S. subsequently propped up his regime with \$17 billion in arms over the next 25 years.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned from exile and took power in February 1979, amid massive demonstrations. On November 4, 1979 radical students seized the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, taking Americans hostage. The students displayed to the media false passports and other documents removed from the embassy which indicated that some of the embassy personnel were CIA officers actively plotting a military coup against the new government. In April 1980 the Carter administration imposed an arms embargo on Iran after it was clear that neither a military coup nor a hostage rescue were possible.

Iraq invaded Iran on September 22, 1980, and according to former Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Iran only had enough arms and spare parts to sustain a war for two or three days. Israel was eager to arm Iran as a strategic counterweight against the regional Arab powers, but President Carter maintained the embargo and Israel complied. Negotiations between the Iranian government and the Carter administration continued throughout the 1980 campaign period, but according to Gary Sick, who was Carter's National Security Council point-person on Iran, the talks collapsed after October 20, the period when the alleged deal had been worked out between Reagan-Bush campaign officials and representatives of the Iranian government.

Bani-Sadr has recently published a book, *My Turn to Speak: Iran, Revolution, and Secret Deals with the U.S.*, where he writes, "I have proof of contacts between Khomeini and the supporters of Ronald Reagan as early as the Spring of 1980." Bani-Sadr said that in October 1980, many in Iran's inner ruling circles were openly discussing the fact that a deal had been struck between the Reagan campaign team and some Iranian religious leaders in which the hostages' release would be delayed until after the elec-

COVER THEME

and March 1981, just weeks after Reagan became president. Two of the planes went down in mid-1981 and it was revealed that there was over \$30 million in U.S. arms and spare parts on one of them. The arms shipments

tion. Bani-Sadr claims to have seen proposals for the release of the hostages at that time that had nothing to do with the Carter administration. The former Iranian president also said that he would provide Congress with proof the Reagan administration illegally transferred arms to Iran if lawmakers decide to investigate the allegations. He claims to have copies of contracts regarding the delivery of sophisticated weaponry to Iran such as F-4 jet fighters. At press time, the congressional leadership has ordered a preliminary staff investigation of the allegations.

President Bush recently responded to Bani-Sadr's claims by saying, "I can only say categorically that the allegations about me are grossly untrue, factually incorrect, bald-faced lies." Bani-Sadr said at a press conference, "If Bush said nothing like this ever happened, then I think he is lying." Bani-Sadr and former Reagan-Bush campaign policy analyst Barbara Honegger were among the first to expose this story and are featured in the 1988 documentary *Coverup: Behind the Iran-Contra Affair*. Honegger authored the first article in the U.S. press on the October Surprise, which appeared in the June 24, 1987 issue of *In These Times*, and in 1989 published a book on the subject called *October Surprise*.

Bush's direct role in the alleged hostage deal hinges on his whereabouts from 10 p.m. October 18, 1980 until 7 p.m. October 19. Some observers believe this 22-hour gap would have allowed for a quick trip to Paris to meet with the Iranians. Heinrich Rupp, who claims to have worked for the CIA, says he flew Reagan-Bush Campaign Manager William Casey to Paris on the night of October 18, 1980, and he also claims to have seen then-vice presidential candidate George Bush in Paris. David Bates, Bush's personal aide during the 1980 campaign, tried to supply an alibi for Bush by saying that he thought he played tennis with Bush on October 19, 1980, but according to records collected by *Frontline*, it rained in Washington that weekend, making tennis on the outdoor courts highly unlikely. In a telephone interview, Barbara Honegger told *The Monthly Planet*, "Bush's alibi for that Sunday has as many holes in it as Swiss cheese." Honegger said the censored Secret Service documents that have been released relating to Bush's whereabouts that Sunday in October 1980 are "internally inconsistent."

Responding to the charges, President Bush told reporters on May 3: "Was I in Paris in 1980? Definitely, definitely no." He also denounced the evidence as nothing more than a "little word-of-mouth ugly rumor." White House spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater belittled the seriousness of the allegations by saying, "Gary Sick is the Kitty Kelley of foreign policy." Professor Sick has a well-established reputation for being a cautious scholar. President Ford first appointed Sick to the national security council and he was

The possibility that a deal was made between the Iranians and the Reagan-Bush campaign to delay the release of the hostages until after the November election — thus depriving Carter of an October Surprise to boost his standing in the polls shortly before election day — has re-emerged as a topic of discussion in the mainstream media.

.....
held over through the Carter and early Reagan administrations.

Joel Bleifuss wrote an excellent piece on the October Surprise in an April 1991 issue of *In These Times*. He interviewed the former Israeli intelligence officer mentioned above, Ari Ben-Menashe, who claims there were intelligence officers in the Carter administration working on behalf of the Republicans who had served under George Bush when he was CIA director. President Carter had earned the enmity of many CIA officers following his housecleaning of the agency that was prompted by congressional investigations into past CIA misconduct. Carter fired George Bush from the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) post, the first time a DCI was replaced for partisan reasons. (Bush had asked to be held over to smooth out the transition). Two of the CIA officers Ben-Menashe says Carter would have been wise to get rid of were Donald Gregg and Robert Gates, both of whom held prominent positions under Carter and Reagan. Gregg, a 31-year career CIA officer, served as the CIA's Chief of Station in South Korea during Bush's tenure as head of the agency. At the time of the hostage crisis, Gregg worked in Carter's National Security Council (NSC) as CIA liaison. After the 1980 election Gregg was named Vice President Bush's national security adviser and now serves as U.S. Ambassador to South Korea.

Robert Gates is also a career CIA officer who served in Gerald Ford's NSC. Under Carter, Gates was later named executive assistant to Carter's DCI Stansfield Turner. Gates' career later prospered under Reagan's DCI William Casey, and he rose to become deputy director of the agency. President Reagan tried to appoint Gates DCI after Casey's death in 1987, but Gates' involvement in the Iran-Contra

scandal led to the withdrawal of the nomination. In the Bush administration, Gates became the president's deputy national security adviser under Brent Scowcroft and now Bush has appointed Gates to succeed William Webster as DCI. As we go to press, it appears the Senate will confirm Gates' appointment to head the CIA, barring any new revelations about his role in Iran-Contra.

The U.S. government has brought suit against several individuals who claim knowledge of the October Surprise. The former Israeli intelligence officer, Ari Ben-Menashe, was indicted for selling three Israeli transport planes to Iran and spent almost a year in jail without bail awaiting trial. The government also prosecuted former CIA contract agents Heinrich Rupp and Richard Brenneke.

The Brenneke case is of particular importance because the government failed to prove that Brenneke was lying on two key points: that for 18 years he was a contract agent and pilot for the CIA, and that he met with Reagan-Bush campaign officials in Paris on October 20, 1980. In the fall of 1988, Brenneke told of his involvement in the October Surprise while testifying on behalf of his friend and fellow CIA contract agent, Heinrich Rupp, who was charged with defrauding a Colorado bank. Brenneke told the judge that the government prosecuted Rupp to discredit him and ensure his silence because Rupp flew U.S. officials and

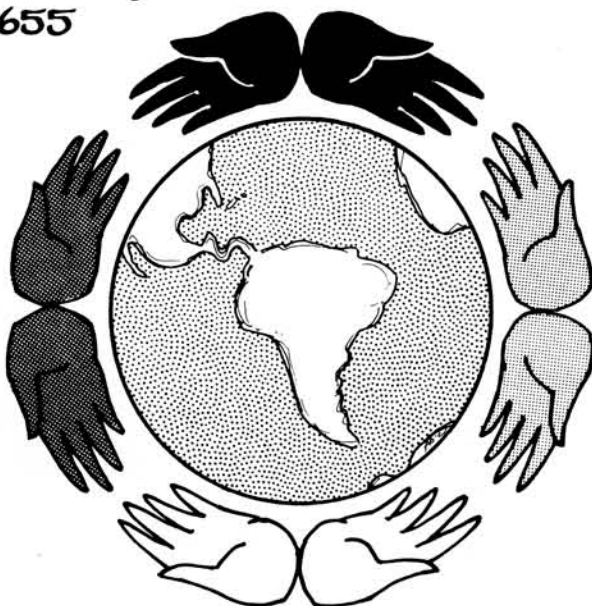
campaign aides to the secret Paris meetings as a CIA contractor. Brenneke testified that he had attended one of three meetings along with Donald Gregg, who was working in Carter's NSC at the time, William Casey, who was the Reagan-Bush campaign manager, and other American, Iranian, and French officials. Brenneke also claimed he worked for the CIA not only as a pilot, but as a money launderer, and showed in court that he was indeed an expert money launderer who had provided U.S. Customs agents with extremely accurate information about arms and drug traffic. Government prosecutors tried to prove Brenneke a liar by disproving his claims that he worked for the CIA, and proving that Gregg, Casey, and Bush were not in Paris on or about October 19-20, 1980.

