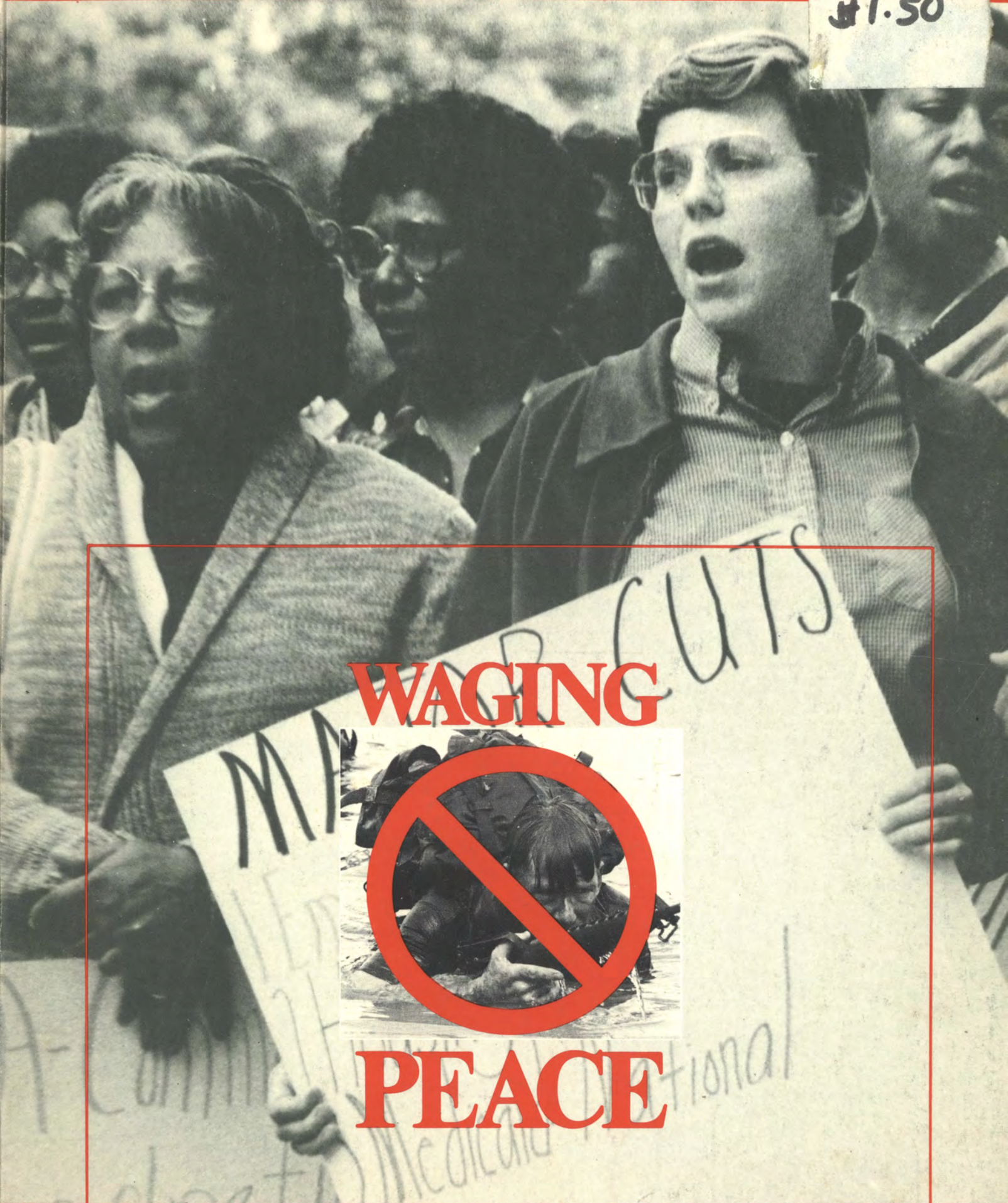


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WAGING



PEACE

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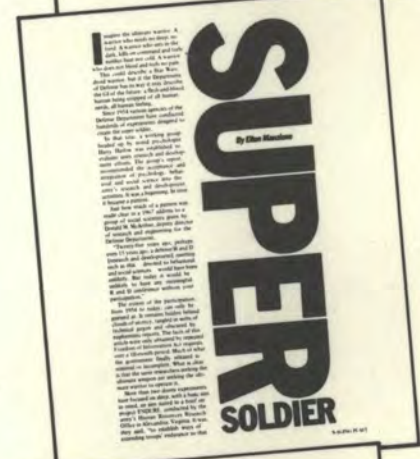
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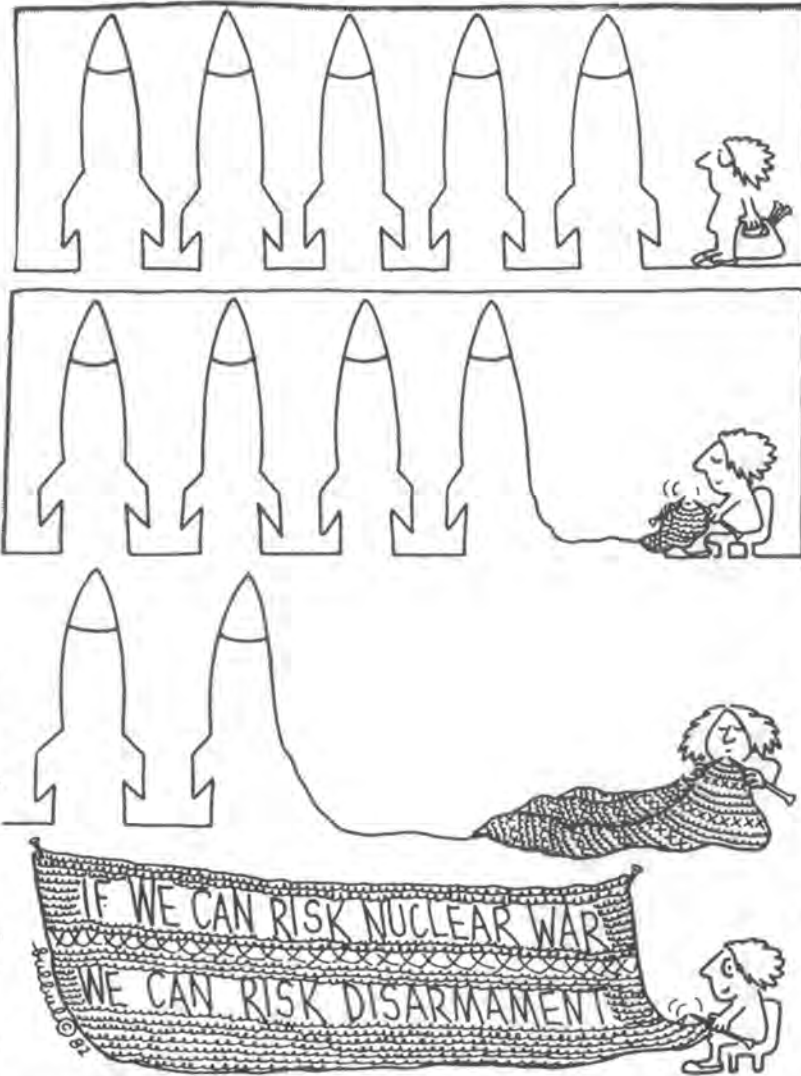
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WAGING PEACE



In 1973, *Southern Exposure* published Volume I, Number 1, "The Military and the South." That issue grew out of two parallel movements, the civil-rights and the anti-war movements, which when they joined forces, rocked the foundations of American society. While the Vietnamese resisted the supposedly irresistible American military, people in the South and the U.S. stood up to say they were tired of being sent off to die, tired of being told that the costs of a war in Asia came before the needs of people in the United States.

The war in Southeast Asia ended in 1975, but our nation's resources did not get redirected toward overcoming economic and social inequities on the home front. In fact, under Nixon, Ford and Carter, the government drifted away from even the level of progress that had occurred during the war-burdened '60s. Despite its apparent rout in the wake of Watergate, the right gained ground with unprecedented rapidity. Progressive groups, forced onto the defensive, found themselves struggling to hold fast on hundreds of separate fronts.

The rise of the right, funded by corporate wealth, reached its peak with the coronation of Ronald Reagan in 1980, at which time the drift in American society away from justice became an explicit and forced death march. The policies of our current government have one end product in common: death. Its military policies — including direct interventions, military aid to repressive governments, sales of armaments by the government and corporations — kill people directly. The domestic policies kill people by taking away food, housing, health, jobs. U.S. foreign policy

kills people throughout the world the same way it does at home: by taking away the means of life.

With all pretense of justice or fairness removed, the recent federal budgets — the money that pays for the policies — are stimulating the same outcry and resistance which helped end the Vietnam War. People of all races,

all ages, all nations are building a movement that says no to death and yes to life.

With "Waging Peace" we hope to contribute to the struggle to recall and reforge traditional Southern progressive alliances. The articles here present the barriers to ending the militaristic move towards death, admitting the breadth, depth and the complexity of those barriers. We also present people striving for a solution; their stories provide models, resources and inspiration for continuing and building our movement.

The seeds of a new force for life exist: in unemployment and food stamp lines, in congregations of every religion, in union halls and overcrowded classrooms, in deteriorating public housing and in closed libraries. With "Waging Peace" we intend to help build links between the committed members of the traditional peace groups and people from this much wider range of constituencies, including people from civil-rights, women's, religious, neighborhood and workers' organizations. Through a self-conscious process of cooperation, the advocates of international peace can build the organizations and thinking that can defeat those who are taking our communities and our nation down the path to the last war.

— Marc Miller for *Southern Exposure*

The Achilles heel of the organized peace movement in this country has always been its whiteness. In this multi-racial and racist society, no all-white movement can have the strength to bring about basic changes.

And basic changes are what we are talking about when we set as our goal pulling this nation back from the nuclear precipice. Thousands of people can call for a nuclear freeze within our present economic and social structures, and it is good that they are doing so. But the nuclear arms race will continue unless we organize the movement that can make a total change in the priorities of our country — turn it away from its suicidal obsession with weapons of death, and set it to using its resources for life and human development.

It is axiomatic that basic changes do not occur in any society unless the people who are the most oppressed move to make them occur. In our society, it is people of color who are the most oppressed. Indeed, our entire history teaches us that when people of color have organized and struggled — most especially, because of their particular history, black people — we have moved in a more humane direction as a society, toward a better life for all our people.

There is growing recognition of all this within white peace organizations, and there have been conscious efforts to broaden the organized peace movement to include people of color. At least some peace organizations have made efforts to deal with the internal racism that makes this a formidable task.

All this is to the good, but it is not enough. *If we would meet the challenge of our times, we who are white must stop thinking in terms of bringing people of color into "our" peace movement.* The crisis of humanity around the globe requires something more of the people of this country at this moment. What is required is the building of an entire *new* peace movement — one grounded in the grassroots of communities across our



A call to **ACTION**

By Anne Braden

nation, and multi-racial, with a substantial part of its leadership coming from people of color. We who are white have a critical role to play in the building of such a movement, but we will not necessarily be the leaders of it; in fact, most of us will not be,

and our old organizational forms must give way to new ones.

I believe that for two reasons the best possibility of beginning to build this movement is in the South: the record of the black South, and the peculiar history of the white South.

The history of our region gives the lie to a debilitating myth, prevalent in the organized white peace movement, that blacks, in general, are not interested in anti-war movements. They are so weighted-down with the job of surviving, so the popular wisdom goes, that they have no energy left to think about matters of foreign policy and world affairs.

Traditionally, in our region, anti-war movements were *not* separate from the Civil Rights Movement. My own memory on this dates back to the late 1940s — when I was first active in social-justice movements. The same people, black and white, who were demanding an end to the post-World-War-II terror against blacks were organizing to stop the nation's drive toward World War III. Paul Robeson was touring the South on behalf of the Progressive Party, calling for equality at home and a new world view that ruled out war. The first “freedom rides” to oppose segregation on interstate buses in the South were made up of whites and blacks — in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality — who had been in jail for opposing the draft in World War II. When peace organizations met in the South, they usually found a haven in black churches. Later, Southerners who opposed the Korean War were the same people who were struggling to end segregation.

The South then was the closest thing to a police state that this country has ever known; the people who ran it, in their passion to preserve segregation, had to set up police-state mechanisms that restricted everyone. It seems only natural, in retrospect, that the same people who dared risk livelihood, life and limb to oppose the South's racial patterns also had the courage to oppose the nation's destructive foreign policy. Usually these people were black, although a significant minority of whites also took a stand.

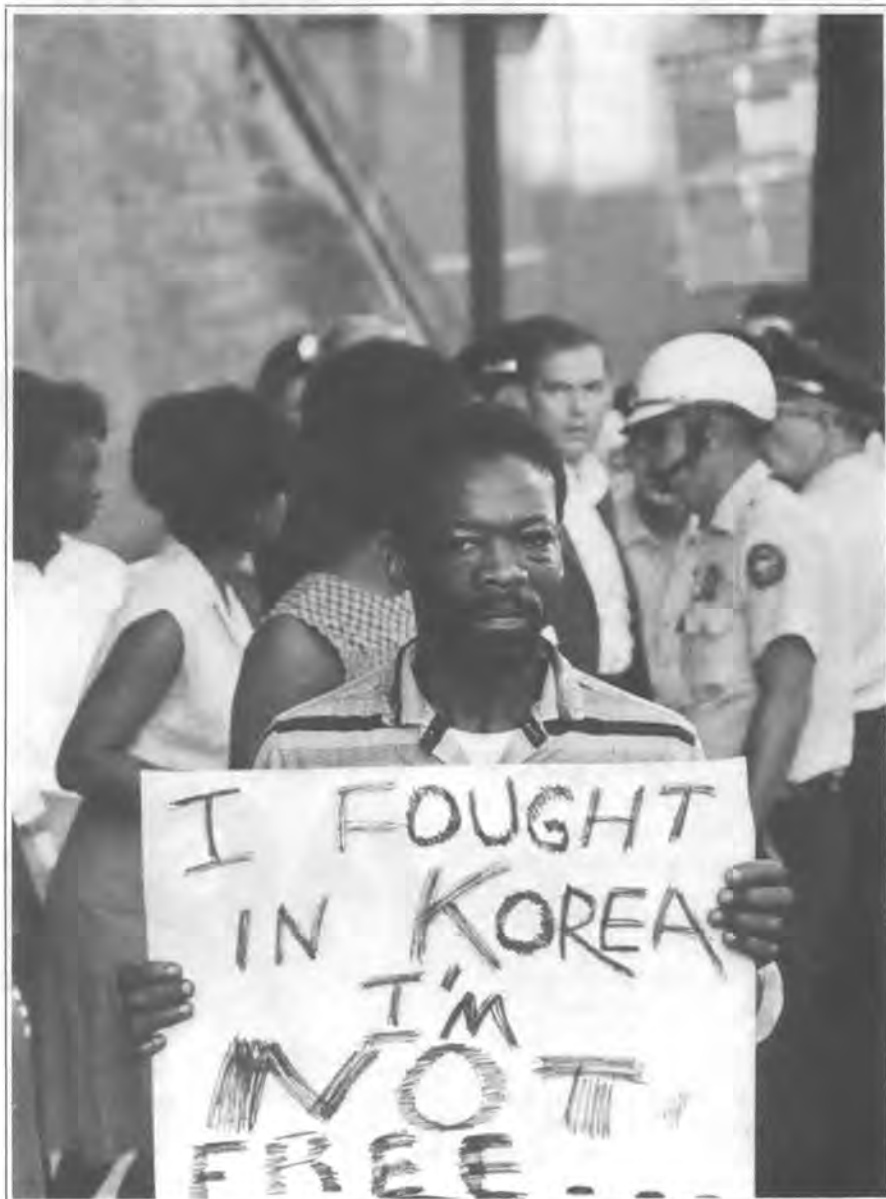
It was the mass black movement that developed in the mid-'50s that broke the back of the South's semi-police state and opened it up to a variety of movements for social change. So in 1962, when a militant pacifist group, the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), started organizing marches against nuclear weapons, they sent one march South. Most of the marchers were white,

and they agreed at the outset that they would stay away from the Civil Rights Movement. The reasoning was that they should not “burden” that movement with “another issue.”

That separation fell of its own weight the minute the marchers reached the South. The people who welcomed their controversial march were of course those who had already had the courage to stand up against the South's social patterns. Black churches opened their doors to them, and the black movement opened its heart. A year later, a second CNVA march through the South was well-integrated with the Civil Rights Movement, and some of the participants ended up in jail in Georgia.

Then, as the Vietnam War esca-

lated in the mid-'60s, the first Southern organization to oppose it was the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) — that organization led by young blacks that provided the shock troops of the civil-rights movement. Again in retrospect, it seems natural that these young blacks who faced death on the dirt roads of Mississippi marched to the army induction center in Atlanta to say no to the draft — the first demonstration at an induction center in the country. Some of those demonstrators later went to prison for years. The next Southern organization to speak against the war was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (who had individually taken a stand even ear-



ATLANTA INDUCTION CENTER, 1966

photo by Rufus Hinton

lier), and then the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an interracial group.

The whole nature of the national anti-draft movement changed when SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael began touring Southern campuses, saying "Hell no, we won't go." Black youth, and many whites, were electrified when Muhammad Ali issued his famous statement: "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." And the entire peace movement reached a new level when Dr. King raised his eloquent voice in a call not only for an end to the war, but for new priorities for the country, putting human life first.

People responded. I remember hearing Dr. King speak in a black church in Louisville, Kentucky, in

before the national mass movement around it. Just this past summer, in 1982, it was a black organization, SCLC, which organized a pilgrimage across the South, stopping to knock on doors in 64 communities, and everywhere raised the demand that the nation stop the nuclear arms race and put its resources to work for people's needs. In August, 1982, Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta spoke at SCLC's twenty-fifth anniversary convention in Birmingham and issued a clarion call for an end to the arms race and new priorities for the country.

Perhaps the myth that blacks are not interested in these issues has been perpetuated because white people in positions of power have continually

prison in North Carolina on false charges, became a prime target not only because of civil-rights activity but because he counseled black youth to resist the draft. And the fury that descended on Martin Luther King when he spoke against the war is well known.

In more recent years, with the nation as a whole turning a deaf ear to the black freedom movement, the usual way of handling positions of black leaders and organizations on foreign policy is simply to ignore them. No national press reported Mayor Arrington's stand against war. SCLC's very important grass-roots organizing work on its 1982 pilgrimage received very little media attention at best. Where it was reported it was



photo by James Guillot

CONTINENTAL WALK, 1976: ANNE BRADEN IS AT CENTER RIGHT

1967. He came there to support a mass movement for open housing, but the greatest applause came when he called for an end to the war.