After hearing testimony from government witnesses, many of whom represented the CIA in some capacity, juries unanimously acquitted both Brenneke and Ben-Menashe on all charges. A judge reduced Rupp's original 41-year sentence to two years. In each case the accused emerged from a legal examination of his claims with enhanced credibility.

In the spring of 1990 federal prosecutor Thomas O'Rourke spent nine days in court trying to prove Brenneke guilty of lying and failed. In a case that seemed to demand documents and records, tangible proof that Brenneke lied, government prosecutors

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relied on witnesses who merely asserted that they were the ones telling the truth. The government prosecutor offered no records documenting the whereabouts of Bush or Casey on the days specified in the indictment, Sunday, October 19 and Monday, October 20, 1980, a circumstance that several jurors found profoundly unsatisfying. Brenneke faced five "false declaration" charges and the jury only needed to find him guilty of lying in a single instance in order to convict him.

Donald Gregg and Richard Allen both testified against Brenneke in the trial. Gregg, who Brenneke said participated in the Paris meetings, testified that he could not have been in Paris that weekend because he was at a Delaware beach house with his wife and daughter. He produced a photograph of himself and his daughter at the beach, and a couple of other snapshots of his family, as "proof" that he was at the beach. But retired meteorologist Robert Lynott, called by the defense as an expert witness, told the court that the snapshots presented by Gregg could not have been taken that weekend; the weather on those days was dark and cloudy, not sunny and cloudless as the photos indicated.

The Portland, Oregon jury in the Brenneke trial was unimpressed with Gregg's testimony. His calendar, which the prosecution decided not to submit as evidence, had a blank space on October 20, 1980, the only blank Monday in October. Brenneke's attorney succeeded in getting Gregg to admit that he lied as part of his 31-year career with the CIA and asked Gregg to explain the CIA's concept of "plausible deniability." Gregg admitted that he routinely lied about his ties to the agency and often employed private citizens as "cut-outs" to help in secret operations. The CIA maintained that since Brenneke did not appear in any official agency personnel files, then he must not have been an employee of the agency. But the whole point of employing private citizens as "cut-outs" is to allow the agency to disavow any ties with contractors who launder money or fly secret missions, as Brenneke says he did for the agency. The jury did not find Gregg's and the CIA's denial of involvement with Brenneke "plausible." When reporters asked a juror why he ruled in Brenneke's favor, he said he did not believe Gregg's testimony at all, and when pressed why, the juror replied, "he's CIA."

Donald Gregg, while he served as Vice President Bush's national security adviser, met repeatedly with CIA operative Felix Rodriguez, who was running the illegal resupply of the Contras that was partially financed by profits from the secret Iran arms sales. A memorandum surfaced indicating that Gregg discussed the "resupply of the Contras" with Rodriguez at a time when he claims to have had no knowledge of the Iran-Contra operation. Gregg told the Iran-Contra committee that he found out about the operation in August 1986, but the memo of his meeting with Rodriguez to specifically discuss the

"resupply of the Contras" was dated September 1985. Gregg told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, during his confirmation hearings for the position of ambassador to South Korea, that the phrase "resupply of the Contras" (which appears three times in the document in question) was a "typographical error" that should have read "resupply of the copters," in reference to helicopters that were being legally shipped to El Salvador. Several committee members did not accept Gregg's claim, but the committee and the Senate approved his appointment. Even *The New York Times* said at the time of his confirmation hearing that Gregg "lacks credibility."

To help evaluate the plausibility of the October Surprise theory, let's place it in its proper historical context. Given the fact many of the politicians who currently run the Executive Branch acquired their political skills under the tutelage of Richard Nixon, we should begin by taking a brief look at the two successful presidential campaigns that the master of political dirty dealing waged in 1968 and 1972. The 1980 election would not have been the first time a Republican campaign team sought to manipulate U.S. foreign policy to help win a presidential election. The Nixon campaign did just that in 1968.

In *The Price of Power*, Seymour Hersh tells of a source inside the Lyndon Johnson administration who was leaking information to the Nixon campaign regarding the progress of negotiations between the United States and representatives of the warring factions in Vietnam. Reports that the Nixon campaign was deliberately trying to disrupt the peace talks so enraged President Johnson that he ordered the FBI and the CIA to find out who was leaking the details of the negotiations to the Republicans. The slightest progress in the pre-election peace talks would have strengthened the Democratic administration in the polls and could possibly have thwarted Nixon's presidential bid. The Republican camp managed to inform South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon that if he stalled the talks until after the election, the new administration would reward his government. Loren Baritz, in his book on the Vietnam War, *Backfire*, writes, "President Johnson was convinced that the Nixon camp had sabotaged the peace talks to win the election."

A member of the Nixon campaign team in 1968 who was aware of the secret contacts with South Vietnam was Richard B. Allen. Regarding the 1968 election, Allen later acknowledged that it was dangerous "to be screwing around with the national security." In 1980, Allen was a Reagan-Bush campaign official who became President Reagan's first national security adviser. Allen is alleged to have participated in contacts with Iranian representatives in October 1980 that led to the following agreement: Iran would hold the 52 American hostages until after the U.S.

"There are a very large number of people who really do believe this happened...I finally, I guess, passed a point where it was harder to explain away the people who were supposedly all lying to me for reasons that I couldn't understand than it was to believe that something in fact happened."

— Gary Sick

presidential election in exchange for cash, the unfreezing of Iranian assets, and arms.

In 1972, the Republicans, under Nixon's leadership, ran one of the most vicious and corrupt campaigns in United States history. Nixon set up the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) to run the campaign and hired CIA propaganda specialists such as Donald Segretti, who used CREEP money to harass Democratic contenders. Segretti fabricated press releases and campaign documents, making them appear to be from the Edmund Muskie and Hubert Humphrey campaigns. The Nixon team also employed thugs to spark violence at anti-war demonstrations, planted false stories in the U.S. press, and burglarized and wiretapped the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate hotel in Washington, D.C. Some of the players in the alleged Reagan-Bush campaign's hostage deal in 1980, such as William Casey and George Bush, were stalwart Nixon loyalists. It was during the height of the Watergate scandal in 1973 when then-President Nixon appointed George Bush to chair the Republican National Committee.

Facing impeachment, President Nixon resigned in August 1974 and his successor, Gerald Ford, appointed George Bush to be Director of Central Intelligence. The DCI not only heads the CIA but is the czar of the entire United States intelligence "community." President Ford appointed Bush to be DCI just after congressional hearings exposed a plethora of past CIA misdeeds. William Casey was Nixon's head of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and went on to chair the Reagan-Bush campaign in 1980. Casey served as Reagan's DCI until his death in 1987, and it is well documented that Casey either masterminded or at least played a pivotal

role in the Iran-Contra operation.

The Nixon campaign's corrupt practices in the elections of 1968 and 1972, government lying and misinformation during the Vietnam War, the revelations of CIA assassination plots and other clandestine activities, and the Iran-Contra scandal which involved the same types of secret arms deliveries to Iran that allegedly took place as part of the October 1980 hostage deal, all illustrate a sordid history of official deceit and corruption. In light of this history, the evidence now surfacing concerning a possible deal between the Reagan-Bush campaign and the Iranians is not a bizarre scenario. In fact, it could be seen as an almost inevitable outcome of 40 years of the development of the national security state. Since the passage of the National Security Act of 1947 there has been the continual growth of a "secret government," answerable to no one, with access to virtually unlimited taxpayer funds to conduct operations all over the world.


At a press briefing in Atlanta, following publication of Gary Sick's article, former President Jimmy Carter said of the October Surprise: "It's almost nauseating to think this could be true. I have looked upon it in the past as inconceivable. My only comment is I think there ought to be a more thorough investigation." House Speaker Thomas S. Foley said: "I think we need to explore the allegations. I've said many times that I hope these reports are not true." Former hostage Moorehead Kennedy, whose captivity was extended some 72 days if the reports are true, complained that Bush sidestepped "the more basic issue...that something probably happened." Kennedy, now a Republican Party official in New York City, believes there should be an investigation for the good of the country. Even *The Washington Post* has called for a complete airing of the facts. At press time, the Democratic leadership is considering whether or not to proceed with a full investigation.