Later, in 1976, the War Resisters League organized the Continental Walk to remind us that our government had launched a new military buildup. The walk had several prongs, all headed toward Washington. In the North and West, the participants were almost entirely white. In the South, starting in New Orleans and moving up through the South, with the support of SCLC, the marchers were almost entirely black. It was we who are white who failed, although some of us tried, to involve white Southerners in this action.

In the late '70s, Richard Arrington, the black mayor of Birmingham elected as a result of the Civil Rights Movement, issued the nuclear freeze petition as a proclamation, long

told them they should not be. Even among sophisticated white liberals, there has been a tendency to recognize, sometimes grudgingly, a legitimacy in the struggle of blacks for their right to equality — but to assume that when they exercise this right by speaking on such "larger issues" as war and foreign policy they are stepping out of "their place."

In fact, the greatest fury of the power structure is reserved for blacks who act on these issues. It was, for example, when SNCC opposed the Vietnam War that the attacks intensified which eventually destroyed it. When Julian Bond supported that anti-war position, the Georgia legislature sought to bar him from the seat he had won at the polls. When Muhammad Ali resisted the draft, he was stripped of the title he had won in the boxing ring. Jim Grant, one the Charlotte Three who were sent to

usually presented simply as a march for renewal of the Voting Rights Act, which was only one of a number of sweeping demands SCLC was making. The media apparently recognized SCLC's concern for the Voting Rights Act as legitimate, but not the fact that it was calling on the country to change its basic direction. Andy Young's speech in Birmingham was a major statement on national policy by the mayor of a major city — but the white Birmingham press printed only one paragraph on it and nothing on his attack on militarism.

We who are white and seeking to build a new peace movement in the South must not be as blind as our national policy makers. New leadership on this issue is developing within black communities, and whites must

There are six ways in which we understand racism, militarism and economic injustice to be interrelated:

- **Where and why wars are fought.** A glance at history shows that every military conflict, declared war or otherwise, has been over control of land and resources. Historically, people of color have borne the brunt of the world's great wars of domination in conflict-related deaths, economic exploitation, political repression and poverty; for it is the land, resources and human labor of the Third World that the Western powers have consistently fought over. Armed and trained by the largely white, industrialized countries, armed forces now control the machinery of government in 54 countries of the developing world. Half of these countries are among the poorest in the world.

- **The psychological mechanism for waging war.** The ability of a country to wage war or to conquer another people depends on instilling "enemy thinking" in the mind of the populace. Enemy thinking in turn depends on racial and cultural stereotyping. Native Americans were conquered and almost obliterated by European colonizers who viewed the Indians as "brute savages." Slavery was made possible through an ideology which described blacks as subhumans.

- **Battlefield casualties.** Racism in the U.S. has resulted in a pool of conscripts for the armed services disproportionately made up of people of color. Since most of these "economic conscripts" are unskilled, they end up in the front lines of battle, victims of the white generals and presidents who wage the wars.

- **Who finances militarism.** Wars are undertaken at the expense of those who can least afford it —

poor people in general, and people of color in particular — as money is taken from budgets which would otherwise fund human services and given over to the military to build instruments of mass destruction. As political attention and precious resources have been focused on military priorities, the poor of the world have steadily grown in numbers. By far, most are concentrated in the "colored" developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- **The political economy of militarism.** Production for military use has proven to be both inflationary and jobs reducing. Military expenditures yield far fewer jobs than the same amount of money spent by government for civilian purposes; and those jobs which are produced require a highly skilled, technical labor force. Racism in U.S. society guarantees that the majority of jobs created in the military sector will go to skilled, educated white workers, thus reinforcing existing racial and class inequities.

- **The war at home.** Poor people of color have not been visible in the mainstream peace movement because they are already experiencing war in their own communities. For Navajos in the Southwest, the front end of the nuclear cycle has meant an enormous increase in radiation-related illnesses, genetic deformity and death. Undocumented workers from Mexico, Central America and Haiti live in conditions amounting to a state of martial law. It is the poor in the Third World who are the guinea pigs when the super powers decide to test a new weapons system.

This list was taken from a statement prepared at a workshop that focused on understanding the relationship between racism and militarism as a means of developing a viable movement for peace and justice in this country. The workshop was sponsored by the United Methodist Voluntary Service, whose entire board subsequently endorsed it, as did many other individuals and organizations around the nation. The entire statement can be obtained from: Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

seek it out and find out how we can fit in. Blacks often form separate organizations because these seem to be the only viable forms of struggle in a racist society. But most blacks and black organizations are also open to coalition-building — if sufficient numbers of whites are willing to deal with the life-and-death questions that racism poses. So the question of whether there will be multi-racial movements is up to us.

We do, I think, have a special role to play, for it is the support in white America that keeps Congress voting, despite all our demonstrations, for astronomical military spending. Blacks and other people of color do not flock into white-dominated peace organizations (as they have not flocked into any white-dominated organizations); they have always been disproportionately represented in our armed services (in the past because of discriminatory draft practices and now because of the "economic draft"), but there is no mass belief in the arms race among them.

Among many white people there is, and that is so because the white view of the world has been distorted by racism. Large numbers of white Americans accept the arms buildup because they accept an assumption that the United States is the zenith of civilization and therefore this country should run the world. That assumption imposes blinders that make it impossible for them to understand what is happening in the Third World. Thus, they can reduce all dangers in this revolutionary world to a concept of a "Soviet threat" and can easily accept the false notion that we can buy some kind of security for ourselves if we just build more and better weapons than the Russians.

We who are white and Southern — and who have been through the painful process of examining our own society and finding it wanting — are, I think, peculiarly equipped to deal with this situation. For us, these issues of domestic and foreign policy have always been very obviously intertwined.

For those of my generation, coming to maturity 35 years ago, it was all crystal clear. I recall my own experience — growing up in a society that was both rigidly segregated and profoundly militaristic. There was a military academy in

almost every community of any size. I grew up in an army town in Alabama. Each summer, ROTC students from colleges across the South came for training; we young women always wanted to go to their dances and have summer romances with them, because their uniforms represented the essence of glamor. Congressmen from the South in those days got elected according to how loud they yelled against blacks — and how many military bases and contracts they could bring into their districts. And I, like so many whites of my generation, learned early that God had decreed the separation of the races, and at the same time had blessed our Southland with being the last best bastion of patriotism and pure Anglo-Saxon culture in our nation. It was a real fascist ideology, and it was bred into our bones.

One does not get rid of that kind of mindset without turning oneself inside out — and that's what many of us were able to do in that period. Once one could take the first step, the rest of the false structure crumbled like a house of cards. For me, as for many others, the first step was recognizing that our own society was totally wrong on race — and that we could not live in a society that created privileges for a few by the oppression of one whole group of people. Once we came to terms with that truth, it was a relatively easy process to recognize and accept the fact that our entire nation was wrong in the way it treated the rest of the world, most especially the six-sevenths of it that is non-white. I joined the peace movement at about the same time I joined the Civil Rights Movement, and I never thought of them as separate.

The Civil Rights Movement of the '50s and '60s challenged not only the South but this entire nation in ways it had never been challenged before. Just as many of us had had to search our own individual souls long before, white America as a whole had to begin to search its soul on the issue of race. That process released tremendous creative energies and set our nation momentarily on the path to more humane national policies. I think it is also what made it possible for the nation to begin to search its soul on its role in Vietnam.

Then something happened. The process of transformation was cut

short. We had torn down the walls of Jim Crow in the South, and blacks had begun to win political rights. But as the momentum eased (for many reasons), we found to our dismay that the South was just becoming more and more like the rest of the country, and that was not necessarily good. We learned to practice more subtle forms of racism and went back to our old ways of assuming that power and privilege should reside in the hands of whites, both here and around the world.

As we were becoming more like the rest of the country — as the black movement and its allies broke our home-grown police state and made organization possible — a phenomenon appeared that we had never really had in the South before: all-white peace organizations. New generations of young whites — dedicated, but with little understanding of how the black movement had by its blood and tears made their work possible — began to organize first against the Vietnam War, and later against the new nuclear buildup, as if these things were separate from the issue of racism. They did good work and are doing it today, but they are weakened by their failure to realize what was so obvious in the more stark days of the South's past — *that white America will not change its militaristic foreign policy until it transforms its thinking and its actions toward people of color, and that this process must begin at home.*

In a sense, I think white America as a whole today stands in a position

similar to that of the white South when I grew up in it — in order to save itself, it must go through that transformation process and recognize that it can and must work cooperatively with the world's people of color, instead of assuming the right to dominate. We who are white Southerners have reason to know that this transformation process may be painful, but it is not destructive; in fact, it is the road to liberation. If we can do our part in the building of a new peace movement that is based on this understanding, we can perhaps point the way for the rest of the country.

How do we begin? Large movements develop because people begin where they are, and do the long hard work of knocking on doors, mobilizing, teaching, organizing people around specific goals in which victories can be won. A number of organizations and many individuals, both black and white, are doing that in Southern communities today — and therein lies our hope. □

Anne Braden is a journalist who has been active for more than three decades in Southern movements for social justice. She is currently co-chairperson of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice and a vice-chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. She worked on the staff of SCEF from 1957 to 1973, and edited its publication, the Southern Patriot.



LOUISVILLE ANTI-DRAFT RALLY, 1967. JOE MULLOY (AT LEFT), DAN PRATT (AT RIGHT) AND DANNY OWENS (HOLDING SIGN) WERE ALL DRAFT RESISTERS

By Charlie Williams

Economic Extortion:

A labor view on military spending

“As military spending rises higher and higher, we are losing jobs.”

Since the Pentagon is the eighth largest nation in the world (its budget exceeds the Gross National Product of 142 nations), we must assume that it will triumph over current adversaries. So our goal — to curb military spending — will not be an easy one.

However, I don't wish only to discuss the Pentagon and its spending habits, but also to tell you why we Machinists [the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the IAMAW] support economic conversion. Economic conversion is not a religion. It is a rational, intelligent and absolutely essential way to get a grip on current military madness, promote full employment, reduce inflation and make the commitments necessary to rejuvenate our industrial base and spur productivity.

Let me begin the discussion on two subjects from the Machinists' viewpoint.

First, the impact of military spending. A few years ago, the Machinists Union commissioned Marion Anderson (of “Empty Pork Barrel” fame — see page 68) to survey our local lodges and assess the impact of military spending on our job opportunities and employment. Based on that report, we find that the MX missile development and placement will cost us \$100 billion over the next 10 years. If we scrapped the MX and used that \$100 billion to invest in a safe energy program, distributing it among the following six development projects, we could eliminate unemployment altogether:

- mass-transit systems — two million jobs;
- railroad rehabilitation: 1.3 million jobs;

- solar energy conversion: 3.5 million jobs;
- solid waste and resource recovery: four million jobs;
- alcohol fuel conversion: seven million jobs;
- energy conservation: a half million jobs.

The cries for the need of the MX missile are as ridiculous as for the B-1. The threat of Russian attack, when in fact they can't even get out of Afghanistan or for that matter get into Poland, is ridiculous. The plain facts are that the cry of war hysteria and the brazen moves by President Reagan are leading us into an equally hysterical spending spree for unnecessary military hardware. This could indeed kick off a holocaust that could eliminate our nation — and even this world as we know it — in a senseless war.

Let's face it: as military spending climbs higher and higher, we are losing jobs in the industry. For example, in 1970 we had 24,000 members at McDonnell-Douglas, St. Louis. Today we have around 11,000, yet prime contract awards to McDonnell-Douglas jumped from \$1.4 billion in 1975 to nearly \$2.8 billion in 1978, and those figures are continuing to climb at the same disproportionate pace today.

McDonnell-Douglas is currently the second largest prime contractor, behind number one, General Dynamics. Sixty-nine percent of its sales are to the military. Whether we measure the impact of military spending on employment in terms of the total Department of Defense budget, or in terms of prime contract awards, the conclusion is inescapable: increased military spending is costing this nation jobs, is undermining the full employment goal, is perverting the work ethic, and is a drag on productivity.

Moreover, military spending not only generates unemployment, it is also the most inflationary form of federal spending. There are several reasons for this.

First, most military contractors produce on a cost-plus basis. They have no incentive to improve efficiency and cut waste. Contractors get guaranteed profits, no matter what the costs incurred. Because their profits are calculated as a percentage of their costs, their basic incentive is to increase costs, and thus their profits.

Second, resources are used in the production of military hardware and services at the expense of their availability to the civilian sector. Bombs, missiles, submarines and tanks cannot be bought by the public. They add nothing to the supply of consumer goods and cannot be either reused or utilized in the production of other goods. Therefore, the stock of civilian goods and services is reduced and the market prices of raw materials are bid up, thus pushing up prices along the production chain for all goods and services.

Third, the federal government must borrow money in the open market to finance the military. This not only adds to the federal debt, it adds to the interest costs of servicing that debt, and it bids up interest rates — the price of money — which everyone has to pay. Two-thirds of the federal debt

is war-related.

Finally, contractors themselves enter the money markets to borrow capital for military production. This reduces the availability of capital for the civilian sector, and gives an additional boost to interest rates.

We found inflation hits our IAMAW members in two ways. The value of members' paychecks is reduced as their raises do not keep pace with

the years to military technology, civilian technology has been starved for capital, and thus for talent.

Over half of the U.S. scientists and engineers have been working on military and space contracts. This has meant that this great pool of talent has not been available to work on civilian commercial designs and applications of new technology. There is no mystery why the Germans, Japanese



inflation. Union members are then forced into a cruel spiral whereby, when they anticipate price rises, they are blamed for causing the inflation, but if they do not anticipate coming price rises in the bargaining sessions, they take a yearly pay cut.

IAMAW members are also hit by inflation through their jobs. As purchases of durable goods and services are the first things that people put off, job opportunities are diminished. When the interest rate goes to 20 percent, the average businessperson is going to think long and hard before investing in new plants and equipment. Machinists, like other union members, are caught in the crunch: higher prices, fewer jobs and more blame placed on unions for causing the problems.

The pre-eminence given to military industry and technology over the last three decades has had a delayed but serious impact upon the civilian industrial economy. In stark contrast to the enormous sums allotted over

and Swedes have pulled equal to or ahead of us in steel, machine tools and electronics. Virtually all their scientists and engineers are working on civilian technology.

As the productivity of our trade rivals rises rapidly while ours stagnates, the costs of our goods, but not their quality, rises. This means that it becomes cheaper for many firms to build factories abroad, or to import finished materials and components. These business decisions also export jobs. The control may rest with American management, but the jobs have been moved to Germany, Taiwan or Korea.

"Defense spending, in an inflationary sense, is the worst kind of government outlay."

Wall Street Journal, 1980

Turning to economic conversion, the nation's defense workers face a moral dilemma. They may desire and yearn for peace and an end to weapons production, but they must have employment — a job — to put bread on the table and survive in an imperfect world. What do we do when the defense work stops? When the military base closes? When the weapons system becomes obsolete or phased out, as another is phased in? When the contractor sends the work out to a subcontractor in another state or community? When the Pentagon makes a deal that sends work and technology overseas to NATO and other allied countries?

Let me tell you how the system works now: workers are kicked to the end of the unemployment line. A double standard operates.

Military production workers are pressed into serving the national cause in a manner only a little less authoritarian than the induction of military draftees. In an economy where jobs are scarce — where official government policy calls for chronically high unemployment levels, where local community unemployment rates range from six to 12 percent, and even much higher — no one can sincerely argue that workers have the free choice to forego employment in the defense industry, if that's where the jobs are, if that's the only action in town.

The military-industrial complex sings the praises of these workers while they're turning out weapon after weapon — makes them feel like national heroes in the fight against the dread red menace — but, when the contract runs out, the work stops. The workers are kicked to the end of the unem-

"The greatest threat facing humanity today is the danger of nuclear war."

—United Autoworkers Executive Board, 1982

ployment line. They get no medals, no GI benefits, no job retraining, no severance pay, no relocation allowance and no provision for health benefits to cover their families while they are jobless. They get 80, 90 or 100 bucks a week, and Reagan is trying to take even that away from them. And they get the scorn of society for being out of work. They go to church and hear

employees.

Economic conversion offers a solution, and the problems can be solved. We do not buy the line that says that there is nothing we can do to change things. In order for any conversion program to be successful, there has to be an actual transfer of capital from military to civilian production, and a parallel transfer of skills.



the work ethic preached at them from the Bible and the pulpit. They go to the unemployment office and are told they won't draw benefits unless they are actually seeking another job and can prove it, the clear implication being that they are lazy creatures loafing on welfare.

They listen to professional economists and the politicians cry about the decline in productivity and plea for a return to the work ethic and a full day's work for a full day's pay. And they stand by and watch as their employer, who has just discharged them into the army of the unemployed, receives a government welfare check amounting to millions of dollars — called an incentive bonus or an indemnity payment — which means the boss — the corporate contractor — gets a payoff from the Pentagon. But the defense workers — the production workers, the engineering staff and technical and professional workers who are laid off — get unemployment compensation, if they are lucky. In the Machinists union, we call this system socialism for the corporation — for the boss — and free enterprise for the workers and

This nation, this government, corporate America, our employers cannot preach the doctrine of the work ethic when there are no jobs in which to work, cannot preach the gospel of free enterprise and the free market when neither exists! Military production is the closest approximation of socialized industry in America. And look who's ripping it off, milking it dry: not the workers, but the employers. It is socialism in reverse. We call it the rise of a corporate state: government owned and controlled by private corporate interests. □

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by L.C. Dorsey

Broken promises, shattered dreams

During the Civil War, thousands of slaves fled from their plantation owners to join forces with the Union soldiers. Initially, the slaves were held in protective custody, but by 1861 field units were authorized to employ the fugitives as workers, although they were not to be armed as soldiers. They planted crops, tended mules and horses, cooked, laundered, repaired bridges and dutifully carried out their role as support workers for the Union forces.

By May, 1862, David Hunter issued a call for Negro soldiers and in a few months had enough recruits to form the South Carolina Voluntary Regiment. However, since there was no authority to support Hunter's actions, the regiment had to be disbanded. The black soldiers were sent home without ever having been paid for their service to the army. Thus began the legacy of discrimination and unfulfilled promises that plagues the United States armed forces to this day.

When Robert was 20 years old in 1941, there was little more opportunity for poor blacks in Shelby, Mississippi, than there had been during the Civil War. The small, segregated town did not even have a high school for black children. Those who could afford it sent their children to an all-black boarding school in Mound Bayou. But Robert's family had no money for tuition, so, like thousands of under-educated blacks, he took the only jobs available: he picked and chopped cotton, cut wood and pulled stumps to earn a living.