Those who have come forward, such as former Israeli intelligence officer Ari Ben-Menashe, former CIA contract agents Richard Brenneke and Heinrich Rupp, former Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, and researchers Gary Sick and Barbara Honegger, have contributed to the public's awareness of what appears to be one of the most egregious political scandals of this century. Democracy is incompatible with the secrecy of the national security state, this archaic vestige of the Cold War. The corrosive effects of the secret government on the body politic must be openly addressed, and the Congress must be prodded into exercising its constitutional power to check the excesses of the chief executive. If the story of the October Surprise is true, nothing less than impeachment is called for.

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

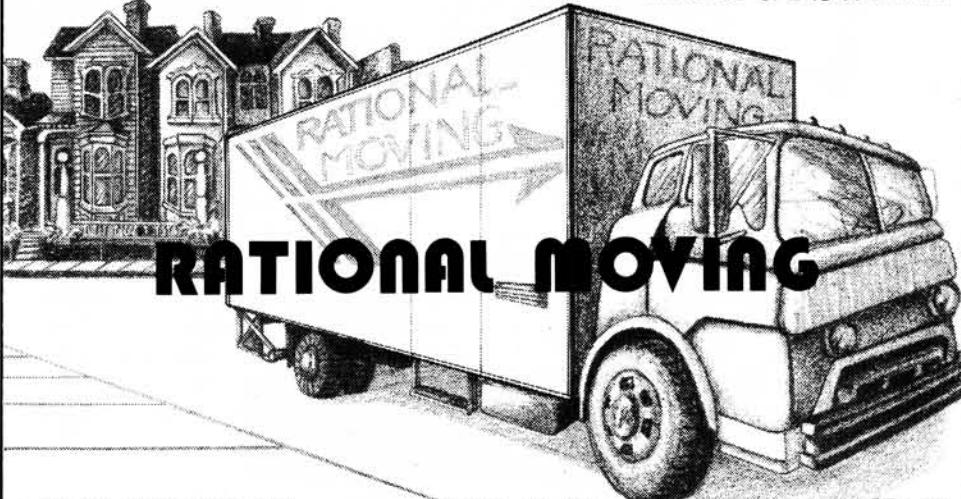
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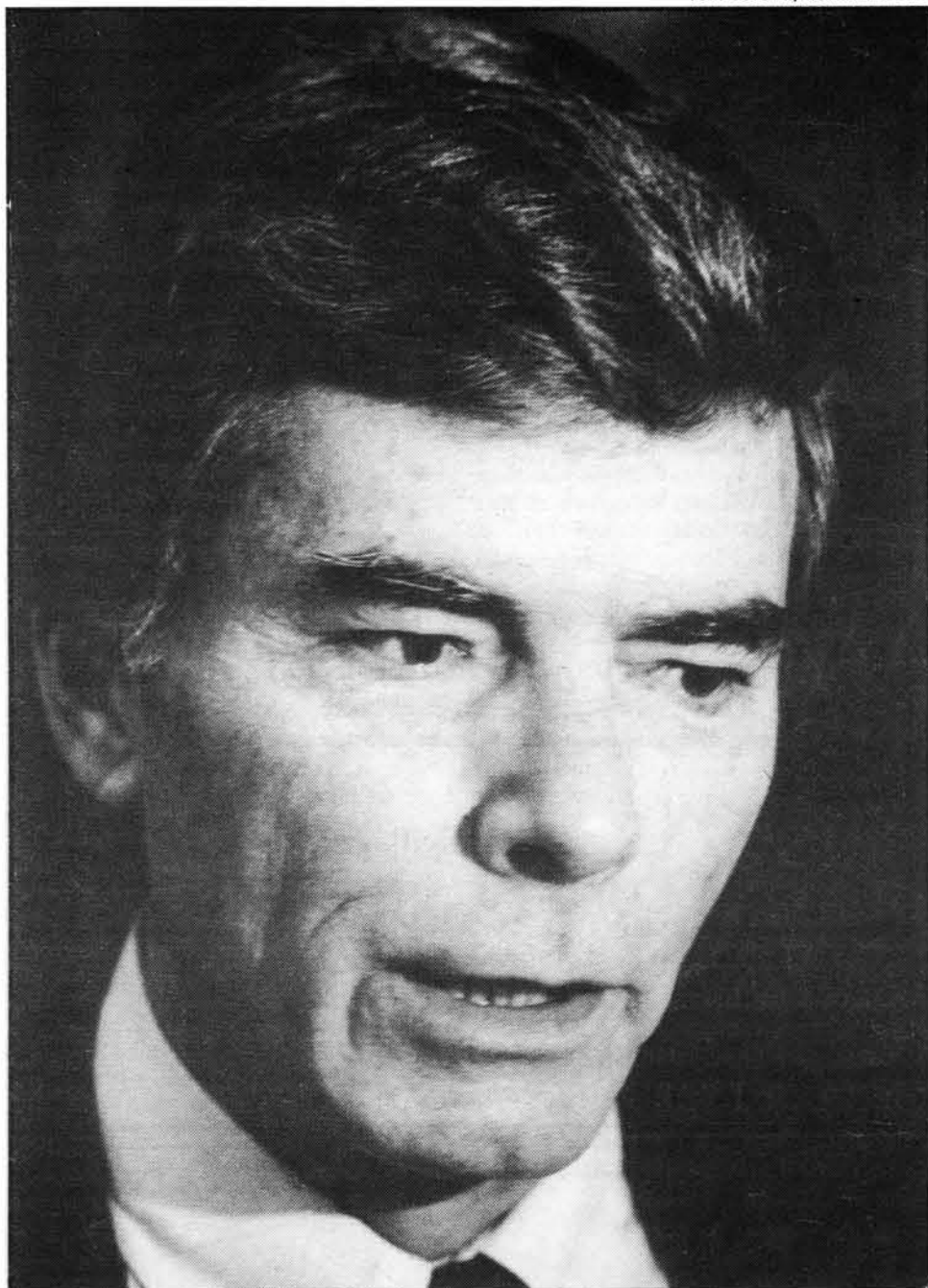
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DIRTY WORK WITH THE CIA

*Former Agent Philip Agee
Talks About "The Company"*

Philip Agee was the first CIA secret operations officer to go public in protest over the Agency's covert operations. He entered the CIA in 1957 and served in major posts throughout Latin America until he resigned in 1968. His work for the Agency included electronic surveillance, propaganda warfare, and provocation of military coups. His 1975 exposé, *Inside the Agency: CIA Diary*, was an international best-seller published in 28 languages. These revelations led to Agee's expulsion (under U.S. pressure) from five NATO countries, the revocation of his U.S. passport, and 16 years of exile. The story of these years is told in his autobiography, *On the Run*, published in 1987. In that year he risked prosecution by returning to the U.S. for an extended tour of lectures and political rallies.

This year he is back again, continuing to denounce CIA support of torture, political assassinations, death squads, and wars of intervention. On May 3rd, Agee addressed these issues in a speech in Santa Cruz entitled "Dirty Work with the CIA." Here are excerpts from his talk, lightly edited by Rick Vetrone and Joseph Fernandez.

ROOTS OF THE PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY

During the first four-and-a-half or five years after the end of World War II, the U.S. economy took a terrible nose dive. During that time the economy contracted by 20 percent and unemployment went from nearly nothing — 700,000 at the end of the war — to 4.7 million by January 1950. The major concern, or panic really, in the top level of the Truman administration was that the United States was showing all signs of going back to the awful conditions of the Great Depression of the 1930s. After all, it was only the war that had brought the United States out of the Depression. The concern was what to do to stop another depression from coming upon us.

The decision eventually taken at the top echelon of the Truman administration was military. It was to rearm the United States, and for the United States to finance the rearming of Western Europe. That's what NATO was all about. The purpose of this rearmament was to cure or to solve the problems of the slump in the U.S. domestic economy. After all, we had

for 100 years not been able to consume all that we produced, and the economy must be sustained through exports. Exports were not sufficient during those years to sustain the economy and that is why the slump occurred. The problem was the dollar gap. There were not enough U.S. dollars in Western Europe, particularly the NATO countries, to generate the imports to Europe from the United States. Those were the imports or the U.S. exports that were lacking and the problem was to get enough dollars over to Western Europe to generate those needed imports or exports from the United States. The way chosen was through U.S. financing of European rearmament. And the billions of dollars would then go over to Europe through what they called defense support grants. They were not loans; they were taxpayer money in the form of grants for the rearming of Western Europe.

This was all written up, in January 1950, in a very interesting document known as NSC 68. This document was top secret for 25 years, but in 1975, by error, it was released and published. It was written by Paul Nitze, who was then the Chief of the State Department Policy Planning Staff and who later became one of the principal arms negotiators for the Reagan administration. One of the key passages in this document read like this: "The United States and other free nations will, within a period of a few years at most, experience a decline in economic activity of serious proportions unless more positive governmental programs are adopted." The solution of course, the more positive governmental programs, was the expansion of the military. But there was not enough support in Congress to get this through at the time. In the public at large there was also opposition because of the additional taxes that this program would require. So

Truman could not get it through at the beginning.

It wasn't until the Korean War came along, starting in June 1950, that a solution for Truman appeared on the scene. You recall, some of you, that Korea had been occupied for some 20-odd years by the Japanese, that with the collapse of the Japanese in 1945 the United States liberated the southern portion of Korea, the Soviet Union the northern part, and between the United States and the Soviet Union the country was partitioned at the 38th Parallel into North Korea and South Korea. During those four or five years between the end of World War II and 1950 there were constant military clashes between the forces of North and South, with both sides threatening to reunify the country by force. Well, in late June 1950 the South Koreans made incursions against the North, the North Korean forces expelled them and continued into South Korea, with the South Korean forces retreating south without fighting — inviting in effect the North Koreans to follow them south.

The United States put through resolutions in the U.N. Security Council, similar to what happened in August and September of last year, calling on North Korea to withdraw, and authorizing the establishment of a military coalition to expel by force the North Koreans from the South. The United States rushed military forces to South Korea; some other forces were part of the coalition as well, and by September, three months after it all started, the North Koreans had been pushed back to the 38th Parallel in keeping with the U.N. Security Council Resolutions. It all would have ended right there if the United States had accepted a Soviet-sponsored resolution in the United Nations calling for an immediate cease-fire, countrywide elections, and the reunification of Korea. But Truman could not accept

SPEECH

that. He had other plans; he needed to manipulate this crisis and to prolong it, in order to get the leverage over Congress to get his remilitarization plans for the United States and Western Europe through Congress.

So what does he do? He exceeds the U.N. resolutions, invades North Korea, and suddenly U.S. forces were advancing rapidly toward the Yalu River. At that time, the Chinese Communist government — which had won control of China just the year before, defeating the U.S.-backed regime which escaped to Taiwan — threatened to intervene if the U.S. forces did not stop. But they didn't stop, they kept going toward the Yalu River, the boundary between North Korea and China.

And the Chinese did intervene. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops crossed the border. They stopped the U.S. forces; they forced the United States armies to retreat to the South. And I remember by November of 1950, the U.S. media were full of pictures of U.S. soldiers retreating through ice and snow before these hoards of advancing Chinese Communist troops. It was then that Truman seized the moment with all of this emotional content. He went on national radio, declared a state of national emergency, and said what Bush's remarks about our way of life being at stake reminded me of. He mustered all the hype and emotions that he could and he said: "Our homes, our nation, all the things that we believe in are in great danger. This danger has been created by the rulers of the Soviet Union." He also called again for massive increases in military spending both for U.S. rearmament and for Western Europe, quite apart from the needs in Korea.

Of course there was no threat from the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union had not caused that war to happen. But he attributed the Korean War to the Russians in order to create emotional hysteria, a false threat, and to get that leverage over Congress. He was successful. That deceit worked. During the first two years after 1950, that is until 1952, the U.S. military budget more than tripled from 13 billion dollars in 1950 to 44 billion dollars in 1952. This was apart from any expenses in Korea — it was for the U.S. financing of the rearmament of Western Europe. During that same two-year period the U.S. military forces more than doubled to 3.6 million. The permanent war economy was established and it has been with us ever since.

DOMESTIC CRISES AND FOREIGN POLICY

The root of the situation that we have today with this crisis in the Persian Gulf is that we need a justification for the continuing war economy. What is the advantage of continuing the war economy? Well, first of all it means that we do not solve the many domestic crises that we have. And we know, all of us, the litany of domestic crises that there are in this country.

"Imagine what would happen if the economy of the United States were converted to human purposes. We might have an informed electorate in this country, and substantial debate of issues...There might be even a threat of democracy in this country."

The crisis in education, for example. We have the worst educational system of all the developed countries — of all the Western industrial democracies as well as Japan. One in three in this country is illiterate, either totally or to the degree that they cannot function in a society based on the written word.

We have relatively scarce participation in the political process. That is, in the mainstream political process. Only two of three eligible voters registers to vote in this country, and of those who do register, only about 80 percent of them vote. Which means that about half of the eligible voters vote in national elections. And that means that we elect a man like George Bush as president of the United States with only 24 or 25 percent of the potential vote. There are lots of reasons why many people don't vote, but certainly not the least of them is the feeling that one more vote is not going to change anything.

We also have the crisis of poverty. Everyone knows that one in three in this country lives in poverty — either in absolute poverty, or in and out, or so close that they are never free from want. We know about the problems with the environment, with the infras-

tructure, with violence of all sorts everywhere that we see. We know the problem of finding a prevention and cure for AIDS. There are a whole litany of crises in the country — when you put them all together you really find a society in profound domestic crisis. Well, there's no reason why these crises can't be resolved. They can be eliminated and resolved. But they cannot be resolved if 65 percent or so of the whole national budget is going for military purposes.

Well, what would happen? Imagine what would happen if those domestic crises were resolved. Imagine what would happen if the economy of the United States were converted to human purposes. We might have an informed electorate in this country, and substantial debate of issues. Not the three major issues in 1988, which were: respect for the flag — or the sanctity of the flag; the pledge of allegiance; and this Willie Horton racist slur. We might have debate in the political process of substantive issues. We might have people clamoring to get into the political process. There might be even a threat of democracy in this country. There might even be a threat of a second

political party. There might be a threat to end the elitist control in the United States that has been with us for 200 years.

There are very good reasons why the people who now run the United States — that is Bush and those that Bush and his men serve — do not want to see the problems — that is, the domestic problems — in this country solved. Certainly they are not doing anything to solve them. That is one fact, but I don't think they really want to solve those problems — particularly drugs, for example. Imagine what the result of this drug problem is in the United States. Generations of young people who have everything to gain from fundamental change in the United States are taken out of the political process through their commerce or through the consumption. I'm talking about ghetto users who stand everything to gain from fundamental change because of their backgrounds. They are potential political activists, and they are neutralized through this drug crisis.

PURPOSE OF THE CIA

The so-called Cold War — which was always a standoff between the U.S. and NATO on the one hand, and the Soviet Bloc, that is, the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, on the other — has largely disappeared with the collapse of communism and the problems in the Soviet Union. But there was always another dimension — not East/West, but North/South. That war against the Third World continues today with all its racist content.

The United States and its allies are every day more dependent on the resources and the labor and the markets of the Third World. That is what George Bush intends to control. And his concept of a new world order or new international order is simply the institutionalization of the North/South dimension of the old Cold War — that is, the efforts to control the

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people and the resources of what is called the Third World.

The CIA was a very important instrument for the various presidents since the 1940s for waging the Cold War — especially the Cold War against the Third World. The agency was set up in 1947 with the National Security Act, which also established the National Security Council as the highest policy-making body in matters of foreign affairs, national security, and defense. This law established the CIA as the national intelligence service and it was established as an instrument of the president and the National Security Council. The CIA

“The reason why the CIA got involved with trade union operations was simply because in the United States working class movements have never been trusted. They have to be co-opted and controlled, as do youth and student organizations.”

does not really have its own agenda. It is told to do what it does by the president of the day.

The CIA was then sent to expand around the world, to set up offices and collect information, process the information, and then present it in a usable fashion to the president for his policy-making decisions. And I would say right here that I believe the United States needs an intelligence service. But we need an intelligence service that is used to keep the peace, not one that is used to wage terrorist war against defenseless peasants in Central America.

CIA COVERT ACTIONS

We need an intelligence service that is used to keep the peace, that is, to prevent war by accident or miscalculation with the Soviet Union. And the CIA has been doing that all along. So has the National Security Agency, the military services, and so forth. I'm

referring to the worldwide communications and the electronic emissions monitoring systems, to the overhead reconnaissance programs, the satellite programs. These are indeed very, very important for avoiding a nuclear war by accident or miscalculation. Those are intelligence operations, but covert action is something different. Covert actions are the attempts to interfere with the life of other countries in order to manipulate events and to influence the course of events in other countries. These have been going on since the very beginning.