A big, strong youth, Robert lived with his mother and sisters. They eked out a meager existence, often depending on credit from a local store. It was a hard life, and like young people everywhere, Robert had dreams. He longed for nice clothes, a car, and to see what the world was like outside of his Mississippi Delta homeland.

The U.S. Army seemed to be the answer to the dreams that sustained Robert: money, travel, education, benefits, security for his old age through pensions, and medical treatments for life at Veterans Administration hospitals anywhere in the United States. Robert signed up.

Anita was born 22 years ago on a small plantation near the same town where Robert grew up. She was introduced to hard work early, and by the time she had finished the eighth grade, she had chopped and picked cotton in some of the same fields that Robert had worked a generation earlier.

After leaving the plantation, she and her family moved to Shelby, where she attended public high school — still segregated, although no longer by law. She graduated from a small private college near Jackson in May, 1982.

Armed with her degree in biology and her resume showing the part-time

"I would no more teach children military training than teach them arson, robbery, or assassination."

— Eugene V. Debs



photo by Nancy Rutter

jobs she'd held, beginning in high school, she set out to find work. She applied to the state's medical school, hospitals, laboratories, private companies, state and federal agencies, and finally to department stores. She has not found a job; and, since everyone talks about experience in the tight job market, she's convinced that she's not going to find work — unless she goes back to the fast-food chain that hired her when she was still in high school.

Anita was accepted to the Radiology Technology Program at the University Medical School in Jackson, but as an alternate. If someone defers entrance, she will be one of the people considered for the position. She's aware that the economic crunch has forced a record number of applicants to seek admission to professional and graduate schools. She's certain that being black and female and not making a perfect score on the Graduate Record Examination will prevent her from being selected for the program. Like Robert, she found her way to the local recruiting office.

The army recruiting officers promised to provide her with the same training that she's seeking at the medical school, to pay her a nice salary and to pay for additional education when she completes her tour of service in three years. And as they promised Robert in 1941, the army offers her the opportunity to travel, to meet new people and to do something worthwhile. She perceives this as her only chance to get the training that she wants.

Five years ago Zebediah dropped out of high school, where he was failing his sophomore classes, to join the army. Zeb says, "I wanted to learn a trade because I had figured out that I wouldn't make it too hot trying to finish school and getting a good job." He was more interested in the training the army offered than the travel. Zeb got training in electronics. He was sure that he'd find work with the telephone company, but two years after discharge he has been unable to find steady employment. None of the part-time, short-term jobs he's found had anything to do with electronics. He has not received any help from the Veterans Administration Center in job placement. He is thinking about re-enlisting because he cannot find a job.

The common denominators in these three case histories are:

- race — all three subjects are black (although poor people of all races experience similar difficulties);
- poverty — all are from low-income families; and
- upward mobility — each seeks to improve his or her station in life.

At least one other factor is common to the three: faith that the army would fulfill its part of the bargain agreed upon when they joined up.

Robert enlisted under the Selective Service Act of 1940. In 1944, he was one of 701,678 army personnel and one of nearly a half-million GIs in overseas units. After three-and-one-half years of service, he had attained the rank of

sergeant in the military police. But then he became ill and was hospitalized overseas. The diagnosis was asthma. All of his subsequent medical records document the asthma and the treatment. He was declared "unfit for long marches, vigorous physical exertion, working under field conditions. Should be stationed in fixed installation, in zone of interior." So reads an official document from Thayer Hospital in Nashville, Tennessee.

Discharged from the army, Robert returned to his home town and after a brief period rejoined the work force. His asthma kept him from pursuing certain types of work, such as working in the cotton fields or mills where excessive dust kept him from breathing. He worked as a carpenter and at other odd jobs to support his family. Medical records from local doctors, clinics and hospitals show that he has been treated periodically for asthma. Two years ago, when Robert was 62, he filed for medical disability. After a year of examinations and trips to Memphis, to Jackson and to local VA offices, the VA told Robert that he was indeed disabled — 10 percent worth, which equaled \$48 per month effective January 28, 1980. Robert feels that he should be given a 50 percent disability, since he is unable to work now because the asthma is so bad.

Robert feels that he has been cheated by the army. He worked, after being discharged, to take care of his family and never attempted to burden the army with his medical problems. At age 64, he expected the army to follow through on the promises it made to him 38 years ago. According to a counselor at the Vets Center, an advisory group primarily for Vietnam veterans, Robert is not likely to win his appeal.

When Robert's plight was recounted to Anita, she was not perturbed. She believes that there will be some exceptions to the army recruitment promise to "teach you a skill that will last a lifetime," but she has also talked to men and women whose professional skills were acquired through their military training and service. And looking squarely at the questioner, she asks the hard question: "Do you have a better suggestion for a way out of unemployment?"

Of course, on the issue of unemployment, America doesn't have a better answer. The latest figures from the

Department of Labor show unemployment near 10 percent, the highest rate of joblessness since the Great Depression, with unemployment among black workers at 18.7 percent and expected to go higher. At 49.8 percent unemployment, young blacks are far and away the most severely affected among the jobless in this country.

While the military may offer a quick exit from unemployment lines for young people today, many vets, especially those who served in Vietnam, have found that their service hitch provided them with no long-term solution.

Anita and Zeb are too young to really appreciate the problems of Vietnam-era veterans. Caught up in junior high school activities, they were removed from the bitter disappointments of veterans returning from active battle in Vietnamese jungles to their home towns. They couldn't know how much these soldiers were rejected because of their participation in Vietnam. They didn't know that most of these vets could not find

work, even though there were jobs available, because employers didn't trust them. They didn't know that by 1974 an estimated 125,000 Vietnam vets were serving time in American prisons for crimes committed since their discharge from service.

Max Cleland, a decorated and legless Vietnam veteran who was appointed to head the Veterans Administration in 1977, told *U.S. News and World Report* in 1978 that there were problems: "To the best of our calculation, around one out of five Vietnam-era veterans has some kind of problem that he hasn't been able to deal with, that has kept him from entering the main stream of society. It can be lack of education, *unemployment*, drugs or alcohol, or a personal problem.

"The bad part of the readjustment was complicated by the negative image of Vietnam veterans. I've heard of enough cases . . . where the employer says: 'Hey, look, I don't want to hire a killer.'"

And the military did little to try to correct the problems. Veterans

interviewed by various groups say that, although they came straight from battlefields, they received no debriefing, counseling or even adequate evaluation before going home. In the March, 1979, issue of *Corrections Magazine*, veterans in prison said they received no help either. Many of them showed bizarre behavior after returning from Vietnam and they wonder why no one, especially the VA, recognized their unique combat-related symptoms and offered assistance. Even after the Vietnam vets' incarceration rates rose to an astonishing high, the VA was of little help. And now there is talk of denying military benefits to any vet who is imprisoned.

The parents of low-income youth, especially, support the military as a way to save a child from the streets, the prison or worse. They see Uncle Sam taking over their sometimes wayward and unmanageable son or daughter and instilling some discipline and responsibility.

What to Ask the Recruiter

While there is no readily available evidence to prove to Anita *before* she signs up that the recruitment promises may not be kept, there are some guidelines to help the would-be enlistee to see through the recruiter's sales pitch. In *Basic Training: A Consumer's Guide to the Military*, published by the Progressive Foundation (315 W. Gorham St, Madison, WI 53703), military law expert Marian Henriquez Neudel counsels:

"An enlistment contract involves two unequal parties — the recruit, usually very young, barely high school educated, generally poor or working-class and panicked by the skimpy, dead-end job market for teenagers, and the U.S. Armed Forces with the full weight of civil and military law behind it.

The recruit is bound to serve his or her time — the armed forces are bound to do virtually nothing in exchange."

In fact, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a recruiting "contract" is outside the scope of civilian law which binds both parties to the signed agreement.

"The basic purpose of the military is *not* vocational training, but combat and preparation for combat," Neudel warns. "In any dispute between the armed forces and an individual, the individual is more likely to lose than . . . in the same sort of dispute with a civilian organization, since the law almost always gives the military an advantage over anyone it deals with."

"Thus, in order to protect the 'consumer' of military service, a young person should follow the guidelines listed below:

- When you talk to a recruiter, go with a friend whose judgment you trust, or a parent, counselor or other older person.
- Before you sign the recruitment contract, ask to take it home and have a counselor,

lawyer or your parents review it carefully. If the recruiter isn't willing to allow you to do this, don't do business with that person.

- Make sure all your recruiter's promises are in writing, and are on *all* copies of the contract.
- Never falsify or conceal information about your arrest or conviction records, medical history or academic or disciplinary problems in school.
- If you are unwilling to end up in either the infantry (male) or typing pool (female), make certain your 'contract' states that you will either be discharged or have your enlistment voided if you do not qualify for the specialty you have been promised.
- Write your recruiter a letter stating 'I understand that I have been promised the following in consideration for enlistment in the armed forces' and list the promises as you understand them. Then ask the recruiter to sign the letter and return it to you. If the recruiter refuses to do so, don't sign the agreement."

"The army will make a man out of him," a widowed mother in Mound Bayou said to herself three years ago when she drove her only son to the recruiting office. Her son would not go to college, nor would he work at the menial jobs available to him. The son, now employed as a police officer, married and "settled," is proof positive, as far as the mother is concerned, that she was right in giving him to Uncle Sam for three years. She is convinced that his stint with the army helped him achieve a sense of responsibility and discipline. Yet she has no answer for other vets in town who went through the same military experience and are now drug addicts, or who are serving time in the state prison for various crimes.

Granted, there are many veterans who've secured skills that have enabled them to get well-paying jobs when they completed their service hitch. And VA benefits have given many vets the opportunity to go to college or to buy a home. But far too many others are cheated out of the training they were promised and the benefits they deserve — especially blacks and other people of color.

According to a Congressional Black Caucus report, "The total effect of a black serviceman's encounter is that when he leaves he is usually in worse condition than when he entered. He has generally received little training . . . has been subject to harassment and discrimination at the hands of his superiors and he too often winds up with a less than honorable discharge which guarantees that his civilian life will be at least as difficult as his former life." In 1979, although blacks were only 32 percent of army personnel, they comprised nearly 51 percent of the army prison population, and they received nearly 40 percent of all less-than-honorable discharges.

Congress is now being asked to appropriate more money to retain the senior, more experienced, better trained military personnel — who also happen to be overwhelmingly white. On the other hand, business experts agree that it is becoming less economical to hire and train unskilled young men and women for highly technical jobs in the private sector; few entry-level jobs exist, and the commitment to create those jobs is not forthcoming. The combined effect of these practices is to ensure a military recruitment pool of young people desperate

"The pioneers of a warless world are the young people who refuse military service."

—Albert Einstein

for jobs and security and willing to work at the lowest possible cost, while offering greater financial rewards to keep high-level, predominantly white personnel from leaving the military for jobs in the private sector.

As the generals polish their brass and count their bonuses, thousands of poor and unemployed young people like Zebediah will continue pouring into the nation's recruiting offices, writing their own dreams into the fine print in their "contracts." And like Zeb, when they get out and can't find a job, they'll admit that the army never really promised them anything. They may conclude, as Zeb has, that the inability to find work is their own fault and that the only way to "be all that you can be" is to re-up and learn another skill in the service. Maybe. If they can trust Uncle Sam to fulfill his end of the bargain.

Still, there is no easy answer to Anita's poignant question: "Do you have a better way out of unemployment?" We can only point out that the student loan money which would have enabled her to pursue her medical career in the school of her choice has been diverted to the military; that medical benefits for people like Robert are being used to beef up our nuclear arsenal; that job placement programs which could have helped Zeb find work in the civilian labor force have been gutted while slick new recruitment ads and brochures promise, "The army can make you feel good about yourself."

No matter what your race or sex or age is, it's hard to feel good about

THIS FREE BOOKLET WILL TELL YOU MORE ABOUT WHAT THE ARMY CAN OFFER YOU.

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Skill training—hundreds of courses to choose from.

An opportunity to qualify for veterans' educational benefits. Plus a chance to earn college credits in your spare time with up to 75% of the tuition paid for approved courses.

Good starting pay, with 30 days paid vacation each year.

Work in Europe, Alaska, Hawaii, Korea, or almost anywhere in the Continental U.S. The challenge and pride in serving your Country.

yourself if you can't support yourself. For the young and healthy, the armed forces seem to offer the only way out. For the not-so-young and not-so-healthy, and for the soaring number of unskilled and uneducated young volunteers who are rejected for military service, what is *their* way out of unemployment? Will sub-minimum wage jobs loom as a beacon of hope to them in the same way military service lures their brothers and sisters? How many will turn to crime? Or suicide?

The overall effect of the diversion of money and personnel from civilian support programs to the military is to stratify our society into a highly trained, highly educated elite; a carefully selected, sophisticated military; and an underclass which is denied access to skills and education in order to provide an eager pool of workers who, like the fugitive slaves in 1861, perform dead-end menial chores for the elite.

So when the army promises Anita and Zeb that it will teach them "a skill that will last a lifetime," they may just find themselves entwined in the military version of Reagan's so-called "safety net" — the one that holds the underclass in its place, out of sight and mind of the elite. And out of hope. □

L.C. Dorsey is director of programs for the Delta Ministry in Mississippi and associate director of the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons.

By Damu Imara Smith

PEACE, DISARMAMENT AND BLACK LIBERATION

"Peace — yes, that is the all-important thing. With peace assured, all nations and races will flower." — *Paul Robeson*

The Cold Warriors and the politics of the Cold War are once again dangerously on the ascendancy in the United States. The past and current administrations, hawkish politicians and representatives of the Pentagon and the U.S. military-industrial complex are calling for and implementing a "get tough" policy with the Soviet Union, ostensibly to counter "Soviet adventurism" abroad.

The influential forces of militarism, which made their presence felt profoundly under the Carter administration, have reached the pinnacle of power under Reagan. Indeed, they have succeeded in creating and fostering a war hysteria which has gripped Washington and is reflected dramatically in current U.S. foreign and military policy moves. The Rapid Deployment force, created by the Carter administration for quick intervention in trouble spots in the Third World, seems destined for use in the near future as the new administration provides more and more "military aid" and "peace keeping" escort services in places like El Salvador and Lebanon. The reinstatement of registration of our young people, agreed to by Carter and his Congress, has claimed its first victims as conscientious objectors are penalized and others who refuse to register are sought by government-sponsored bribes paid to those willing to inform on non-registrants.

Black Americans must be in the forefront of the opposition mounting both here and abroad to the insanity of Cold War revivalism and its partner, the spiraling arms race — the prescription for a nuclear holocaust.

Why? Because blacks, other oppressed minorities and the poor are the most adversely affected by the arms race and preparations for war. This fact confirms that the struggle for black liberation is profoundly and inextricably linked with the fight for peace and disarmament.

Throughout our movement for equality, many people who have emerged as leaders have drawn clear links between racism, economic exploitation and injustice in the U.S. on the one hand, and U.S. foreign policy on the other. Among the most well known have been W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, William L. Patterson, Fredrick Douglass, Malcolm X and, of course, Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King could have been speaking today when he challenged us to question the policies of our nation:

In the days ahead we must not consider it unpatriotic to raise certain basic questions about our national character. We must begin to ask: "Why are there 40 million poor people in a nation overflowing with such unbelievable affluence?" Why has our nation placed itself in the position of being God's military agent on earth, and intervened recklessly in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic? Why have we substituted the arrogant undertaking of policing the whole world for the high task of putting our own house in order?

Our task today is to recognize and apply King's wisdom as the world moves ever closer to the possibility

of war. The missiles, submarines, bombers and tanks being created to destroy a foreign "enemy" are destroying us at home right now.

The passage of the \$177 billion military budget in Fiscal Year (FY) 1982, coupled with the slashes in the budget for domestic services, has already had a measurable impact on human services for the poor. Health and medical care, education, nutrition, income maintenance, housing and other vital services have been cut back drastically as federal funds have been withdrawn.

Marion and James Anderson of the Employment Research Associates have released a series of studies demonstrating the severity of the economic tax burden placed on the public by the military budget. Other studies show that military spending is highly inflationary without creating jobs, that it prompts scarcity and poverty by consuming vital resources (coal, oil, precious minerals, water and land), and that it absorbs about half the scientific and engineering talent in our country. It also absorbs two-thirds of all federal research and development funds.

As with every U.S. economic crisis, black people, other racially oppressed minorities and the poor are bearing the brunt of the burdens imposed. For black people, today's economic crisis means a depression in our communities. Unemployment among blacks, particularly among black youth, is at depression levels. Inflation is eroding our lives and paychecks (those who are lucky enough to get them) like a deadly cancer. We are being deprived in an economy that has become thoroughly militarized. While the people pay, the giant arms manufacturers, with Pentagon and government support, reap huge profit bonanzas by creating and selling weapons.

If there were a World War III (which would no doubt be a nuclear war), a substantial portion of the earth and its people would be laid to waste. In April, 1979, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency released a report entitled, "The Effects of Nuclear War," which concluded that in a general nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union:

(1) 25 to 100 million people would be killed from the short-term effects

alone in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This figure includes only those persons who would die within the first 30 days. Thirty to 50 million people would be injured. Thousands of others would later die from disease, starvation and other causes.

(2) Industrial damage in each country would range from 65 percent to 90 percent destruction of the key production capacity and 60 percent to 80 percent "collateral destruction" to other non-targeted production capacity.

(3) If attacked by only one weapon, the 200 largest cities in both countries would be destroyed, as well as 80 percent of all other cities with 25,000 or more people.

"Other effects of nuclear war" in the report were:

Housing: Over 90 percent of urban housing would be destroyed . . . and a substantial portion of rural housing would be damaged. Massive housing shortages would exist for years after the war.

Agriculture: If an attack took place during the growing season, up to 30 percent of the crops would be lost. Over half of the grazing animals would die and over one-quarter of large farm animals fed on stored food would die.

In the face of the threat of nuclear holocaust confronting all humanity, black people must take on the vital role which naturally falls to them in the struggle to avert calamity. We, who are in the most dire need of butter instead of guns, can contribute to that struggle by being cognizant of militarism's subversion of our group interests.

As we lose in our fight for jobs with decent pay and stand in long unemployment lines, let us remember the MX missile, funded at a cost of \$2.4 billion for FY 1983. As we lose our fight against dilapidated, rat-infested slum housing, let us remember the \$2.2 billion dollars for Phoenix and Sparrow air-to-air missiles. As we lose in our fight to put shoes on our children's feet and adequate clothes on their backs, let us remember the Pershing II missile. As we lose our struggle to put enough food on the table, let us think about the Minuteman-3 missiles.

As we shiver in our homes and

apartments this winter because we can't pay our utility bills, let us reflect on the Polaris and Poseidon missiles. As we witness plant closings, the resulting massive layoffs in our communities and the shutting down of day-care centers, let us think about the SSN-688 nuclear attack submarine, built at the cost of a whopping \$900 million each! As we fall further into debt, let us remember the five-year, trillion-dollar defense budget and the fact that all the Pentagon's bills are paid while ours aren't.

As we see our dreams deferred, *let us think about our nation's distorted and misplaced priorities — think about the fact that while we suffer, the Pentagon and the arms manufacturers thrive and profit — all in the name of some kind of false national security.*

As we protest the myriad problems afflicting our communities and society, we should always link them with the military budget. We should make it clear to those who rule our society that we do understand how huge military expenditures affect our daily existence. Black people must oppose draft registration and the draft. Registration is a prelude to the draft, and the draft is always a prelude to war. To be sure, young blacks are already being sucked into the military through the *de facto* poverty draft. Thousands of our youth have been forced to go into military service because the civilian economy offers them little opportunity.

Regarding the draft, we must not ask "why shouldn't we go?" but "*why should we?*" Why should our young people — who are subjected to racism, unemployment, drug addiction and prison — go and fight for the United States of America? Why should our young men who see their brothers, mothers, sisters and children murdered and mutilated by a resurgence of racially motivated violence, often with the collusion of the police and other law enforcement personnel, go and die for the U.S. in some absurd adventure thousands of miles from home? Why should we participate in an imperialist war that will have us shooting at our sisters and brothers who are struggling to liberate Namibia and South Africa? Or our brothers and sisters in El Salvador, Panama or Grenada? Why should we go, when once again we will be first to die abroad as we are the first to die in the

ghettos at home? Hell no, we shouldn't go. Our fight is here against the broken promises of America — not abroad in a war for Exxon or the Pentagon.

A 1978 United Nations study reports that world military expenditures are about \$50 billion a year at today's prices. They are so gigantic that each year world military activities "absorb a volume of resources equivalent to about two-thirds of the aggregate gross national product of those countries which together comprise the poorest of the world's population." We cannot stand idly by and watch such a squandering of the world's resources while starvation, disease, poverty and illiteracy plague Africa and the rest of the Third World. We must demand not that our nation be the world's number one exporter of arms as it is today, but that it take the lead in helping to shift the world's



AN UNUSUAL SCENE FROM LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, IN 1969, WHEN

resources towards meeting human needs instead.

Black America must stand up and be counted loudly and clearly in support of detente as a central cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. The fight for detente is a struggle to bring about friendship, cooperation, mutual trust, respect and peaceful coexistence among nations with differing social systems. This is especially important in relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and their respective allies. The essence of detente is the curbing of the threat of war and possible nuclear holocaust.

Paul Robeson said in 1949 that he was "convinced — and time has only served to deepen that conviction — that a war with the Soviet Union, a Third World War, is unthinkable for anybody who is not out of his mind." At the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Havana, Cuba, in September, 1979,

the African nations and other members of the non-aligned movement, in urgent recognition of the need for peace, reiterated:

The endeavor to consolidate detente and to extend it to all parts of the world, and to avert the nuclear threat, the arms buildup and — in one word — war, was a task in which all people of the world should participate and exercise their responsibilities.

We must heed this call of the non-aligned nations. As citizens of the U.S. and, indeed, as citizens of the world, we must work with other peace-loving people to push for arms limitation and control talks between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. as part of the struggle for detente. We must also work to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons among the

world's nations.

We must examine the fundamental problems which give rise to war and violence in regions and countries throughout the world such as Southern Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean. We must resolutely oppose colonialism, neocolonialism, racist minority rule and apartheid. All of these phenomena breed war and violent conflict in relations between nations and peoples. It is important that we as black people fight against the policies of our nation which support the racist, anti-democratic and anti-liberation forces throughout the world.

If we are to be successful in our struggle, we must write about, sing about, organize for and, if you will, pray for peace. We must involve the broadest sectors of our community in this urgent struggle. Black leaders must speak out even more on this question of peace. Black organizations should establish permanent special task forces on disarmament and peace within their respective groups and develop and distribute materials on the arms race/peace issue aimed at the black community. We must launch research studies on how the military budget affects blacks and other minorities and distribute these widely for study and review. We should make it a point to have a workshop on disarmament and peace on the agenda of every annual organizational convention. Black organizations should make efforts to send delegates to national and international conferences on disarmament and visit other countries to have exchanges with their leaders and their people on these questions.

In doing all this, we should be ready to work with all people, both here and abroad, who seek a peaceful and just world. □

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WHITE PEACE MARCHERS AND BLACK FREEDOM MARCHERS JOINED FORCES.

THE ARMY WILL MAKE A MAN OUT OF YOU

**"The purpose of basic training is to dehumanize a male to the point where he will kill on command and obey his superiors automatically."
— Victor DeMattei, Army paratrooper**



BY HELEN MICHALOWSKI

Basic training links sexuality with dominance, aggression and violence. It also teaches that a man's very survival depends upon maintaining these attitudes and behaviors. By associating qualities that are stereotypically considered common to women and homosexual men with all that is undesirable and unacceptable in the male recruit, hatred of women and gays is perpetuated in the military and society at large.

There are parallels between the oppression of women and men according to sex roles. The media/cultural hype is similar: women love being sex objects and men love getting their heads beaten, whether on a football field or a battlefield. The appeal to virtue is similar: women sacrifice themselves to serving their family, while men sacrifice themselves to the armed services. The cover-up is similar: until recently, no one heard about rape or battered women, and no one ever talked about men who came back from war sound in body but emotionally disabled. And who ever talks about the physically disabled?

For the last several years, women have been recruited to the military in unprecedented numbers. While

women have the right and the capability to be soldiers, for women to be trained as these men have been would not be a step towards anyone's liberation.

We have to redefine the word "service" so that it is neither forced nor armed. Rather than women being trained to kill, let men learn to nurture life.

Robert McLain, Marine:



Talk to anybody who was going through Marine Corps boot camp . . . the dehumanizing process is just hard to describe. I wish somebody had a record of suicides that go on at these places . . . [and] the beatings that go on daily. Boys are turned not into men, but beasts — beasts that will fight and destroy at a moment's notice, without any regard to what they are fighting or why they are fighting, but just fight. I have seen men fight each other over a drink of water when there was plenty for both of them.

photo © Arthur Rothstein/American Postcard No. 260

Victor DeMattei, Army Paratrooper:



Basic training encourages womanhating (as does the whole military experience), but the way it does it is more complex than women sometimes suppose. The purpose of basic training is to dehumanize a male to the point where he will kill on command and obey his superiors automatically. To do that he has to be divorced from his natural instincts which are essentially non-violent. I have never met anyone (unless he was poisoned by somebody's propaganda) who had a burning urge to go out and kill a total stranger.

So how does the army get you to do this? First you are harassed and brutalized to the point of utter exhaustion. Your individuality is taken away, i.e., same haircuts, same uniforms, only marching in formation. Everyone is punished for one man's "failure," etc. You never have enough sleep or enough to eat. All the time the drill instructors are hammering via songs and snide remarks that your girl is off with "Jody." Jody is the mythical male civilian or 4F who is

absconding with "your" girl, who by implication is naturally just waiting to leave with Jody.

After three weeks of this, you're ready to kill anybody. Keep in mind there is no contact with the outside world. The only reality you see is what the drill instructors let you see. I used to lie on my bunk at night and say my name to myself to make sure I existed.

Wayne Eisenhart, *Marine*



One of the most destructive facets of bootcamp is the systematic attack on the recruits' sexuality. While in basic training, one is continually addressed as faggot or girl. These labels are usually screamed into the face from a distance of two or three inches by the drill instructor, a most awesome, intimidating figure. During such verbal assaults one is required, under threat of physical violence, to remain utterly passive. A firm degree of psychological control is achieved by compelling men to accept such labels. More importantly, this process is used as a means to threaten the individual's sexual identity. The goals of training are always just out of reach. We would be ordered to run five miles when no one was in shape for more than two or were ordered to do 100 push-ups when they and we both knew we could only do 50. In this manner, one can be made to appear weak or ineffective at any time. At this point, the drill instructor usually screams something in your face like "You can't hack it, you goddamned faggot." . . .

In [marine] boot camp, there was a Private Green who had a good deal of difficulty with the rigorous physical regime. He was slender and light-complexioned. Private Green was a bright, well-intentioned young man who had volunteered and yet lacked the composite aggressive tendencies thought to comprise manhood. Although not effeminate by civilian standards, he was considered so in boot camp. He was continually harassed and called girl and faggot. We began to accept the stereotyping of him as effeminate, passive and homosexual.

While in the midst of a particularly grueling run, Private Green began to drop out. The entire platoon was ordered to run circles around him each time he fell out. Two men ran from the formation to attempt to carry him along. His eyes were glazed and there was a white foam all around his mouth. He was beyond exhaustion. He fell again as the entire formation of 80 men continued to run circles around him. Four men ran from the formation and kicked and beat him in an attempt to make him run. He stumbled forward and fell. Again he was pummeled. Finally four men literally carried him on their shoulders as we ran to the base area where we expected to rest. We were then told: "No goddamned bunch of little girl faggots who can't run seven miles as a unit are going to rest."

We were ordered to do strenuous calisthenics. Private Green, the weak, effeminate individual who had caused the additional exercises, was made to lead us without participating. He counted cadence while we sweated. Tension crackled in the air, curses were hurled and threats made. As we were made to exercise for a full hour, men became so exhausted their stomachs cramped and they vomited.

Private Green was made to laugh at us as he counted cadence. The DI looked at Private Green and said, "You're a weak, no-good-for-nothing queer." Then turning to the glowering platoon he said, "As long as there are faggots in this outfit who can't hack it, you're all going to suffer." As he turned to go into the duty hut he sneered, "Unless you women get with the program, straighten out the queers and grow some balls of your own, you best give your soul to God, cause your ass is mine and so is your mother's on visiting day." With a roar, 60 to 70 enraged men engulfed Private Green, knocking him to the ground, kicking and beating him. He was picked up and passed over the heads of the roaring, densely packed mob. His eyes were wide with terror, the mob beyond reason. Green was tossed and beaten in the air for about five minutes and was then literally hurled onto a concrete wash rack. He sprawled there dazed and bleeding.

Steve Hassna, *Army Drill Sergeant*:



A lot of times I'd wake up in the middle of the night and throw [my wife] out of bed and throw her behind the bunker. And start screaming. She was scared of me. She finally left me. Because I would get to the point where I was so pissed off, I'd tell her, "Don't do it again; don't push me." I didn't want to hurt nobody, but I'd get to the point where I can't relate to people no more and so I just snapped. □

"The Army Will Make a Man out of You" first appeared in WIN magazine in March, 1980. This version was excerpted from a revision which will appear in a forthcoming book, Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence, and is reprinted with the permission of New Society Publishers.

Helen Michalowski grew up on air force bases, the daughter of an enlistee. She is a former staff member of the War Resisters League-West and now works as a freelance editor and secretary.

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Letters to Helen Michalowski

By Sarah Wilkerson

The Survivors

“They came to the door and asked me, ‘Are you Mrs. Breeden?’ I said, ‘You don’t even need to tell me. I know he’s dead.’”

“I t was almost like a dream, going through a dream. I can remember, I always thought that I would never forget the name of the song that was on the stereo at the time, but I have forgotten the name of it. I was getting ready to take my daughter to the doctor and had my hair in curlers. Here I was out to here pregnant and she was sitting in the bathtub. I walked through the living room and saw the staff car sitting out in front of the house. I walked over and I jerked the cord out of the wall to the stereo. Of course I had it on loud because I was back in the bathroom and instead of reaching over and turning it off, I just jerked the cord out and ran back there and grabbed her and put a towel around her.

“They came to the door and asked me, ‘Are you Mrs. Breeden?’ I said, ‘Yes,’ and he told me. I said, ‘You don’t even need to tell me,’ I said, ‘I know he’s dead.’”

Lance Corporal Robert P. Breeden had been fighting in Quang Tri Province, South Vietnam. He was only 22 when he received a fatal gunshot wound on September 18, 1967. Teresa Breeden was then 19 years old and seven months pregnant with their second child.

After 15 years, the consequences of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam still shape her life and the lives

of her children. As survivors of a U.S. marine killed in the Vietnam War, the Breedens live not only with the memory and misfortune of his death, but also with the nation’s present attitudes towards that conflict and those who took part in it.

Like all citizens, the Breedens have a continuing involvement with the country’s military systems and organizations. Their story magnifies the complexities of that relationship, for the confused emotions, loyalties and frustrations are especially acute for members of the ‘60s generation, like Teresa Breeden – and the children of the war dead.

The generation that came to maturity during the 1960s was a

BOBBY BREEDEN IN SECOND GRADE

photo courtesy of Teresa Breeden



divided generation. Images come to mind of a youth-oriented social revolution: the hippie/drug culture, hot summer riots, campus unrest, protest rallies and rock music on the stereo.

Participation of U.S. troops in the Vietnam conflict was a special concern of the young, but not all of them agreed with the war protesters. Bobby Breeden, like many in the South, felt it was unpatriotic to criticize and protest the military’s activities.

For a brief time, Breeden had been entitled to a student deferment. Shortly after he dropped out of college, the government informed him that he had two choices: either enlist in military service or be drafted. Although he was married and his wife was pregnant, he enlisted in the marine corps.

Teresa Breeden recalls why he joined the marines and not some other branch of service: “The marines make a few good men. Macho Man image, you know, all that big tough marine stuff. He *loved* the marine corps. He really did. I’d never talked to anyone that loved basic training; he *loved* basic training. He was very athletic. He enjoyed hunting so he enjoyed the weapons training that they had. And he enjoyed physical things. When he came home on leave, he had me in the front yard trying to flip me over

his back. This was after I'd had the baby, of course. He had played football and track. He loved things like that. So I think the marine corps was just everything that he liked to do."

The first part of his tour of duty in 1966 was spent in Japan. Teresa stayed with her parents to care for her baby daughter. When Bobby came home again on leave in February, 1967, the anti-war movement was receiving more publicity. Emotions on all sides were heated. It was at this time he decided to volunteer for active duty in Vietnam.

"This was during all the draft-card burnings. He was just really uptight about it, and he kept telling me that he was going to go to Vietnam. I can remember sitting in the living room, we were with my parents, sitting in there and seeing the draft-card burnings on TV. He was ready to fight. I kept begging him please not to go there, and he said when he got back to Japan he was going to volunteer to go to Vietnam, which he did." It was also during this time that Teresa Breeden became pregnant with their second child.

After special training for jungle warfare, Bobby was sent to Vietnam in June of 1967. By July, he had already been wounded in combat. He was again wounded in early September and fatally shot later in the month. During his four months in Vietnam, Breeden suffered three wounds. The family now has the three Purple Hearts and a number of other medals awarded him posthumously by the marine corps.

When Bobby Breeden was killed, the bullet also entered the hearts of his family and friends; it takes more than time to heal wounds left by such a loss. There is a need to understand, to find and accept reasons for the death, assign it a purpose and go on. For the survivors of those who died in Vietnam, it is not easy to find acceptable reasons for the sacrifices. The wounds are not clean. Healing isn't certain or easy.

Bobby's personal reason for fighting in Vietnam was simple: he wanted to go. He felt that it was his duty.

"He said that he believed in what the United States was doing, and he felt like he was going over there to fight to preserve freedom for his child. He felt that that was his place, and to keep it out of the United States, that more people, more of the

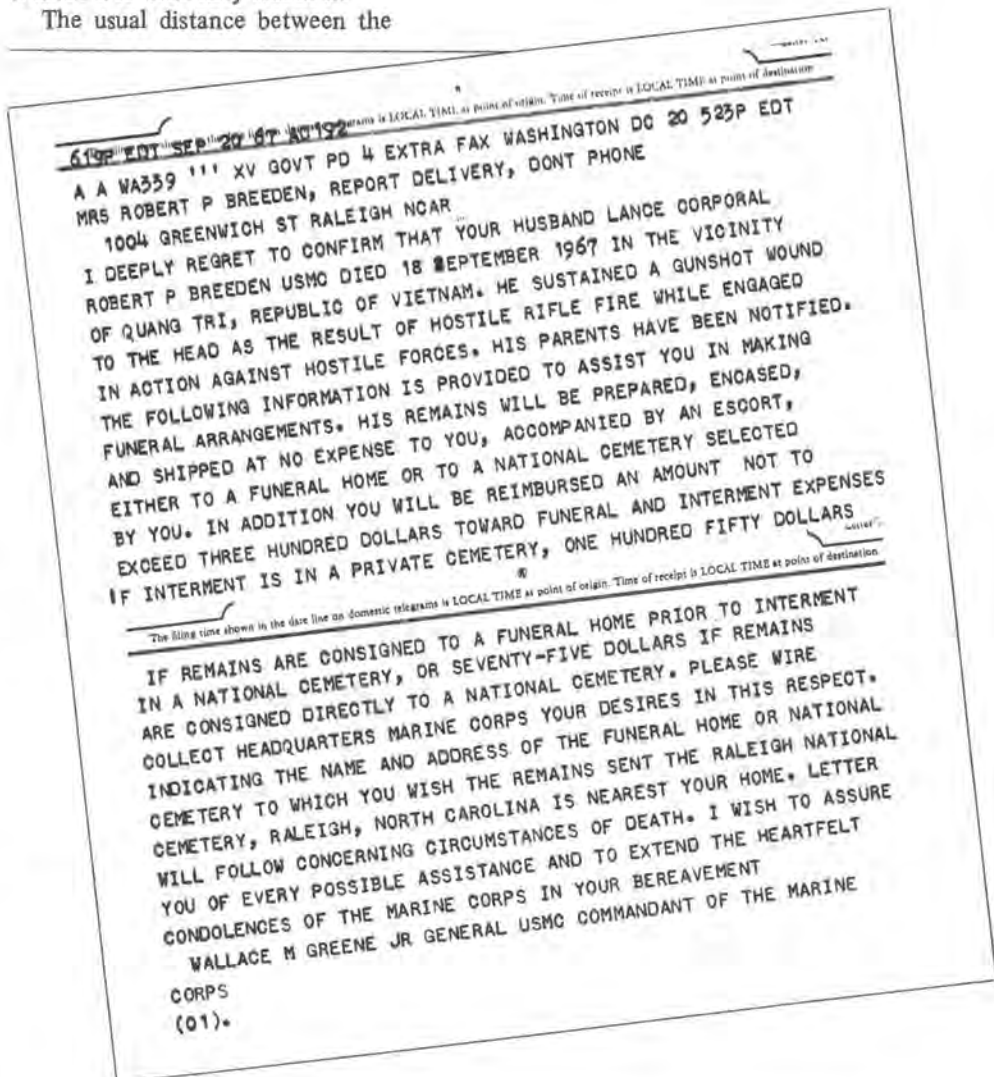
men, ought to be over there fighting for freedom.