At the very first meeting of the National Security Council in October 1947, with President Truman in the chair, the decision was taken — and this was just a month after Truman signed this National Security Act into law — at that very first NSC meeting the decision was taken to set aside ten million dollars for the CIA to intervene secretly in the Italian national

elections that were coming up in about six months time.

Why intervene like that, to try to buy, secretly, those Italian elections? Fear. The left had formed a coalition called the “Popular Bloc,” consisting of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and various others. And these political forces had been the backbone of resistance to some 20 years of fascism in Italy. They had of course come out of the fascist period, come out of World War II, with great strength and prestige. The fear was in Washington that these forces, the “popular bloc” on the left, would win the election. And so the 10 million dollars went to the Christian Democrats, the conservatives, and it was passed out through front organizations in Italy, through Italian-American organizations in this country, and through the Vatican. When those elections were held in April 1948, the Christian Democrats won easily.

But that wasn't the beginning and the end of CIA secret subsidies to the Christian Democratic Party or the right, conservatives in Italy. Over the next 25 years the CIA passed out more than 100 million dollars to the Christian Democrats, keeping them in power. As late as 1976 President Ford approved a six million dollar CIA subsidy program for the Christian Democrats for the elections scheduled for June of the year, 1976. The Christian Democrats favored in that manner with all of those millions of dollars by the CIA have been the dominant party in every Italian election since that first one after World War II in 1948. They just formed their 50th government, and the Christian Democrats again are dominating the Italian government.

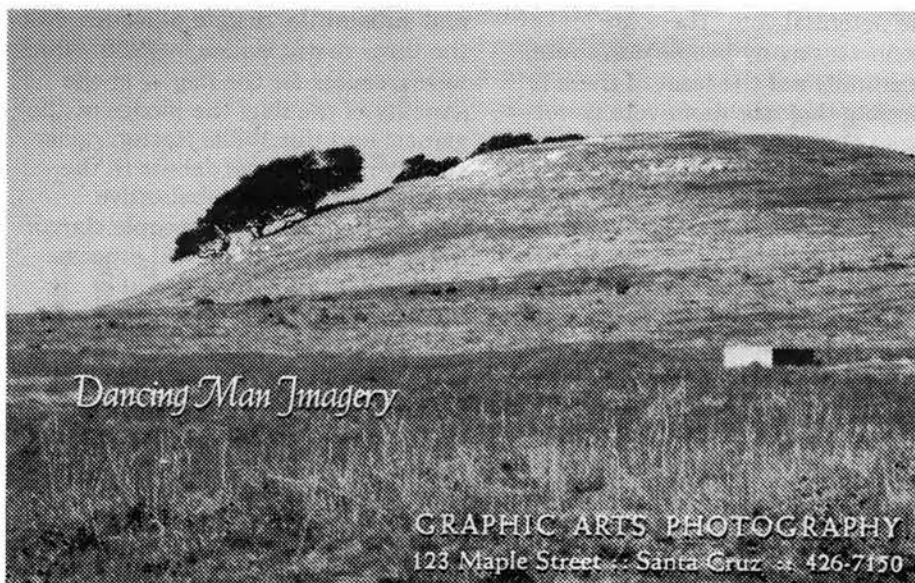
Multiply this type of activity many times and extend it all around the world and you get a better picture. I was involved in this type of operation in Latin America: giving money to political parties and making payments to political leaders — supporting the campaigns of various people who would be, in effect, co-opted by us in the political process.

Outside the electoral sphere, the CIA was also very active from the very beginning in the trade union field. Trade union operations were vast —

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WHAT'S NEXT

It is three months since the allies claimed victory in the Gulf. Some are still caught up in the euphoria of being on the right side of the conflict. Some are experiencing a nudge from their deeper consciousness as a realization of the magnitude of environmental destruction and loss of human life begins to take hold. Others, always aware and saddened by this war, are finding themselves going even deeper into introspection in their effort to make sense of what has happened. They wonder if in modern war there ever are any winners or is it always a no-win situation for all

involved. The Chinese symbol of crisis is a combination of ideograms, one meaning danger, the other opportunity. We as a nation and as individuals are at such a crossroad today. Which way will we go?

Joan is a licensed marriage, family and child therapist who has studied at the Jung Institute in Switzerland and who works at Redwood Therapy Center, 6005 Highway 9, Felton, a peaceful 15-minute drive from Scotts Valley, Santa Cruz, and accessible to all locations in the San Lorenzo Valley. She offers a sliding fee scale and takes insurance. Call Joan at 335-4210 for individual appointments or more information about her work.

"[The Constitution] is the root of all of these domestic crises. It is the root also, of the reason why, when we go out to vote today, and are selecting between the Republicans and Democrats, we're really only choosing between, on the one hand, Tweedledum, and the other, Tweedledee."

all the way around the world in countries, and internationally, with a network of international trade unions that would make you dizzy to go through. But it was very effective. The reason why the CIA got involved with trade union operations was simply because in the United States working class movements have never been trusted. They have to be co-opted and controlled, as do youth and student organizations. We were always subsidizing candidates in national student elections in Latin America, for example. These operations in the youth and student field were also worldwide.

Media operations was another area: everything from print media to television to radio to even cinema. Media operations mean roughly that the CIA pays a foreign journalist to publish the CIA's material as if it were the journalist's own. And U.S. media institutions were also involved all around the world by the CIA. Those media operations serve, and no doubt continue to serve, the same function as the mainstream media in the United States. That is: thought control, censorship, and social control.

There is another category of operations called liaison operations. Liaison operations are all those activities undertaken by the CIA with the intelligence and security services of other countries. The British service was the most important of the liaison services at the beginning because they had set up and trained the predecessor organization to the CIA: the OSS of World War II, Office of Strategic Services.

THE CIA AND FOREIGN SECURITY SERVICES

Early on the CIA began to establish internal security services for other various other countries. One of the first places was Greece, after the civil war in Greece, from 1947 to 1949, in which the U.S. intervened massively on the side of the ultra-right in Greece, and was successful. In the aftermath, the CIA set up an internal security service known as the KYP, or "keep," KYP being the initials in Greece for CIA; they have the same name. That service was the instrument through which the right in Greece stayed in power for 20 years. But in 1967, when their power was threatened through coming elections, the CIA and the KYP organized a military coup against the elected govern-

ment and replaced it with a so-called colonel's regime, a neo-fascist military regime which lasted seven years in Greece. And during those seven years, the KYP, with the support from the CIA, institutionalized torture as a method of political control, and thousands of Greeks were forced to go into exile for political reasons.

Iran is another place. In 1953, the CIA used its assets in the media and in military to stage a military coup against the elected — democratically elected — civilian government of the day, replacing that government with the Shah of Iran as a virtual military dictator. And in the aftermath of that CIA-fomented coup, the agency set up the SAVAK. The SAVAK was the Shah's secret police, the instrument through which he sustained himself in power for 25 years. It became famous the world over for its torture chambers and its assassinations of the Shah's political opponents.

I remember seeing, just after the fall of the Shah in 1979, footage from Dutch television of a torture center in Tehran — a torture center of this service, SAVAK. It was on the ground floor of a building and the floor was dirt. There were steel beds with four tiers or so, and these tiers were steel mesh. They would create or start a coal fire on the ground below the bed, and they would put the person to be interrogated on the top of the tier, and gradually move the person down, and down, and down until the person died from being barbecued.

I want to mention Guatemala also. Guatemala was a democratic government. They had a period of 10 years, from 1944 to 1954, of democratic reform. It was mild reform, nothing socialist, nothing communist about it, but it was mild reform in the areas of education and in land tenure. The CIA organized a military coup against that civilian-elected government in 1954, installed a military regime, and the military have ruled Guatemala ever since. From time to time there has been a figurehead president such as Cerezo who just went out and this other one just came in. But everybody knows that the military really rules Guatemala and has ever since that CIA-fomented coup in 1954. Well, in the immediate aftermath of the coup, the CIA establishes security services and in due time those security services spawn death squads. No one



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knows how many people in Guatemala have been killed during these years since 1954 by these death squads and security services that all through the years have received their guidance and training and information from the CIA. Some people say 100,000 people have been killed, some say 150,000 people. No one will ever know the truth because, of course, no records are kept.

El Salvador is another example, of course. For at least 10 or 11 years, I'm sure — in fact you can be as sure as you are of your name — the CIA has been working in El Salvador around the clock with the security services in that country; which is to say with the death squads themselves because the security services and the death squads are one and the same. The figures are not any longer 70,000 people killed, no longer 75,000 people killed, but now, apparently, it is up to 80,000 people killed in the most savage way. And these are not mass murders any more. They have a way — the CIA and those services — of identifying, through intelligence collection, any young leader in the student movement, in the trade union movement, in the human rights movement, and they pick those people up, they torture them to death, and then they throw the bodies along the streets or roads or they just make the bodies disappear.

**THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM:
THE U.S. CONSTITUTION**

When you consider what the United States has been doing abroad for more than 40 years, now — all of these grisly activities of the CIA, and support for the institutionalization of torture, for death squads, the overthrow of democratically elected civilian governments, plus, the overt military interventions, such as the most recent intervention in the Persian Gulf, wherein the United States slaughtered Iraqis by the tens of thousands — all of that raises a question. "Why do we do this as a society? Why do we as a nation do these terrible things abroad?" When I was in the CIA, as a trainee, I was taught that the Soviet Union's foreign policy, that is, its belligerence and its expansionism around the world, was a direct

"As long as we don't have fundamental, radical, basic change in the domestic system in the United States...then we are going to have these grisly foreign activities by such agencies as the Pentagon and the CIA, because those activities do serve the interests of a very few in the United States."

product of its domestic system, that is, of the needs of the Soviet Communist Party to maintain a monopoly of power in that country. And I think that any political scientist would agree that a society's or a nation's foreign affairs, its foreign policies, are a direct product of its domestic system. So if we want to answer the question of why we do these things abroad, we have to examine the domestic system in the United States.

When I came back to the country for the first time in more than 17 years in 1987, we were celebrating the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. As I watched that orgy of self-congratulation, I was reminded of a passage in Noam Chomsky's book about Central America called *Turning the Tide*. In that book he discusses where the Constitution came from: the Constitutional Convention of 1787 when 55 men met in Philadelphia that summer in total secrecy. More than 50 years passed before word one of what was said at the convention came out. They did not want anyone to know what they were doing because what they were about was a coup d'état against the old system under the Articles of the Confederation. They had met, supposedly, to find solutions to governing under the Articles of Confederation.

And as Chomsky writes, in the convention the question arose, "Who really is to govern the United States?" The answer came from John Jay. You will recall that John Jay was the president of the Continental Congress and the first Chief Justice of the United States, of the Supreme Court. John

Jay said, "Well, of course, the people who own the United States ought to govern it." And so they wrote the Constitution along those lines. In so doing, they wrote completely out of the political process 95 percent of the population: all the indentured laborers; all the men without property; all the Native Americans, because they were considered savages; all the African Americans, they were mostly slaves; and naturally half the population. In the end when they began the Constitution, "We the people of the United States," they were referring to themselves: 5 percent of the population. But who were those men who gathered in Philadelphia to write the Constitution and those that they represented? They were bankers, and lawyers, and merchants, and landowners, the slave-holders; in other words, the rich and the elite of colonial society. They wrote the Constitution to protect and enhance their private wealth and the power that went with it.

In so doing they enshrined in the United States that first human right, which comes far before any others, and that is the right to the accumulation of private property and the power that goes with it, and the exercise of that power. Other human rights, like the right to life, education, health care, housing, a job, and so forth — those are human rights which are practically not even mentioned, and if anything, in practice they come far down the line from that most sanctified first human right.

In 12 of the 13 states, the Constitution was ratified by the state legis-

latures, which were the counterparts to the men who wrote the document. The only state that submitted the document for public referendum was Rhode Island, and there, even with the small number of people who could actually vote, the Constitution was defeated 13-to-1. So you can see that there was opposition.

What's the point of going into the Constitution? Simply that the Constitution is the rules of the game by which we still live and organize our domestic society today. Despite some 20-odd amendments to the Constitution and 200 years of legislation, the Constitution is still the rules of the game which govern domestic society. It is the root of all of these domestic crises. It is the root also, of the reason why, when we go out to vote today, and are selecting between the Republicans and Democrats, we're really only choosing between, on the one hand, Tweedledum, and the other, Tweedledee.

As historians like Howard Zinn have pointed out, the Constitution was the original compact between the political forces in the United States to keep the political debate very narrow, and to make those rules of the game as hard to change as possible. That is where the problem starts, and as long as we don't have fundamental, radical, basic change in the domestic system in the United States by breaking the power of elitist control in this country once and for all, by establishing a real democracy, with real participation in government by the people of the United States, then we are going to have these atrocities, these grisly foreign activities by such agencies as the Pentagon and the CIA, because those activities do serve the interests of a very few in the United States. They serve the interests of George Bush and the elites that he represents. So the problem really, or the solution at least, will come in fundamental domestic changes within the United States.

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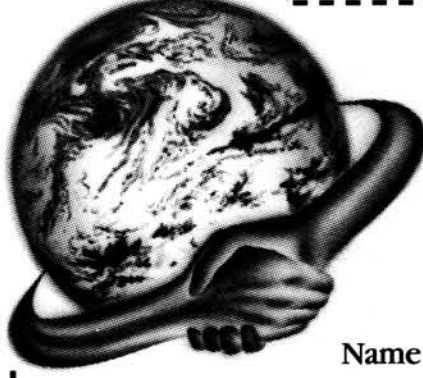
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- Amnesty International** 423-0323
134-E Blaine St., Santa Cruz 95060 Cheryl Bentley
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- Aptos Transmission Meditation Group** 688-6866
Box 2215, Aptos 95001
- Baha'i Faith** 688-0221
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106 Olca Ct., Los Gatos 95030 Tom Franklin
- Children's Creative Response to Conflict** 426-3381
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- Christic Action Team** 426-3254
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c/o 10094 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003 Penny Schantz
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- Committee for Impeachment** P.O. Box 7772, Santa Cruz 95061
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100 Church St., Davenport 95017 Amy Weiss
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303 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060

To update this information, or to add your organization, call The Monthly Planet at 429-8755.

**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, June 18 for inclusion in the July issue (publication date: Thursday, June 27).

thursday, may 30

Women and the Arab World. A study and discussion group with Muna Tamimi, Palestinian-American ESL Instructor at Laney College and activists with the

Palestinian Women's Association.
7-9:30 p.m. at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz.
\$3-5, sliding scale. For more information, call 423-1626.

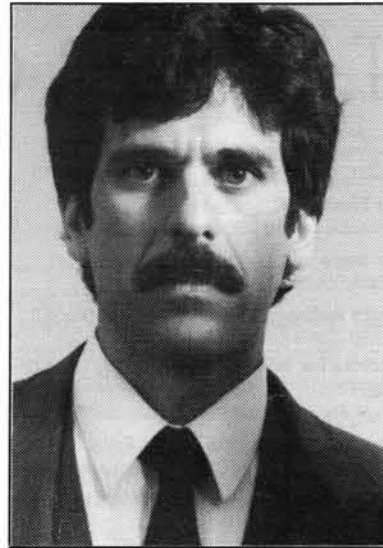
friday, may 31

Post-War Media Propaganda. Norman Solomon presents a video of Ramsey Clark in Iraq on large screen TV. Stevenson 150 at UCSC, 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Santa Cruz Students for Social Responsibility. \$1-\$3 donation. Info: 458-2719.

Environmental and political singer/songwriters Shoshanna Crow and Sev Williams. At The Gathering Place in Ben Lomond, 7 p.m. The show is free. For more info, call Sev at 458-9975.

saturday, june 1

Organizing for the Future: The Gulf Crisis as a Point of Departure. Join community activists in a day-long discussion. 9:30 a.m.-4 p.m., Calvary Episcopal Church Parish Hall, corner of Lincoln and Cedar Sts. \$1-\$5 donation. For more information call Deena Hurwitz at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 423-1626.



Santa Cruz' favorite media analyst, Norman Solomon, will speak on "Post-War Propaganda: Detecting Bias in the Media from The Santa Cruz Sentinel to The New York Times," Wednesday, June 12, 7:30 p.m., at the Loudon Nelson Center.

Training for certified massage practitioners interested in working with people with HIV/AIDS. Sponsored by the Santa Cruz Aids Project. 9 a.m.-4 p.m., pre-registration required. First session was May 29. Call Darlene at SCAP: 427-3900.

saturday & sunday, june 1-2

Natural Foods Tasting Fair. Live music, entertainment, samples from natural food vendors and organic farmers and refreshments will be provided throughout both days to celebrate Community Foods' 20th anniversary. Front parking lot, Community Foods, 2724 Soquel Ave., Santa Cruz, 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Info: 462-0458.

sunday, june 2

March for a Peace Economy, the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze Ninth Annual Walk-A-Thon. The walk will begin at 9 a.m. at San Lorenzo Park and will follow a 10-kilometer route through the city of Santa Cruz. The walker who raises the most money will win a new mountain bike. The walk will culminate in a rally at the park beginning at noon. This march benefits the Freeze's work on the Peace Economy Campaign; the goal of the PEC is to draw the connections between excessive military spending and unmet human needs, and to lobby for a change in federal spending priorities. Info and sponsor sheets: 458-9975.