"It's all - it sounds ridiculous. When you look back on it, you think: those boys went over there and they thought: 'I'm going to fight for freedom to keep my children and my family and my home free.' You wonder if it was really worth it."

The usual distance between the

try to start a conversation, but then they, somehow or other, would always try to sort of change the subject."

A number of times Teresa felt set apart by silence because of her status as a war widow: "I remember one time in particular when I first



individual citizen and the business of the military was shattered when Bobby was killed. Teresa now wanted to learn more about the war, talk about it with relatives and friends. When she tried, she discovered a great silence and experienced a subsequent feeling of alienation: "I remember thinking that people weren't talking about the war, and I always thought, well, they're not talking about it because of me. They didn't want to say anything in front of me. Maybe that wasn't so, but it was just the impression that I had.

"Every once in a while, I would

went to work where I'm working now for the national guard. We had a national guard general come through. There were only two women in the whole building. The other girl that worked there, her husband had been in Vietnam.

"I remember that it just made me feel really bad that day because he [the man we worked for] introduced her and said something about her husband was in Vietnam. He was in special forces, all that. And then he said, 'This is Teresa Breeden,' and he just kept right on going. Just like he didn't want to mention that



photo courtesy of Teresa Breeden

BOBBY BREEDEN

my husband had died over there because he was afraid he was going to put a damper on everything.”

The impact of Bobby Breeden’s death is only part of this family’s relationship with the military. Like thousands of Americans,

Teresa depends on employment in a branch of military service. Although she and her two children collect a small compensation for Bobby’s brief time in the service, the major portion of the family’s income is from Teresa’s job.

In the early 1970s, Teresa got a civilian job with the national guard. Shortly after she started working, the guard began accepting women as members.

“My sister and I got to talking about it. Of course at the time I needed the money. I needed some extra money because my GS-4 salary wasn’t very much. Most of the higher-paying jobs, you have to be in the national guard to hold the jobs. So, I figured, well, this is my way to get a promotion.”

She has now been employed by the national guard for 11 years. She has received several promotions and bought a house.

Even though Teresa feels strongly about her responsibilities in military

service, her feelings sometimes conflict with her responsibilities as a parent. In these moments, the complex nature of her relationship with the military, its policies and organizations, is evident.

Teresa Breeden is now a single parent supporting two teen-aged children: a 15-year-old daughter, Stacie, and a 14-year-old son, Bobby. Considering the obstacles, Teresa can be extremely proud that she has made a home for her children. But she is disappointed by the recent cuts in the social security benefits of her children.

“It’s a real sore subject with me on the social security, it really is. When my children turn 18, they lose their social security, whereas we were promised that until they were out of college, and now they won’t get it anymore. They will probably get some help through VA [Veteran’s Administration] compensation, but it’s not anything like the social security check that was supposed to come every month.

*Home is the sailor
Home from the sea
And the hunter
Home from the hill*

The graves at the Rock Island National Cemetery are small and uniform in size and shape. They contain only names, dates and places. No epitaphs. According to policy, the quotation above, which my brother chose as his epitaph, could not be carved in the white marble on his grave. I was 12 when he died. The rejection of his request disturbed me then and it disturbs me now. His stone simply reads:

DAVID
HUNTER
WILKERSON
VIRGINIA
PFC
US MARINE CORPS
VIETNAM
DECEMBER 8 1949
MAY 20 1969

On Memorial Day, 1969, my mother and I went to the cemetery to observe the ceremonies. From where we stood, I tried to see how



close we were to where we had buried my brother less than a week before. The speeches were dry and uninteresting and I don’t remember any mention of the Vietnam War or the soldiers fighting there.

As we were leaving, there was a sudden and loud roar above us. I looked up to see two huge helicopters directly over my head; they were dropping something. For a moment I was sure I was about to die. My terror turned to confusion when I saw thousands

of blood-red carnations landing on the people and the endless rows of military graves.

Although my family had moved to Iowa, my brother had grown up in Virginia and considered himself a Southerner or, more accurately, a Rebel. He had a Confederate flag tattooed on his arm and his style was macho. Instead of waiting for the army to draft him, he chose to join the marine corps. He was in Vietnam three months before he died.

“There is nothing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from reordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over war.”

— Martin Luther King, Jr.



“Obviously, being on my own, I don’t have a lot of money saved for them to go to college. All these years we’ve been counting on social security and VA. I’ve worked all my life. I’ve been working ever since I was 16 years old, and I’ve worked hard to raise my kids. I think it’s something that the government owes them.

Even though I was young, my brother’s death made me pay attention to the war, to anti-war sentiments, and to the government’s use of power. I became interested in what others who lost relatives in the war felt and thought about that part of their lives.

I see a special importance in the role of the individual in history and interviewed other surviving relatives to contribute to an understanding of what the war did to people. Some families I contacted did not want to be interviewed. One sister of a soldier was quite willing to speak to me, but she said her father did not care to see me. His only son had been killed in Vietnam in 1967. *Every day for the last 15 years he has visited his son’s grave.*

My personal tribute is to study the lives of those soldiers and their families and hope that what is learned will encourage peace and concern for intelligent foreign policies. I am particularly grateful to Teresa Breeden and her children for giving me insight into the continuing influence of Robert Breeden’s death and the pervasiveness of the military in their lives.

— Sarah Wilkerson

“And I think it’s a shame to do what they’re doing: to build all these nuclear weapons. They could do away with one nuclear weapon and probably send half the children in the United States to college with the money from that!”

In addition to their support and education, Teresa is responsible for the guidance of her children. On the subject of military service, it is particularly tough to give her children information and advice. Her own opinions are not clear to her. Her thoughts and notions of patriotism conflict with the desire to keep her children from harm. Bobby, her son, has already expressed an interest in the service. The confusion Teresa feels is evident: “Not too long ago Bobby said something about joining. I told him, ‘I wouldn’t really want you to go, but it would be your choice.’ I said, ‘You’re the sole surviving son. You’re the only one left to carry on your father’s name, so you really wouldn’t have to, but if you wanted to, I wouldn’t stop you.’ If it came right down to Bobby, I couldn’t make him not go. I got to let him do what he thought was best.

“I can’t really tell him what it’s like, because there’s definitely a difference in being a female in the military and being a male in the military. There’s a big difference in being in the national guard and being in the army or the navy or the marines. I don’t know that I would recommend that he go into the marines. Course, then again, my father was a marine, my husband was a marine.”

It has not been easy for Teresa to raise her children without a father.

She knows they are sometimes silent about who their father was and how he died. The implications of their silence disturb her. She would like them to be proud of their father, but it is very difficult when so much controversy continues to surround the conflict in which he lost his life. Most of the U.S. casualties were very young men. There had been little time in their lives to achieve anything else for which to be remembered.

Teresa believes that this confusion of emotions influences the education of her children. “I really think that the kids Bobby’s and Stacie’s age have had so little involvement other than the fact that Bobby knows that his father was killed and Stacie knows that her father was killed. It’s almost like everybody is kind of trying to say, ‘Well, maybe if we don’t teach them about it, if they don’t learn about it, they won’t think about it.’”

When Teresa thinks of the sacrifices of that period, her feelings are not clear. On one hand, she is proud of her husband, “the way he took it upon himself to volunteer and not to wait for somebody to come and say, ‘It’s your time, you’re going now.’ Instead, he said, ‘This is what I think I ought to do, and this is what I think is right, and this is what I’m going to do.’” But she also feels bitter and sad, “Just sad about it all. So many young people lost their lives. Every once in a while. I look back on it and really just don’t know what to feel.” □

Sarah Wilkerson is a graduate student in American history and is particularly interested in oral history.



MY LIFE AS A CULT MEMBER

The recent attention given to the various cults at large in America has prompted me to do some soul-searching. In the interest of truth, I feel compelled to admit to my readers a part of my personal history that I have kept hidden for the past nine years: I was once an active member of a cult.

First let me appeal to your compassion. As a confused and directionless teenager roaming the streets of a Northern ghetto in 1967, I was easy prey for the cult's manipulative spokesmen. Looking back on my life I now realize what a perfect mark I was for their smooth and effective line. Without a job or future prospects I easily slipped into the cult's grip as their spokesmen pointed out the emptiness of my young existence. Come with us, they urged, and become a part of a new and vibrant society. Broke, uneducated, with no clear idea of what to do with my untapped energies, I fell under the sway of the cult. I became one of Them.

Immediately the face of the cult changed. In the place of the spokesmen's original promises to provide a life of mutual respect and good fellowship, I was subjected to the most base and vulgar humiliations. After whisking me to a remote rural location, cult leaders made their plan clear: they would destroy my former personality and attitudes, replacing the old me with a new and more malleable version, one worthy of serving the leader. But first, I must be reduced to a groveling mass of flesh, unworthy of even self-respect. Only after they had destroyed my previous values and standards of conduct would the cult's senior members attempt to instill in me their own set of ideals.

Their methods were classic techniques of brainwashing. They shaved

my head — the first stage in taking away my individuality. I was verbally and physically harassed, day and night, sometimes deprived of sleep for more than 24 hours at a time. Driven to the point of exhaustion and derided with every conceivable insult, my old world collapsed into a small space somewhere inside my head. The cult dominated my every action and soon influenced all my thoughts. Beaten psychologically, it took only a few weeks for me to abandon resistance and yearn instead for acceptance within the cult, for some sign of praise.

I no longer thought of escape; from the very beginning, the cult spokesmen had warned me that any attempt to leave the rural communal programming site would be futile. The cult's servants were everywhere, they said, and I would surely be found and punished if I fled. Finally, confident that my initial stage of rebellion was past, the cult allowed me to go into the outside world for brief periods. Their confidence was rewarded, as I told my former friends and acquaintances what good things the cult was doing, how I had benefited from my life with them and was changing into a better person.

Soon I was being rewarded with small favors and privileges, better food and living conditions, higher status, and, most importantly, the right to engage in the process of programming newer members of the cult with the age-old enthusiasm of all converts, so much so that the elders sometimes cautioned me against undue fervor. Especially exciting to me was the opportunity to lead the death drills, in which all members of the cult proved their allegiance to the leader and the cause by risking life and limb in dangerous exploits. In the cult,

disregard for personal safety is a virtue of the highest order.

It was not long before I enjoyed status within the cult usually reserved for much older members, and as the years went by I found the elders were once again speaking to me in the tones of caring and comradeship that they had used while wooing me into the cult. I was nearing the time when, traditionally, cult members would be allowed to choose their own paths — to stay within the order or leave. Outside the cult, said the elders, lay the evils of an unpredictable and unfeeling world. Inside was the life-long promise of security, devoid of the confusion of free will.

I left and never turned back, although the prospect of coping with life unaided by the supporting structures of the cult was frightening. So, as I read of the Joneses, Moonies and Synanites, it is difficult for me to assume the conventional posture of self-righteousness and contempt. For I, too, was a cult member for three years, until I took off my uniform as a paratroop sergeant in the 82nd Airborne Division of the United States Army. □

— reprinted from *The Black Commentator*



Forecast, Forestalled, Foredoomed

Racism in the Military

BY MAC LEGERTON

IF

THE MILITARY'S RACISM HAS CHANGED AT ALL, IT'S JUST GOTTEN MORE SLY**

Racism and racist violence are vital weapons of and for the making of war. Within the military's strict command system, the denial of basic rights and the highly discretionary use of discipline increase the opportunity for racially motivated mistreatment on individual as well as institutional levels and also protect prejudicial treatment from being challenged and corrected.

In a 1974 landmark decision involving a service member's court-martial conviction, the Supreme Court stated:

While the members of the military are not excluded from the protection granted by the First Amendment, the different character of the military community and of the military mission requires a different application of those protections. The fundamental necessity for obedience, and the consequent necessity for imposition of discipline, may render permissible within the military that which would be constitutionally impermissible outside it.

* From *Turning the Regs Around*, 1974



U.S. Army photo by SP4 Lyn Mayhugh

In other words, under the strict command-and-obey system, military personnel lose the basic constitutional protections granted them as civilians. Charlie, a black veteran who spent five-and-a-half years in the air force, including a tour of Vietnam, explains: "Racism is worse on the inside than the outside. The reason for this is because it's like being in captivity. When you're in captivity you are restricted and controlled and can't do what you want to do. . . . Your command knows they've got you."

Military regulations against mistreatment, including race baiting and discrimination, are on the books. They provide members of the military the right to file grievances against their officers for any documented wrongdoing, including cruelty, oppression and maltreatment. In spite of such regulations, the basic right to question or organize against mistreatment of any kind is severely limited.

Any complaint or challenge to authority from the troops is regarded

as a threat to the power and control of the officers in command. The first signs of a critical attitude or discontentment on the part of an individual or group of service members usually lead to harassment and intimidation from the command, including the threat of reprimand, lost rank and pay, and a bad discharge. The right to fair treatment and to speak out against wrongdoing quietly lose out to the command's top priority — the control and discipline of the troops. A Department of Defense directive speaks to this partial right to expression and the highly discretionary power of the command:

The service member's right of expression should be preserved to the maximum extent possible, consistent with good order and discipline and the national security. On the other hand, no Commander should be indifferent to conduct which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, would destroy the effectiveness of his

unit. The proper balancing of these interests will depend largely upon the calm and prudent judgment of the responsible Commander.

The major way that people of color in the military have effectively challenged racist treatment is through strong organization and solidarity. Without unity and numbers, efforts to address discriminatory practices have little or no impact on the military system.

In November, 1972, a navy captain on board the U.S.S. Constellation began general discharge procedures against six black sailors for having low scores on a vocabulary test. The same captain had assigned black service members to menial work on the ship. About 150 sailors, the majority of whom were black, demanded a meeting with the captain to discuss their grievances. When the captain refused to meet, the sailors staged a sitdown strike in the mess deck and refused to work. The ship returned to port. After staging a second mass refusal to follow orders while in port, the protesting sailors' list of demands were met, including an independent investigation into the actions of the captain.

In November, 1981, a black marine died at Camp LeJeune, North Carolina, as the result of untreated hepatitis and spinal meningitis. His family requested a military investigation into his death, on grounds of racial harassment and the denial of medical treatment. When interviewed about events leading up to his death, fellow black marines would not speak out about the white non-commissioned officers' persistent refusals to allow him to receive medical treatment for obvious symptoms of illness; the fear of reprisal and harassment was too great. The military investigation cleared the command of any wrongdoing.

Commanding officers can easily express racist attitudes through legitimate, routine actions. Under Article 15 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, all commanding officers can punish service members under them without trials, judges or juries, using "non-judicial" punishment, and can impose penalties including extra duty,

"Racism in the military is so deep...that we can't possibly cope with it."

—Parren Mitchell

restriction, loss or detention of pay, reduction of rank, and even correctional custody up to 30 days. In a study on racism in the military, the Congressional Black Caucus found: "No military procedure has brought forth a greater number of complaints and evidences of racial discrimination than . . . non-judicial punishment. Article 15 . . . has without doubt resulted in irreparable damage to the service careers of Blacks."

The unconditional freedom of officers to use non-judicial punishments against their troops is a powerful weapon of control. Though service members have certain rights under the system of non-judicial punishments, including the right to appeal, knowledge and use of these rights is not widespread. Non-judicial punishment is perhaps the most controversial regulation in the entire military service — in civilian terms, this procedure would mean combining the roles of the district attorney and the judge.

The fact that the officer corps does not reflect the racial diversity of the military is partially attributed to the extensive use of both non-judicial punishments and courtmartial in keeping people of color in the lower ranks. In 1981, 31 percent of enlisted personnel in all branches of the military were people of color, compared to only 10 percent of all officers. In Fiscal Year 1979, the most recent year for which statistics are available, black soldiers represented only 32 percent of the total army population but represented 51 percent of the prisoners in army corrections facilities. A report published by the NAACP states:

A disproportionately large number of black prisoners is serving sentences in military stockades. . . . It is of special significance that blacks were more likely than whites to be confined for offenses that involved a challenge to authority, usually a white superior officer.

The major reason that most people of color remain in the lower ranks is the job assignment and advancement procedures of the military. Persuaded to join by promises of educational and occupational opportunities, people of color enter the military and find a host of tests and rigorous training courses that must be passed before any enlistment commitments can be ensured.

Recruiters never mention the serious impact of these test scores and the percentages of failure. In a Department of Defense report, the result of this procedure is recognized:

Hampered by a poor socio-economic environment . . . the minority serviceman comes into the service where he is immediately evaluated and classified by tests he is ill equipped to master, and therefore his duties and career progression are to a large extent forecast, forestalled and foredoomed.

Charlie's experience in the air force supports the DOD's conclusions:

I was in a training program that should have taken two years but was compressed into only 16 weeks of study. Without the background and training to make it through such a highly technical training course, a person didn't stand a chance. And when anyone flunked out of their training program, the command could place them wherever they wanted. . . . I was in supply and out of 450 people in our dorm, 400 were minorities.

By the very nature of its own practices, the military creates a system similar to "slave labor," in which people of color are isolated from others and find themselves occupying the low-skilled, dead-end, service duties — including infantry, details (cleanup), supplies, k.p. (kitchen patrol), storage, fuel and transportation. Mark, a black marine, spent most of his four years working in the kitchen and mowing the large lawns at Camp LeJeune. When he was discharged, he looked back at the base and said, "About the only thing I've been trained to do is be a janitor."

This system of oppression and segregation also ensures that a higher percentage of people of color are currently assigned to hazardous duties and will be killed at a higher rate than white service members in accidents and in time of war. Harold, a black marine, was given a verbal promise by his recruiter that he could learn to be a heavy equipment operator in the marines. Instead, he was assigned to a predominantly black infantry company. In a sober reflection on his position and those of his fellow trainees, he recalls: "It came to me when we were jumping out of helicopters

that, in a real war, a lot of us were going to get killed."

Over half the black enlisted personnel in 1979 (and only a fifth of white enlistees) came from families with an income of under \$10,339. Since 1980, all the military branches have exceeded their designated recruitment quotas. Entrance test scores for admissions have now been raised and re-enlistment applications are being screened more closely. The class profile of the armed forces reveals a considerable move toward the middle class. In 1981, 90 percent of black recruits had a high school diploma, compared to 75 percent the year before. Seventy-nine percent of white recruits had a high school diploma in 1981, compared to 66 percent in 1980.