Post-War Propaganda

Detecting Bias in Media from the Santa Cruz Sentinel to the New York Times

A discussion with **Norman Solomon**

Co-author of *Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in Media*

Wednesday, June 12, 7:30 pm

Louden Nelson Center

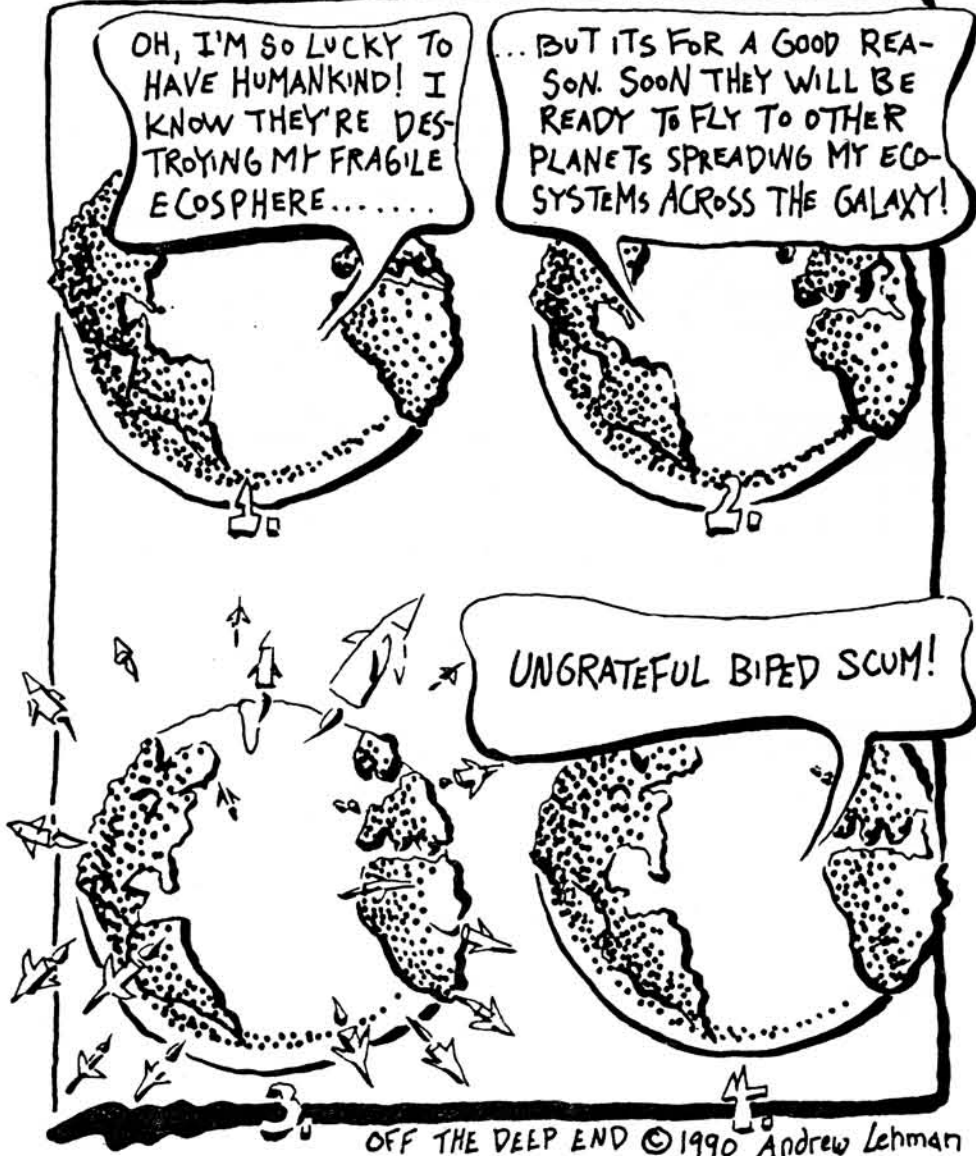
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\$3-10 sliding scale; benefits the Nuclear Weapons Freeze

Call 458-9975 for more information



EARTH FAILING AS THE MARTYRED MOTHER



Training for certified massage practitioners interested in working with people with HIV/AIDS. See Saturday, June 1.

Vigil For a Lasting Peace. Window-on-the-Bay Park, Camino El Estero and Del Monte Ave, Monterey. Sponsored by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Call 372-6001 for more information.

Cultural Roots of Violence. A discussion with Rose Hauer sharing some anthropological findings from Mexico. 3-5 p.m. at

the Community Room of the Monterey Library, Pacific and Madison Streets, Monterey. Sponsored by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Call 372-6001 for more information.

monday, june 3

"Helping Those Who Don't Want Help," (using intervention to get substance abusers into treatment), a free public workshop. Loudon Nelson Community Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 7:30 p.m. Info: 476-4656.

wednesday, june 5

"Civil Rights in the '90s". A talk by Tony Hill of The Alliance for Improved Race Relations, and former NBC and ABC newscaster Beverly Hinton. Trinity Presbyterian Church, Melrose and Poplar Streets, 11:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m. Sponsored by The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. For more information call: 425-7618.

thursday, june 6

The Role of Religion in the Arab World. A study and discussion group, 7-9:30 p.m. at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. \$3-5, sliding scale. For more information, call 423-1626.

National Organization for Women (NOW) monthly general meeting. Temple Beth El, 3055 Porter Gulch Rd., Aptos, 7 p.m. Info: 335-7704.

friday, june 7

Mural dedication, "In Celebration of Family," by artist/designer, Gerry Peck-Hanley, to the Soquel Nursery School, in honor of the family of All Nations to signify World Peace. 410 Old San Jose Rd (adjacent to Soquel High), 5-7 p.m. Free admission, refreshments served.

saturday, june 8

What We Can Do to Help Save Our Planet. A talk by John Robbins, the author of the Pulitzer Prize-nominated book *Diet for a New America*. 7 p.m., First Congregational Church, 900 High Street, Santa Cruz. Call Adam Patton at 476-1989 for more information.

Advancing Thunder—a performance of



The San Francisco Mime Troupe returns to Santa Cruz on Friday, June 28 to present "Back to Normal," a play about a soldier returning from the Persian Gulf. The show starts at 8 p.m.

Music as Ceremony, in honor of the Goddess Mother Earth. Pacific Cultural Center, 1307 Seabright Ave., 8 p.m. prompt. Concert: \$5 at the door. Thunder Drumming session following concert. \$12 for both concert and drumming session, \$10 for drumming session only. (Price of tickets to be discounted off purchase of drum.)

sunday, june 9

Magda Enriques, FSLN representative, speaks on the current situation in Nicaragua and will discuss possible sister-city relationship. Brunch, 11a.m.-2:30 p.m. 717 Walnut Ave. Sponsored by Coalition for Nicaragua. Info: 335-7164.

continued on page 34

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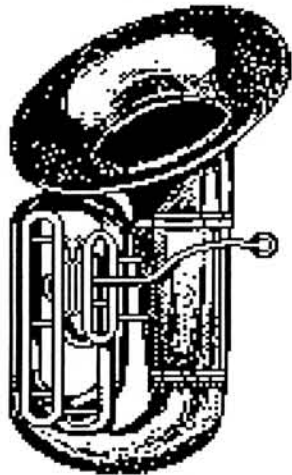
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Broken English

SUNDAY, July 7th
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SUNDAY, July 21st
**Sean Seaman
& Friends**

SUNDAY, August 4th
Homefire

SUNDAY, August 18th
Soul Drivers

JUNE TEENTH
SUNDAY, June 15th

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wednesday, june 12

**"Post-War Propaganda: Detecting Bias
In the Media** from the *Santa Cruz
Sentinel* to *The New York Times*." A
discussion with Norman Solomon. 7:30
p.m. Louden Nelson Center, 301 Center
St. \$3 to \$10, sliding scale. A benefit for
the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Call Sev at
458-9975 for more information.

saturday, june 22

Fifth Annual Japanese Cultural Fair,
celebrating the cultural diversity of the
Japanese people. Scheduled guests
include nationally-acclaimed actress
Nobu McCarthy and members of the East
West Players of Los Angeles, actor/
playwright Lane Nishikawa, the famed
Taiko Dojo of San Francisco, and
comedienne Amy Hill. Many facets of
Japanese heritage from flower arranging
to meditative and martial arts will be
offered, including over 30 booths of
artists, craftspeople, business and
community groups, as well as a variety of
food and beverages. Mission Plaza,
Santa Cruz, noon to 6 p.m. Free
admission. For applications and info:
475-2115.

friday, june 28

The San Francisco Mime Troupe
presents "Back To Normal," a play about
the adventures of a young soldier
returning from the Persian Gulf. Santa
Cruz Civic Auditorium, 8 p.m. Tickets are
\$8 in advance or \$10 the day of show.
Tickets for children are \$5 in advance
and \$6 the day of show. Available at the
Santa Cruz Action Network, 108 Locust
St #13, the Civic Auditorium Box Office
and Cymbaline Records. A benefit for
SCAN. Call 458-9425 for more
information.

ONGOING EVENTS

MONDAYS:

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., Louden
Nelson Center, 301 Center Street. Info: 335-7164.

San Lorenzo Valley Peace Coalition meetings — Every other Monday — June
10 and 24 at United Methodist Church, Boulder and Mountain Sts., Boulder
Creek, 7 p.m. Info: 338-7040.

Santa Cruz Action for Big Mountain meets at the Louden Nelson Center, 7
p.m. 1st meeting of the month: videos and speakers, 2nd and 3rd meetings:
planning and organizational, 4th meeting: coalition and alliance building. Info:
464-8633.

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

TUESDAYS:

Persian Gulf Peace Committee — Meets the 2nd and 4th Tuesday of the
month. Usually at Louden Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 7:30 p.m.
Info: 427-2024.

"Open Michelle," a women's open mike. 7:30 p.m. Come early to sign up for a
performance spot. Women only. YWCA, 303 Walnut St.. \$1 donation at door.
Info: 429-7924.

"The Open Door," a drop-in support group for battered women. 7-9 p.m., Free.
YWCA, 303 Walnut St. Call 425-5525 for information or to request childcare.

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 Alan Lamb.
Info: Wendy at SCAP 427-3900.

WEDNESDAYS:

Santa Cruz Greens regular meeting. Meets first and third Wednesday of the
month. Environmental Resource Center, 1319 Pacific Avenue, 8 p.m. Info: 335-
3216 or 476-5957.

Christic Action Team meeting. The group works cooperatively on upcoming
public information events and education outreach materials. Public input and
participation is welcome. 7:30 p.m., 509 Broadway. Info: 426-3254 or 426-2292.

THURSDAYS:

Parenting for the '90s: Preparing for the Drug-Free Years. A five-week
prevention program recommended for parents of children under 13 to minimize
the possibility of involvement with drugs and alcohol. June 13-July 18 (no class
July 4), Louden Nelson Center, \$15 materials fee donation. To register call 458-
4101 or 438-3521.

AIDS/ARC Support Group meets Thursdays 4-6 p.m. Facilitator: Alan Dampsey.
Call for info and registration: 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.

Support Group for Family and Friends of People with AIDS. Alternate
Thursdays 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. No fee. Call for info and registration: Wendy at SCAP,
427-3900.

HIV Treatment Update Group. Meets 7 p.m. first Thursday of every month at
SCAP office. Information on experimental treatment for HIV. Info: Wendy at
SCAP, 427-3900.

SATURDAYS:

Bystander CPR. Second Saturday of the month. 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.-1 p.m. Pre-registration required. Info: 426-3062.

SUNDAYS:

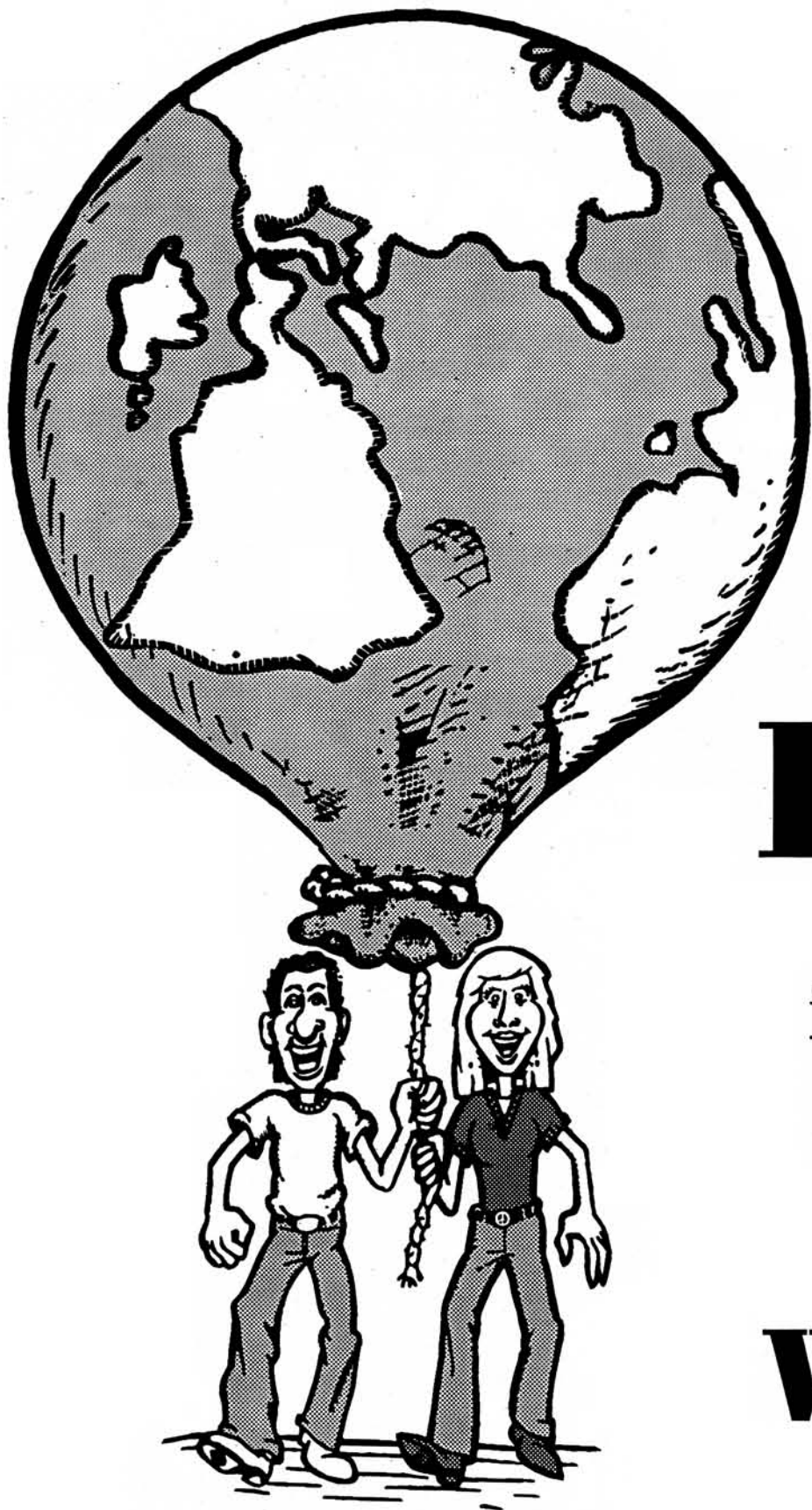
Earthbeat. A KZSC (88.1 FM) program in search of justice, peace and environ-
mental sanity. Featuring news, music, spoken word, and special guests. Hosted
by Tom Kruzik, 6:30-7:30 p.m.

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

Consider the Alternatives radio program from SANE/FREEZE on KAZU (90.3
FM), 4 p.m. An international affairs program airs 4-5:15 p.m. Info: 375-7275.

Vigil for Lasting Peace. First Sunday of each month, 12-2 p.m., Window-on-
the-Bay Park, Camino El Estero and Del Monte Ave., Monterey. Sponsor: WILPF.
Info: 372-6001.

WILPF, Monterey Branch, Membership Meeting. First Sunday of each month,
3-5 p.m., (following vigil), Monterey Library Community Room, Pacific and
Madison Sts. Info: 372-6001.



**MARCH
FOR A
PEACE
ECONOMY**

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WALK-A-THON**

10 kilometers

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Other prizes: lunch for two at Seychelles Restaurant; \$25 gift certificates to local record stores; and March For A Peace Economy T-shirts.

Call 458-9975 for sponsor forms and more information.

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