This move to tighten up on standards denies enlistment to those who might have been admitted only a few years ago and bars others from re-enlisting in the military. As the open door to military service begins to close and reject more applicants, the race and class level of the applicants becomes more of a determining factor in enlistment and re-enlistment opportunities. Already receiving the highest percentage of early discharges and "firings" per population in the military, more and more people of color will receive rejection slips from the military.

The Quaker House Military Counseling Center in Fayetteville, North Carolina, has already seen the impact of these patterns. All three soldiers who have come to the center with concerns about being denied re-enlistment in 1982 are black. The most serious case, now in appeal, involves a black sergeant who spent 11 years in the army before his re-enlistment was refused.

Military counseling can play a double role in assisting people of color in the protection and promotion of their legal rights. On the one hand, counseling programs can assist young people in making an informed decision about military service and help service members know their rights and procedures for getting out of the military if they so choose. On the other hand, "Helping people get out does not solve the problem of the denial of rights for those who are in," states Bob Gosney, director of Quaker House. Military counseling programs bring knowledge, support and advocacy assistance to service members

whose rights are being denied but who have no plans for seeking a discharge from military service. In a slumping economy, Quaker House is receiving more inquiries from people of color in the military who desire to know and protect their legal rights but who wish to remain in the military until there are more opportunities for civilian jobs.

Challenging the violations of human rights in the military, particularly those resulting from racism, requires the combined efforts of military and civilian advocates. A broad-based coalition of individuals and counseling, support, advocacy, human-rights, religious, congressional and veterans groups committed to racial justice must join together and press for change. In recent years, the civilian and military coalition that formed to address the issue of Agent Orange, the deadly defoliant widely used in Vietnam, is a clear example of the importance of public documentation and

persuasion in addressing military practices and policies.

Challenging and changing the racism behind the military is a far greater task. For as long as the United States government or any other government in the world believes in the right of one race, religion, economic system or nation to dominate another, racism and militarism will go hand in hand in a march toward war. But the challenge of this task must not soften our commitment to the work. Every small effort to live and build a world free of arrogance and oppression is part of a growing spirit to bring on and welcome the day when dignity and justice stand tall. □

Reverend Mac Legerton is director of the Camp LeJeune Outreach Program, a project of Quaker House Military Counseling Center. He is also a staff member of Robeson County (North Carolina) Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Resources

GI RIGHTS

ORGANIZATIONS

Black Veterans for Social Justice
1119 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11238
(212) 789-4680

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
2208 South St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 545-4626

Congressional Black Caucus
House Building 2344
Annex 2
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-1691

Friends Military Counseling
1515 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Midwest Committee for Military Counseling
202 State St., Suite 1106
Chicago, IL 60604

National Black Veterans Organization
1949 West North Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21217

National Lawyers Guild
Military Law Task Force
1168 Union, Suite 400
San Diego, CA 92101
(714) 233-1701

Quaker House
223 Hillside Ave.
Fayetteville, NC 28301
(919) 485-3213

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 522-1420

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
Mid-Atlantic Regional Office
185 W. Washington
Athens, GA 30601
(404) 353-1218

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
National Office
P.O. Box 25592
Chicago, IL 60625
(312) 463-2127

MEDIA

"Black GI": 55 Minutes, 16mm.
Rental: \$14. Available from: Indiana University, Audio Visual Center, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

This film examines discrimination against black military personnel both on and off military bases.

"Men of Bronze": 58 minutes, color, 16mm. Rental: \$31. Available from: University of Minnesota, Audio Visual Library Services, 3300 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

This documentary profiles the 369th Infantry Regiment of WWI, an all-black regiment led by white officers.

By Pat Bryant

LIFE TURNING TOWARD

IN 1981, three Southern Organizations came together to cosponsor an organizing effort, the Southeast Project on Human Needs and Peace. The three groups are the Institute for Southern Studies, publisher of *Southern Exposure*; War Resisters League-Southeast; and the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice (SOC). After months of planning, the project began in early 1982; I was selected as the full-time field worker.

All our organizations were already involved in work for world peace. The first issue of *Southern Exposure*, published in 1973, focused on militarism in the southern United States. War Resisters League is a national pacifist organization which has built resistance to every war since World War II; it opened a Southeast regional office in 1977. The Southern Organizing Committee, headquartered in Birmingham, Alabama, is a multi-issue, multi-racial network formed in 1975, growing out of earlier civil-rights organizations. It works to join the issues of economic injustice, racism and war and, since 1978, has made it a priority to link up people organizing for economic survival with those working for world peace — promoting such ideas as Jobs with Peace elections in the South and bringing information on militarism to people previously unreached by traditional peace organizations.

The long-range objective of the

Southeast Project is to help plant seeds for the movement the South must produce: one joining efforts of black and white, labor, religious groups, tenant groups, feminists, peace organizations, civil-rights groups — a movement to change the direction of our nation. But much groundwork must be done before that movement can develop. We started with the assumption that this country's priorities will change when people whose needs are not being met by present priorities come together and say "No."

"Human needs" is a widely used phrase now, almost a cliché, but human needs has to do with flesh-and-blood people who are hungry, jobless, sick and uneducated in this land of plenty. For millions, it has to do with that basic requirement for human life: a place to live. In this, the richest country in the world, decent housing is not available at prices people can afford, and even that which is available is now threatened.

All across the South, people whose right to shelter is endangered are indeed saying "No." They are saying: "We will not give up our right to live." Through the years, the tenant movement has produced some of the strongest fighters in this country. They have rocked the foundations of power many times before, and they are organizing to do it again.

We think it's time to move beyond the rhetoric of support for human needs and put resources at the disposal

of these fighters. The Southeast Project on Human Needs and Peace decided that its first priority should be to provide assistance to the housing movement that is growing again in the South.

SELINA FORD heads one of the 1.2 million public housing households in the U.S. She lives in a three-bedroom apartment with her four daughters in the St. Thomas housing project in New Orleans, near the Mississippi River and a stone's throw from the site of the 1984 World's Fair.

Since February, her rent and utilities have cost her up to 104 percent of her income. Housing costs for Selina are out of control. On an income of \$234 per month, she paid her landlord — the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) — \$167 for utilities in June and \$209 in July, in addition to \$35 per month for rent.

When she was billed for July utilities in August, Ford realized the situation had become impossible. She and her neighbors had already occupied the headquarters of the HANO

Pat Bryant, a staff member of the Institute for Southern Studies and a leader of the Southern Organizing Committee, is the field worker for the Southeast Project.

in June and July to protest utility charges and lack of maintenance. In August, they began a rent strike.

Barbara Jackson, president of the St. Thomas Residents Council, said the tenants were forced to strike. "Sometimes when you can't get justice, action speaks louder than words," she said.

More than 450 of the approximately 1,300 families in St. Thomas joined the rent strike. By September, they had deposited more than \$90,000 in an escrow account, giving them an added sense of their power to control utility bills and repairs. The New Orleans Citywide Residents Council is lending assistance.

The Tenants also filed individual grievances en masse. St. Thomas manager Frances Butler says the authority management has decided not to hear the grievances. Grievance procedures require a hearing within a reasonable time.

In September, HANO initiated legal proceedings to evict the striking tenants. The St. Thomas Residents Council and the Citywide Residents Council responded with a class-action lawsuit. The suit charges HANO with violations of regulations set by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the federal agency which administers low- and moderate-income urban housing programs.

Utility costs are supposed to be included in rent paid by public housing tenants. When the New Orleans rent strike began, the law specifically limited to 10 percent the number of tenants in a housing complex who could be charged extra for "excess" utility consumption. During the 1982 summer, HANO was assessing excess charges against 90 percent of public-housing residents. Since the strike began, HUD has published new rules giving housing authorities practically a free hand in setting excess utility charges.

The St. Thomas suit also accuses HANO of failing to establish the grievance and appeals process required by law. And in their grievances the tenants charge poor maintenance and conditions hazardous to health and safety in their apartments and on the grounds.

There have been some changes since the rent strike began. Maintenance employees are working feverishly to repair the hazardous conditions.



photos by Pat Bryant

SELINA FORD HOLDING COPIES OF RENT AND UTILITY CHARGES WHICH EXCEEDED HER RENT.

Tenants have negotiated an unwritten agreement with HANO: strikers will not be evicted if they return the escrowed rents to HANO when repairs to a tenant's apartment are completed; tenants will keep utility charges in escrow until this issue is resolved in court or by agreement.

This agreement is tentative and could evaporate at any time. Moreover, HUD, now standing in the background, is likely to use its power over HANO to try to break the strike, as it has done in countless similar situations.

Selina Ford and the St. Thomas tenants aren't alone. The conditions against which they are struggling are duplicated across the South and the nation. The stated objective of the Reagan administration is to eliminate public housing entirely. Private landlords can house the poor better, Reagan says.

The long-range objective of the present national administration is to sell public housing to private real estate developers (who charge exorbitant rent and usually won't even rent at all to large, especially black, families), or demolish it to make room for commercial investments. HUD is currently studying the best way to demolish 65,000 public housing apartments by the end of 1983.

In the meantime, conditions for those living in public housing are a far cry from what was envisioned when

St. Thomas was built in 1939, the first public-housing project in New Orleans and one of the first in the country. Two years earlier, Congress had passed the Wagner-Taft Act, which authorized the federal government to provide a "decent home at prices the poor can afford to pay."

Between 1937 and the 1960s, public-housing practices moved away from the original intent. Rents went up, and maintenance deteriorated. Then a strong national tenant organizing drive grew out of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1969, Congress enacted an amendment to the Housing Act setting tenants' rent at 25 percent of adjusted gross annual income. Rehabilitation work started in many projects in the early '70s.

The current attack on public housing began under President Nixon and continued under subsequent administrations. Funds to build new public housing were decreased, then eliminated, although waiting lists grew. Operating funds were gradually decreased, eliminating maintenance. A new federal policy forced housing authorities to fill vacancies with higher-income tenants, while the very poor remained on waiting lists, paying high rents for slum housing. And, in 1981, Congress raised the percentage of adjusted income tenants can be charged as rent. Under new regulations, effective in October, 1982, current tenants must pay an extra one

percent per year until their rent reaches 30 percent of income; new tenants must pay 30 percent immediately.

Like many public housing communities, St. Thomas is in dire need of rehabilitation, but its structural elements — roofing, walls, foundation — are sound. And it is a project of beautiful and spacious courtyards and alley ways. Balconies overlooking courtyards could be enlivened with greenery and flowers with a minimum investment, but instead conditions are only worsening: tree roots have crept into sewer lines, plumbing is rotting, stairways have worn, ceilings have fallen, floor tiles have deteriorated.

Housing authorities are unable to do rehabilitation unless they use sparse local funds; they are struggling just to keep their doors open. Public housing operating funds have already been cut to the bone. President Reagan now proposes to cut them in 1983 to 65 percent of what it costs to maintain current service levels, and to 25 percent of need in 1984. (That, according to tenant leaders, will only provide staff to administer a voucher program — Reagan's plan to replace public housing with subsidies to private landlords.)

Robert Chadbourne, HANO's director of research and development, testified before Congress in early 1982, urging lawmakers not to destroy public housing, and his job.

"Public housing," said Chadbourne, "will be seriously damaged by a 15 percent cut in subsidy and could be destroyed by a 30 percent cut. The repercussions of this tragedy upon the total community, especially in large cities, would be devastating, affecting the economy, the safety, the very lives of tens of millions of people who have previously felt insulated and aloof from the world of the projects, but who would have involuntarily thrust upon them the realization that they too are a part of the delicate balance."

Several tenants see a link between escalating rents and utilities in St. Thomas and the desire of businesspeople to purchase this and other central city housing projects. St. Thomas is very close to the 1984 World's Fair site. Another federally subsidized apartment building in New Orleans was emptied during the St. Thomas rent strike to make room for World's Fair tourists. In some cities



FALLING CEILINGS ARE A MAJOR HAZARD IN THE ST. THOMAS HOUSING PROJECT.

(for example, Alexandria, Virginia), housing projects are already being sold to private developers.

Tenant leaders in many communities, like New Orleans, are fighting back and developing their power. On May 5, 1982, 20,000 public housing tenants marched on Congress and HUD to demand an end to demolition and sale of public housing. One result was that Congress defeated a proposal to order housing authorities to count food stamps as earned income in determining rent. Such a change would have increased Selina Ford's rent by \$60 a month.

In the 1960s, public housing tenants sharpened their skills and organized to meet a similar crisis. In the process they developed strategies and power that removed the absolute right of landlords to evict — not only for public housing tenants, but for all tenants. The struggles of the '60s against a racist, anti-poor government bureaucracy led to regulations and laws governing security deposits, retaliatory evictions and leases that protect tenants in every major city.

While that earlier movement for humane housing laws made immense changes, it stopped short of fully integrating and institutionalizing tenant influence and power in state legislatures, Congress, city halls and federal agencies. The goals of the current movement are tenant participation

and control at all levels of government.

Tenants are also fighting at the local level against mismanagement. One weapon Reagan and his supporters use in attacking public housing is the charge that the program has created a bureaucracy that is inefficient, wasteful and fraudulent. There is validity to this charge. Written operating procedures exist but frequently are not followed. Waste and inefficiency are apparent. Services fall through the cracks. No one knows all this better than the tenants, and the answer is strong tenant organization — not the destruction of public housing.

Solving problems in public housing makes leaders of people who never intended to play this role. Barbara Jackson describes what happened to her, starting four years ago:

When I first moved to St. Thomas, I knew there were problems. So I started attending meetings and got involved. That's when I got nominated for president. It was a hard struggle, because I didn't have an active board. I was trying to feel my way forward to see what my duties were. At first, I had the misconception that it was like membership in a social club. But I found that people didn't have heaters, stoves, had holes in their ceilings. As time progressed, I became more familiar with what we had to do.

As Ms. Jackson and other St. Thomas leaders became familiar with the work of tenant organizations, they developed a plan to continue and expand tenants' control over their own lives. What they are up against was summarized by Cushing Dolbeare, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, when she testified before congressional committees this year against the massive attack on public housing. She said low-income housing programs took the largest budget cut of any federal program in Fiscal Year 1982 and apparently will be the hardest hit again in 1983. She added: "Indeed, the 1983 increase in the military budget could be funded out of the 1982 and 1983 low-income housing cuts alone."

THE SHIFT of housing and social program funds to the nation's military budget has now become very clear. Jesse Gray, activist in black liberation and housing movements since the '40s and now chair of the National Tenants Organization, addressed 300 tenants at a Memorial Day rally in Memphis in May, 1982. He said:

Reagan is putting public housing funds into the generals' hands to buy more missiles to aim at the Soviet Union. We are told this is necessary to stop the Soviets. The Soviets have been coming since I was a boy, and they haven't got here yet. Tenants are not afraid of the Soviets coming. We are afraid of Reagan coming.

If the generals push the nuclear buttons, our long struggle to be free will be over. Tenants, we can't eat bullets or put the warfare chemicals over the children's cereal as a milk substitute. The cost of three of those new M-1 tanks would go a long way toward rehabilitating public housing in Memphis.

Tenant leaders point out that shifting funds from the military back to housing could provide jobs for the jobless. According to economist Marion Anderson, one billion dollars spent to build MX missiles will create 17,000 jobs. That amount spent to build new public housing could provide 62,000 jobs. Many tenants are becoming convinced that public

housing will survive only if the nation's priorities are changed — from guns to housing, to nutrition, health care, education.

We in the Southeast Project on Human Needs and Peace see the developing tenant organizations in the South as a basic component in a movement that can change those priorities. We are assisting this tenant movement by providing technical help, leadership training and information that facilitates organizing. Thus far, we are working with housing movement leadership in five Southern cities: Birmingham, Charleston, Durham, Memphis and New Orleans. Each of these cities has a tenant organization in nearly every public housing project. We conduct small-group workshops and sponsored a tour by Jesse Gray to give tenants the benefit of his 40 years of organizing experience. We see our role as staying on tap when tenants need and request services — and not on top of their movement.

At the same time, we are encouraging peace organizations to support the life-and-death struggle of tenants to save their homes. Such support work presents many difficulties. Most tenant organizations in the South are predominantly black; most peace organizations are predominantly white. In addition, there are sharp class differences. All of us tend to develop our own styles of organizing, and it is too easy — whether we intend to or not — to try to impose our style on others whose way of working may be quite different. Tenant groups want and desperately need support, but like every significant social movement, they want and need support that does not carry with it domination.

One stumbling block to such work is the tendency of many whites, especially the middle class, to want to lead any effort in which they are involved. What they must do first if they are to support the tenant movement is to get rid of their delusions of superiority and their contempt for the skill levels and leadership potential of blacks and poor white people. The role of non-tenants is not to organize in public-housing neighborhoods but to help mobilize massive movements in the larger community to compel the federal government — and local government and private industry — to begin funding housing and other human needs. There is a tremendous educational job to be done in every

community in America to show people how they have been fooled by racism into thinking that public housing is only for blacks, at the expense of whites. For instance, whites need to learn that more whites than blacks have housing needs that could be met by a decent housing program.

The key is for all of us to realize that a society that refuses to meet the basic human need of shelter sets its course toward destruction and death; conversely, a society that commits itself to meet this need turns toward life. And when it makes that turn, it will take a giant step toward rejecting the idea that problems can be solved by militarism and war. Tenants, over the years, have realized that this turn will be taken when movements from the grassroots force it to happen. The people have the power. That power will prevail over utilities, HUD, bad publicity, outside domination and the Pentagon. □

"Whites seem to come out to protest when it's about the war. What we want to know is where are you when black people are in a life-and-death struggle to survive at home."

— Moe Rapier,
spokesperson for the
Black Workers Coalition
in Louisville, 1972



THE LOGICAL

By Dannia Southerland

Growing up in a Southern military town, I found that things like war, killing and violence were constant, pervasive elements of the local atmosphere — like the stench of sulphur in a paper mill town. I turned 18 in 1968. The assassinations of Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy and the Tet offensive all happened the year I graduated from high school.

The reality of the Vietnam War was a somewhat unquestioned way of life in my home town. At least, I didn't know what questions to ask. When the guys from my graduating class started getting drafted, the war became more personal for me.

Then I began to meet marines — my age — who had come back from “that place.” Their stories, told with a facade of machismo that barely concealed their own pain and confusion, made the evening news — with its shots of fleeing mothers, charred bodies, napalmed villages and body bags — all too real. The transition from Southern school girl looking for a husband to anti-war activist is far too complicated to explain here, but those hometown experiences steered me in the direction of the anti-war movement.

The more deeply I got involved in peace work, the more I began to question the connection between military violence on a global level and the violence against women that had been so prevalent in my home town. As in any military town, weekend rapes were commonplace, girls and women who happened to go into the “wrong” part of town were harassed, and there were always the hushed, half-told stories of wives and girlfriends being beaten, raped, sometimes even killed.

When I stumbled upon feminist

essays and began to discuss feminist theory in the early '70s, the connections became more apparent. The further I looked, the more I understood that my political actions had to be rooted in my experiences as a woman.

After the war in Vietnam was supposedly over — at least the troops were home — I began to devote all my energy to organizing around women's issues. With my work in the anti-rape movement, I gained a more sophisticated understanding of the connections between violence against women and the violence of war, racism and exploitation: the connections of power, domination and greed.

I became very angry during those years. It is hard to look at how oppression intersects with your life and not begin to hate. But at about this point in my personal and political evolution, I began to believe that the theories of feminism and nonviolence were somehow, at their root, connected. It wasn't until later, when I was once again involved in the peace movement, that the connection became a motivating force for me.

With most peace groups — the left in general for that matter — feminism has remained a peripheral issue. For years now, women in these groups have met to discuss common concerns — from the fundamental, like being taken seriously, to the practical, like having an active role in organizational development and leadership. Our concerns have been brought back to the larger groups, demands made and incorporated, and then it was back to business as usual. While over the

past few years women may have been more visible, may have gained more influence, our organizations, on the whole, remain limited in terms of feminist influence and action. They may be more sensitive to women's



WOMEN'S PENTAGON ACTION, 1981



CONCLUSION

with Liz Wheaton

issues, but a comprehensive feminist understanding remains absent.

In a few cases, though, feminism has actually changed the group's politics, analysis and operation. The War Resisters League (WRL) is a

specific example. For over five years now, WRL's Feminism and Nonviolence program has integrated the issues of women's oppression and militarism in its organizing and educational work. Although the program is independently identified, its philosophy is integrated throughout the organization.

When I came to work for WRL's Southeastern office, part of my work was to coordinate the Feminism and Nonviolence program. We brought together a mixed group — men and women — who wanted to do anti-militarist work from an expressly feminist perspective. We had only been meeting for a few months when one of the New York WRL staff members told me about an all-women's group that was forming to demonstrate at the Pentagon on November 16, 1980.

I remember her explaining the four stages the demonstration would take: mourning, rage, empowerment, defiance. It just didn't register. What was attractive to me about the Women's Pentagon Action (WPA) was that it was organized by and for women — peace activists, feminists, environmentalists, lesbians — to come together from all our different backgrounds to find each other and to go further together as women against the military establishment.

The idea seemed radical, scary, marvelous. Even though I had the personal satisfaction of working in an integrated feminist organization, it produced a sort of schizophrenia to be identified as a radical feminist and yet have most of my political work happening in groups where feminism is suspect at best, and at worst considered divisive. So the opportunity to work with a group of women whose sole purpose was

to confront the Pentagon — the bastion of male-supremist militarism — with feminist nonviolence was exhilarating, exhilarating.

Off our backs described the Women's Pentagon Action as "an exciting cross-fertilization of ideas from different movements: the tactic of civil disobedience from the black civil-rights . . . and anti-war movements; guerrilla theater, used by the Yippies and 1960s feminists; collective process and decentralized organization, developed by feminists and anarchists; a commitment to working with women and discussions about the politics of lesbianism, originating with the feminist and lesbian-feminist movements; and affinity groups, associated with the anti-nuclear movement."

For some women, WPA was their first involvement, at least on an active level, with feminists. For others, it was their first contact with organized lesbian-feminists. For many lesbians, it was their first time working in a mixed group. And for still other women, it was their first time in any sort of organized demonstration.

This coalescing of different kinds of women through WPA was one of its most significant features. It's not only the unprecedented nature of *who* came together, but the ways we've found to stay together and work with unity in the midst of our diversity. One promising legacy of WPA is the bonding achieved through our use of affinity groups.

Affinity groups, most recently popularized in the massive nuclear power protests, are clusters of perhaps a dozen people who train together to participate in civil disobedience. Those



photo by Elizabeth Freeman

in each group who have decided that they are willing to be arrested, tried and perhaps convicted for "illegally" scaling a fence or blocking an entrance make deep commitments to each other: they will act as one nonviolent unit, each totally dependent on and responsible for the others. Those who are not willing or able to get arrested serve as support; they witness the civil disobedience and follow their friends through the legal procedures. The support group also contacts lawyers, families, doctors or clergy if necessary. Affinity groups help to protect against provocateurs within the action and to ensure that no one involved in the demonstration is left alone.

Having been a part of so many different social change movements in the past 10 years, I have often felt my feminist self — the core of my politics — is the most vulnerable, the easiest lost. But through the

bonding of an all-women's action, feminism became my center, the spirit that guided my action and that of thousands of other women who participated. WPA heralded the emergence of a new feminist, anti-militarist movement.

The understanding that brought us together is fundamental to the theory of total nonviolent revolution: sexism, racism and militarism are all part of the same problem. And whether the exploitation, destruction or annihilation is of women's bodies or minds, or of entire cultures, the military mindset that dictates the use of force to achieve a goal must be eradicated. I have believed for a long time that if feminist theory is to become a reality, it can only come through restructuring of our entire society — nonviolent *feminist* revolution. The Women's Pentagon Action provided a concrete beginning strategy for making that

belief become reality.

That the personal is political is a cornerstone of feminism. During my participation in WPA, what a friend called "the unity of politics and emotion" was for me the most empowering merger. My belief that war is wrong, that violence as a way to get and maintain power is wrong, and that war is waged daily on people who are considered "other" by the powerful is not separate from my grief, my emotional reaction to this violence and injustice. By dramatizing stages of our emotions in the Pentagon demonstration — mourning, rage, empowerment and defiance — and making that our political statement, the WPA brought my entire being into focus against what seems such an omnipotent power.

When I walked silently past all those gravemarkers in Arlington Cemetery, when with thousands of women we encircled the Pentagon, a flood of emotion caught me and I realized for the first time in my life what it means to merge the personal and political in direct action.

The first phase of our action was mourning: we were mourning for real people. The second stage of the Women's Pentagon Action was rage. Walking in silence from the gravesites to the Pentagon, you cannot help but make the connection. Here the decisions are made to send young soldiers to kill or be killed, sometimes both. If you mourn for each gravemarker and the suffering it represents, you must be enraged. If you are a woman whose culture accepts only your grief, rage becomes an emotion of exquisite release.

Release equals freedom; freedom equals power. Empowerment is the Women's Pentagon Action's third stage. When you consider that to the Pentagon power is measured in megatons, the personal energy of one woman — or thousands — may seem infinitesimal. For the women who surround the building in a human circle to block the entrance and exit of Pentagon officials, the energy is absorbed, the power is personal, nonviolent.

Once you understand that the power of the Pentagon lies not in people or ideas, but in weapons, that its principles are based on dominance rather than justice, that it feeds on conflict and starves in peace, then you can defy it. You can ridicule it. You

War Resisters League

"The War Resisters League is committed to preventing war," said WRL member Evelyn Smith, "and a group that is committed to preventing wars must deal with racism, sexism and economic injustice because they are some of the root causes of war. It is all related." Hence, the connection of WRL — a 60-year-old pacifist organization — with the Women's Pentagon Action.

WRL's primary issue since its birth has been disarmament. Two projects which express the WRL philosophy and style are the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice in 1976 and, two years later, the simultaneous civil disobedience actions in Moscow and Washington, DC.

The Continental Walk was initiated by WRL to raise the issue of disarmament in local communities at a time when there was little disarmament organizing in the U.S. The walk from San Francisco to Washington, DC, took nine months, with dozens of marches feeding into it from all over the country. Two feeders came from the South: the Appalachian Route from Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to Washington;

and the Southern Route, which was organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and started in New Orleans. Marchers along the latter route were arrested several times on their way to Washington.

The 1978 demonstrations in Moscow and Washington reveal another side of WRL: its commitment to direct action and active resistance. Seven WRL members illegally held a demonstration and distributed leaflets in Red Square on September 4, while 13 others did the same on the White House lawn. Both groups were quickly arrested.

The Southeast regional office of WRL, established in March, 1977, has been involved in a wide range of issues, including the Women's Pentagon Action. The regional office, located in Durham, North Carolina, has two full-time staff members who travel throughout the South offering workshops, giving speeches and assisting local organizers. The office also produces a newsletter several times a year and provides assistance to a half dozen WRL local groups throughout the region. A few of the current WRL-Southeast projects are: a militarism and human-needs project, the nuclear freeze campaign, the feminism and nonviolence program and a Middle East peace education program.

can paralyze it, if only momentarily. In that moment you come to realize that the Pentagon and all it represents are not omnipotent.

During the final stage — defiance — WPA demonstrators wove a barrier of ribbons and strings and strips of cloth across the Pentagon's entrances. The guards cut, we wove. We were faster. The guards brought hedge clippers in order to cut more, faster. More women moved in with more strings and ribbons. Weaving, cutting, weaving, cutting. It went on for hours, stopping only when the Pentagon guards had arrested all the WPA weavers.

There have been two Women's Pentagon Actions — in 1980 and 1981. There will not be another in 1982. Although the '81 demonstration was more than twice as large as the first, our purpose in organizing and participating in them was not to create ever-larger annual demonstrations. Our purpose was — and is — to give women the opportunity to learn from each other, to find our own strengths, to rely on our own wits and creativity, to find our own ways of challenging the violence in our daily lives and the violence of the Pentagon which is its counterpart.

Our task is to take that understanding back to our communities, to our organizations; to help them understand that our power does not derive from the size or quantity of our weapons but from the quality of our spirit and the depth of our concern for each other.

Although WPA will not return to the Pentagon this year, it will not cease to exist. The women in WPA-South will continue to work together. One of the most serious internal issues we faced has yet to be remedied: both Pentagon actions were almost totally white and predominantly middle class.

We live in a society segregated by race and class. We recognize this and detest it; yet breaking down the barriers built over generations of hate and mistrust is almost as formidable a task as challenging the Pentagon.

WPA-South has begun the task by setting simultaneous goals for ourselves: first, to reach personal understanding about what WPA labeled in its Unity Statement "the pathology

of racism," to educate ourselves about its history and the reality of living with racism for our sisters of color. The second step is to act: we are reaching out to women of color in our communities to offer our resources, time, energy and commitment to organize around their issues and concerns. In the near future, we hope to set up a multi-ethnic community dialogue for women to educate each other to break down the barriers on all fronts that keep women from working together. We are all headed in the same direction; we just have to find each other.

Another issue that arises again and again is that of separatism. All-women actions are somehow seen as a threat to mixed organizations; a diversion of people and energy during a critical period in the peace movement's

history. What the critics don't seem to understand is that many women left the peace movement, not to destroy the movement, but because the groups they were part of did not consider sexism as serious as other internal issues. Nor did the peace movement understand the strength to be derived from feminist influence.

WPA created a place for women to band together for the sake of our personal and political power. For some, WPA or other all-women groups are the only place they feel comfortable doing political work. Others, like myself, feel centered in WPA but also work with mixed groups. We come to these groups energized and motivated by our WPA experiences and strengthened to struggle with injustice outside our movements and within. □

Resources

WOMEN, WAR AND PEACE

WOMEN AND MILITARISM

Church Women United
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2347

This group is concerned with the freeze and the impact of budget cuts on women.

National Association of Women Religious
1307 S. Wabash
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 663-1980

NAWR works on sexism and women in the military, the freeze and the effect of the budget cuts on women.

Women Strike for Peace
201 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-7397

Headquarters and clearinghouse for many women's groups working for disarmament and related issues. The group publishes a newsletter, action alerts and information on recent legislation.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament

691 Massachusetts Ave.
Arlington, MA 02174
Founded by Dr. Helen Caldicott, WAND is a political action committee dedicated to ending the nuclear arms race. Affiliate groups exist nationwide.

Women's Equity Action League
805 15th St NW, Suite 822
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 638-1961

WEAL acts as a national informa-

tion clearinghouse on women and the military. WEAL has published a kit entitled "Women and the Military."

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1213 Race St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107
(215) 563-7110

WILPF, founded by Jane Addams in 1915, is the oldest peace organization in the U.S. (see article on page 42).

Women's Pentagon Action — South

604 W. Chapel Hill St.
Durham, NC 27701

(919) 682-6374
WPA, a feminist, anti-militarist network, sponsored several actions at the Pentagon in 1980 and 1981, and moved its focus to local work in 1982. Contact the WPA-South office for information on local projects and contacts, and for a list of available literature. The WPA-South office also has a film about the 1980 action and copies of "Women and Militarism: What Are the Connections," a special issue of the War Resisters League-Southeast newsletter (\$1.00 each; 75¢ each for 10 or more.)

MEDIA

"Soldier Girls": 87 minutes, newly released color film. Rental: \$150. Write: Churchill Films, 662 N. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90069.

The film documents the experiences of young women inducted into the U.S. Army.

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals. — *from the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race"*

THE FREEZE

No peace movement ever hit the United States with the strength and suddenness of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

The idea of a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons, developed in 1980 by Randal Forsberg, was consciously simple, leaving the harder questions of reversing the arms race and defusing international rivalries for later negotiations.

Forsberg's idea of an immediate freeze was simple, but not simplistic. Forsberg, who was born in Alabama, earned a doctorate in military policy and arms control from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She says, "I've made it my business to know more about worldwide armaments and use of military power than most people outside of established military circles."

Events since 1980 indicate she

also knows something about what starts a movement. The freeze struck a chord with the American public, leading to the largest demonstration on any issue in the history of the United States: up to a million people marched in New York City on June 12, 1982. By September, 1982, 276 city councils, 446 town meetings, 56 county councils and 17 state legislatures had endorsed some form of the freeze resolution, and it was only narrowly defeated in Congress in 1982 after heavy lobbying from Ronald Reagan.

The freeze campaign's greatest strength is that it is a political movement spawned primarily at the grassroots level. It seems that where human survival is the issue, people

find themselves coming down on the same side. To ask the question, "What is the freeze campaign doing?" is not to ask how far along it is on some national strategy, but rather to ask how each community responds to the call to halt the nuclear arms race.

In Tennessee, the various freeze groups have largely been outgrowths of already established peace efforts such as Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) in Nashville, a Bread for the World chapter in Maryville, the Cumberland Countians for Peace and the Chattanooga Center for Peace. Each community designs its own campaign, reflecting the diversity that is the strength of the freeze movement's decentralized organizing. When people face a task from the perspective of their own communities, they can create unique connections and coalitions. For instance, freeze proponents have received a welcome boost from some backup vocalists in the Nashville recording industry who taped several 30-second radio ads for the cause.

With the phenomenal growth of the freeze comes the need to translate numbers into results. For people in Tennessee, the question becomes, "How can we make disarmament a viable political issue in the traditionally conservative and militaristic South?"

Looking merely at the origins of the movement in Tennessee, it would seem to be a traditional, white, middle-class effort at peace. But though the freeze can be traced to these origins, there are reasons to believe that this needn't be so. As one petitioner pointed out recently at a music festival in Memphis, "I can't judge just on appearance whether or not any particular person will sign, and if you can just get them to read it, they'll almost always sign."

In Memphis, a central dimension of the arms race has made the freeze inclusive of many different people: it is increasingly obvious that the cost of the proposed increases in the military budget is being shoved onto the backs of the poor.

The freeze campaign in Memphis originally sprouted from concerns among students and faculty at Southwestern College that the consciousness of the local community be raised on disarmament issues. It quickly found support from, and moved out to include, other groups, such as Pax Christi and the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. The result of that reaching out is Memphis's contribution to the development of the freeze movement.

In Memphis, as in other major cities, the link between military over-expenditures and steady economic decline cannot be ignored. In fact, the desire for nonviolent alternatives to international conflict is perhaps strongest among the black people who make up roughly 40 percent of the Memphis population. Seventy percent of the black people in Memphis live below the poverty level. As Catherine Howell of the Concerned Tenants of Public Housing said, "We have children and loved ones who have been to war before and it scares them. Everyone in public housing is aware of the problems of nuclear war. No one can run away from it — it threatens everyone where they live."

This awareness and the encouragement of Pat Bryant, an organizer with the Southeast Project on Human Needs and Peace (see page 28) opened the door to the beginnings of a unique coalition between the Memphis freeze group and the tenants organization, a group committed to saving public housing from further cutbacks and sale to private developers. At the Waging Peace Conference held in April, 1982, during Ground Zero Week at

Southwestern College, the members of the two groups began working together.

After a Saturday morning assembly, strategic and constituency workshops were held. The labor, black and education constituency groups joined forces, and out of that combined workshop (which in addition to the tenants group included representatives from legal services, the Medical Workers' Union and Southern Prison Ministries, among others) a local variant on the national freeze petition emerged. The Memphis petition not only called for a halt to the production of new nuclear weapons and delivery systems, but also stated that the money which would have paid for those systems should be transferred back to the support of human-needs programs.

As a result, both the freeze and public housing groups included this call for transfers in their petitions. Many members of the Memphis freeze campaign now see the link between the arms race and the present economic and social predicament — and the resultant process of sharing between groups working for peace and those striving for economic justice — as *the* fundamental issue.

There is still much work to be done by both groups to make this coalition a viable force beyond these initial efforts. But the impetus is there. According to David Stebbins of the Southern Prison Ministries, "These two groups complement each other. At the Waging Peace conference they realized that their efforts could mutually benefit each other, even though their focuses seemed on the surface to be different. When both groups work in unison, then such a coalition would be hard to ignore."

The freeze movement is at a crossroads, facing many questions — and controversies. For example, people of both Nashville CALC and the Peace and Justice Center in Memphis express concern that the popularity of the freeze might draw attention away from more established programs and hinder the establishment of other projects such as research on U.S. intervention in Central America or the Peace and Justice Center's "Enemies" project, an examination of our whole concept of "enemy."

So far, this problem hasn't proved

great. Memphis Pax Christi decided that, with the establishment of the now-independent freeze group, and having focused its own efforts last year on disarmament, it can turn this year toward educating the community about alternatives to militarism and violent conflict on a local and personal, as well as national, level. William Mooney, president of Bread for the World in Maryville, pointed out that his group gives equal time to its two major concerns. "One month's meeting will be on hunger, the next month's on peace."

It speaks well for the freeze campaign as a grassroots movement that



U.S. REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD FORD AT THE MEMPHIS WAGING PEACE CONFERENCE, 1982

established peace groups are less concerned with taking advantage of the popularity of the freeze, and are more concerned that the freeze campaign be self-sustaining in each community, and welcome that development. In the words of Louise Gorenflo of Cumberland, "It has to be a grassroots movement. More energy has to be poured into those people around you to awaken them to the fact that peace is not a dirty word." In fact, the campaign for disarmament is so much a people's movement that its momentum was little affected by the narrow defeat of the freeze resolution in Congress in August.

Despite the work in Memphis to create a broader and hence stronger coalition, many people still feel that

photo by Mary Ruth Robinson

the immediacy of the nuclear threat requires us to focus exclusively on the military side of the issue, that the inclusion of the socio-economic dimension will dilute that effort.

The fear is that the freeze might close itself off from those who do support disarmament, but who may be *in favor* of social program cuts, or are undecided either way. These reservations seem to be based on the belief that social needs issues have been predominantly a concern of the poor, whereas military and foreign policy concerns have been largely an interest of the white middle- and upper-class; thus, the thinking goes, the freeze would do itself a disservice to alienate a powerful group, jeopardizing funding resources and stronger political effectiveness. Again, the case of Memphis suggests that this reservation might not be justified. Although a couple of individuals within the Memphis freeze group question the political prudence of making the economic connection, so far petitioning experience has not supported this view: no one has yet challenged the fact that the increase in the military budget is being funded directly by cuts in social programs.

Could this myopia have been a stumbling block to the peace movement in the past? Does it not reflect a division of perception as to who is valuable to a movement? If the freeze movement fails to include in its goals the needs of the present domestic victims of militarism, how could it expect to be anything other than peaceniks frantically moving to secure their own future existence?

One recent development of the national freeze movement which has disturbed organizers of the freeze in Memphis is the birth of a freeze Political Action Committee (PAC) to funnel money to candidates for public office. George Lord, a sociology professor at Memphis State University and a freeze activist, feels that "this spells the end of the freeze as a grassroots effort," as candidates support the freeze to receive contributions rather than as a response to public concern or their own consciences. While no freeze PAC funds have yet been spent in Tennessee, some local organizers feel that any available money could be better used on direct education of the public. Sharon Welch, who was

a leader of the freeze in Memphis and who taught courses in the arms race at Southwestern, believes that if funds are to be pumped in, they should be applied at the grassroots. "By building up the movement at its base, the freeze can be popular enough that candidates wouldn't hesitate to go public with it. The numbers are out there, it's a matter of making that public vocal. It's not necessary to buy off candidates when public outcry itself is converting hawks as well." She and others feel that PACs do not promote representative democracy.

The freeze campaigns have also been noticeably weak on economics. If the freeze were implemented in 1983, more than 300,000 jobs might be jeopardized, according to Ed Glennon, editor of SANE's *Conversion Planner*. Glennon points out that the long-term economic effect of the freeze would be beneficial, but that "economic dislocation and personal suffering can be avoided . . . only if preparations for job and income protection are begun well in advance." Very few freeze groups include such planning on their agendas. In Oak Ridge, a group working for conversion of the Y-12 nuclear weapons facility has yet to prove to workers or the community that the

disarmament movement has alternative jobs for them.

Lastly, as freeze proponents and critics alike continually reiterate, even if the freeze campaign is successful in halting the production of additional nuclear weapons, the world is not necessarily saved. Mary Ruth Robinson of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice reminded Memphians, "The freeze itself only buys us time." We would still have all the warheads built thus far, ready and waiting to be unleashed. We would still not have removed the causes of war. We would not have reversed the arms race, either for nuclear or conventional weapons. We would not have significantly altered U.S. foreign policy.

Still, first steps must be made somewhere, and the popularity of the freeze proves Americans are ready for that first step. We must admit the possibility that this peace effort will not by itself be successful, and that puts pressure on us all to build the *process* of making peace.

David Stebbins, who did much of the research for this article, and Pack Matthews both work at the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center.

Resources

THE FREEZE

Ground Zero

806 15th St. NW, Suite 421
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 638-7402

This nonpartisan group sponsored "Ground Zero Week" in dozens of local communities in 1982, informing the public in an arresting and graphic manner of the hazards of nuclear war.

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

251 Harvard St.
Brookline, MA 02146
(617) 734-4216

IDDS is a research and education center, founded by Randall Forsberg, for the study of nature and purposes of military forces. It publishes an American Peace Directory, listing 2,000 peace groups.

The New Manhattan Project

American Friends Service Committee
15 Rutherford Place
New York, NY 10003
The New Manhattan Project Newsletter contains up-to-date news briefs, announcements of activities, and resources for the freeze campaign. The project is also cosponsoring a Soviet-American photo exchange.

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

National Clearinghouse
4144 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 533-1169

The National Freeze Clearinghouse publishes a list of freeze campaign local contacts for each state as well as a list of organizations and well-known individuals who have endorsed the freeze. They publish a freeze update newsletter periodically and a list of resources available to the public.

LITERATURE

The Freeze Study Kit. Available from the American Friends Service Committee - Connecticut, RFD 1, Box 494, Voluntown, CT 06384. \$1.50 plus postage.

Peace Education Resources. AFSC publishes a series of pamphlets on the subject of the freeze and nuclear disarmament. The pamphlets include a "Nuclear Mapping Kit," "Peace Conversion Organizing" and a 24-page citizen action organizing guide. Order from: American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7168.

"Someday the demand for peace among the people will be so great that the governments of the world will have to step out of the way and let them have it."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower



Ballots Against Bombs

By William Reynolds

IN NOVEMBER of 1982, the voters of the city of Atlanta will have a chance to vote for something that really makes a difference: a proposal to halt the nuclear arms race and transfer spending from the military to support productive jobs and fund human services.

The key to successful organizing is to select issues which are relevant to people and their circumstances, and on which people want to work. Historically, disarmament organizers appeal predominantly to well-educated white middle-class Americans. The Atlanta Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace Campaign will enable organizers to break out of this traditional limitation of the peace movement. The campaign, a coalition effort with participation from labor unions, political parties, peace groups, Third World communities and religious groups, uses elections as the key organizing approach and stresses economic issues in its platform.

Ballot initiatives involve more people in organizing than any other approach. Atlanta has nearly 200,000 registered voters; even if the voter turnout for the election is only 30 percent, 60,000 people will be thinking, deciding and casting their opinion in a concerted fashion. The impact of such a vote on future organizing and on influencing public officials is significant. In addition to affecting voters, the mass-scale advertising, organizing and media coverage reach large numbers of people who won't

vote on election day. The election catalyzes many people to cast a vote in their minds. Thus, building support to win an election serves a broader public education purpose.

The Atlanta Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace Campaign parallels similar programs elsewhere. Currently, activists in eight statewide and two dozen city- and countywide campaigns are working toward the 1982 elections in which 25 percent of the U.S. population will cast votes on the nuclear freeze proposal. In addition, Jobs with Peace proposals, dubbed by the *New York Times* as a plebiscite on Reaganomics, will be voted on in over 50 U.S. cities and towns. The Atlanta campaign combines the attractive elements of each in a unified proposal, and is the only such vote taking place in the heart of the South.

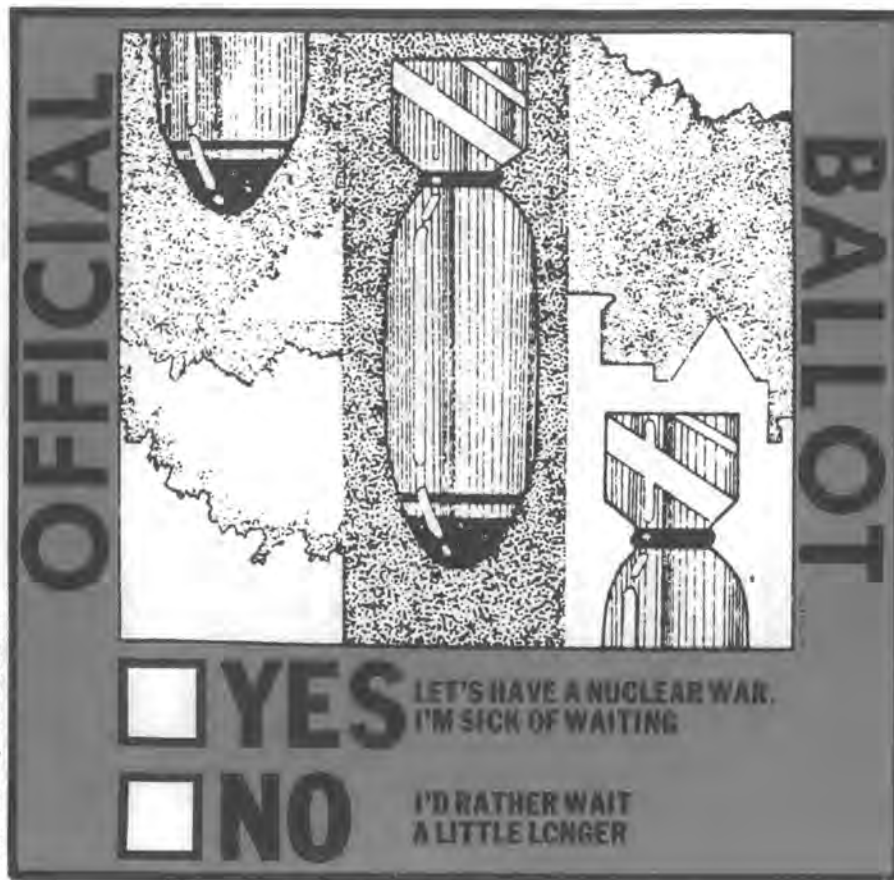
The impact of the freeze movement against the nuclear arms race is having an effect on national policy makers. Successful work in communities is being translated into national public opinion polls and national organizations, which use the combined impact of local work to move national politicians. Many people interpret the initiation of START disarmament talks between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and recent votes in Congress as an outgrowth of citizen pressure to reverse the arms race.

There is no question that low-income, Third World and blue-collar constituencies are just as concerned about the threat of nuclear war as

any other segment of society. However, these constituencies have been less visible in the anti-nuclear weapon movement. To counter this trend, the Atlanta campaign adopted the approach of the national Jobs with Peace campaign, which keeps the issue of jobs and the economy front and center and linked to disarmament issues. This approach gets a strongly positive response from a broad cross-section of the populace. For example, the 1981 Jobs with Peace initiative in Boston won in every single district, from conservative, white working-class South Boston to predominantly black Roxbury. In all, 72 percent of the voters in Boston voted for Jobs with Peace.

The Atlanta Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace Campaign grew out of a visit by Frank Clemente, an organizer of the successful Boston Jobs with Peace drive. At a workshop sponsored by the Southern Project on Women's Economic Rights, Clemente outlined the strategy used in Boston. "We realized that support from the inner city was necessary to win. The way we got inner-city support was by dealing with issues that relate to inner-city people."

MOVING INTO electoral politics requires a big change of approach for peace activists. An electoral campaign calls for advertising and organizing on a mass scale. All efforts are targeted towards turning out sympathetic registered



voters in order to win.

The first step to getting a vote on an issue is to get it on the ballot. In Atlanta, this step has constituted the toughest part of our work thus far. It took us half a year, but the issue is now on the ballot for November 30, 1982. In the course of getting onto the ballot, we learned six rules for electoral campaigns such as ours.

Our work began by researching electoral laws in Georgia and Atlanta to determine if it would be possible to place the referendum issue on the ballot. Local political experts said it would be impossible to hold a referendum on the issue. Frances Duncan, Chief of Elections in the Georgia Secretary of State's office, flatly said it would be illegal. This taught us **Rule 1: don't blindly accept the opinions and interpretations of others.**

We discovered that the Atlanta city charter does provide for initiatives and referenda. Issues can be placed on the ballot by petition of registered voters or by vote of the city council.

Since the referendum process has not been widely used in Atlanta, local officials have little experience in or knowledge of the procedures or rules involved. The legal issues were not clearcut, and we found differing

opinions about the legality of our approach, which brings up **Rule 2** of working on ballot issues: **politics is stronger than law.** Or, as stated by Atlanta city council member Debby McCarty, "If city council wants to do something, we can find a legal way to do it."

This rule made our strategy very clear: get the city council to vote to place the Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace proposal on the ballot.

This strategy emerged during the spring, with a working group of about 10 people meeting biweekly to coordinate research and lobbying activities. The first phase of organizing culminated on April 20, when six council members — Bill Campbell, Mary Davis, Myrtle Davis, John Lewis, Debby McCarty and Elaine Balentine — introduced the Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace proposal to the 18-member city council.

Prior to introducing the proposal we had done a complete analysis of the process the proposal would take, which committees would be involved and who would be our potential opponents and allies. We researched past votes, read about the structure and rules of the council and met with

sympathetic council members. According to **Rule 3**, it is crucial to plan the approach to the city council in advance, to know what will happen before it takes place. Certainly, there will be plenty of surprises, but since almost everything a city council does is decided in advance, much can be anticipated and managed.

We knew in advance that our proposal would go to a committee in which we had a majority of supporters, but also in which the chairperson initially opposed our position. The first surprise we encountered was when Barbara Asher introduced an alternative proposal to have the city council endorse the Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace concept rather than place it on the ballot. Since this move would eliminate the educational and publicity value of an election, it was not something we wanted.

The fault was ours for not being better prepared and for not doing better lobbying ahead of time. The main argument raised at the meeting was that the city council should not waste time on a question that is not local. In our defense, council member Mary Davis noted that military spending and the nuclear arms race are of local concern everywhere, since it is taxpayers' money that pays for the arms race and city residents' lives which will be lost if a nuclear war is fought.

Asher's proposal passed anyway on May 17, and in June the original cosponsors introduced a slightly revised referendum proposal, with a better lobbying plan to back it up. Campaign activists coordinated phone calls and letters from key neighborhoods, those whose council members were sitting on the fence.

We encountered tough legal obstacles at this stage as well. The Secretary of State's office claimed it had final say on placing the issue on the November ballot, and told the city council it would oppose the referendum. Marion Smith, associate city attorney, drafted a legal memo supportive of placing a referendum on the ballot; that memo was later overruled by another memo from assistant city attorney Gary Walker. At the next council meeting, the opposition was able to use the legal confusion to out-politic us and cause the proposal to be tabled.

Bill Campbell, one of our cosponsors, pointed out to us that we

failed to provide key spokespersons on the council with facts to back up their position. No council member can stand and speak without hard answers to the questions that will be raised. Thus we learned **Rule 4: know every angle that can be raised against you and develop solid answers and evidence to back up your position.** Fortunately, by quickly redrafting the proposal, we were able to have it reintroduced that same day.

At every step activists had to attend each council and committee meeting, to write and type each proposal before the city council, to meet with all the supportive council members and brief them on the status of the proposal and to prepare all the research and background material. Activists cannot expect council members to do all this work: they have numerous other issues before them and almost always give priority to more pressing city business. Thus comes **Rule 5: take the initiative to communicate with council members and be persistent in doing so.**

Our last opportunity to have the city council vote on the referendum proposal in time for the 1982 election was in August. The final obstacle was the number of votes we had in the full council. Gary Washington, a campaign activist and veteran of several local labor strikes, set the pace for our community outreach by contacting black ministers, neighborhood leaders and union members to get them to contact undecided or wavering council members.

The day of the council meeting, we were still touch-and-go with the votes. The last doubt was removed when James Howard, who would have voted against us, voluntarily left the meeting to avoid voting, and Barbara Asher changed from voting against to voting for us.

Council members take a political risk when they actively support controversial issues. Activists need to understand this point and follow **Rule 6: give credit where credit is due and arrange for positive media coverage for political supporters.**

IT WAS difficult to develop our campaign apparatus while working on ballot access. During late August and early September, we took the first steps in this direction, and the structure of our work for the coming two

months is being set in place. Tim Johnson, who had managed Billy Lovett's gubernatorial campaign, has taken on the job of campaign manager, and we have established an office in the American Friends Service Committee building. Numerous volunteers commit one or two days each week to work in the office.

The next steps of the Atlanta campaign will be to reach the media and to determine which of the city's 180 precincts should be targeted for canvassing, outreach and placement of yard signs and posters.

We have ranked Atlanta precincts according to seven characteristics to determine the top 100 precincts which tend towards a favorable vote. "In this way the door-to-door canvassing and telephone banking will be targeted to areas in which we can expect support, rather than wasting our time in areas which won't support us," according to Margaret Roach, canvassing manager for the campaign.

We are also holding events designed to attract media coverage. When Jonathan King, a biologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and an activist in the national Jobs

with Peace campaign, stopped in Atlanta, we arranged a fundraising reception and a series of news conferences. Another press conference, highlighted by a statement from council member John Lewis, grew out of a survey of voters in an earlier election. That survey found that four out of five voters wanted to see the Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace issue on the ballot.

Volunteers who had worked for Georgia progressive candidates in the past are now providing invaluable help in this campaign, continuing to raise progressive issues and build a solid campaign that will benefit the entire progressive movement in Atlanta. We all envision work on the Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace campaign as helping build strength for future cooperation on other community issues in the city.

Sheer determination and hard work have brought us success thus far. We have laid a solid base for our campaign and fully expect to win in November. □

William Reynolds is disarmament coordinator for the AFSC-Southeast office in Atlanta.

Resources

JOBS WITH PEACE

ORGANIZATIONS

Jobs With Peace National Network
2940 16th St., Rm. B-1
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415)558-8615

Jobs with Peace is a nationwide effort to channel government spending away from the military to meet more human and social needs. JWP is actively taking a role in organizing local grassroots campaigns to achieve these goals.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-8400

The coalition has published several pamphlets on the subject of conversion: "More Jobs," "Guns vs. Butter" and a "Conversion/Budget Reading Packet," which contains a series of in-depth articles on military spending issues. The coalition has also published a 64-page booklet entitled "The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup."

LITERATURE

"Conversion Planner." Available from:

SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100. \$4 per year.

The "Planner" is a bimonthly newsletter designed for persons who are interested in organizing around the economic impacts of military spending.

"Crossroads: The Quality of Life in a Nuclear World." \$2 each; \$5 for the set. Available from: Boston Jobs With Peace, 10 West St., Boston, MA 02111, (617) 451-3389.

"Crossroads" is a series of three high school curricula dealing with issues concerning nuclear war. The packets have been developed in the areas of social studies, English and science.

"Put Your Community on Record for Jobs and Peace." \$10 from: Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice, P.O. Box 811, Birmingham, AL 35201.

This kit centers on organizing around the issue of military spending vs. human needs.

"Towards a Boston Peace Budget." \$5 from: Boston Jobs With Peace, 77 Summer St, Room 1111, Boston, MA 02111.

BY SHEILA CROWLEY

Not Merely the Absence of War

ON June 12, 1982, when more than 750,000 people gathered in New York to march for peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was well represented. On that same day, an editorial entitled "U.N. March" appeared in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, repeating the Virginia newspaper's position opposing a freeze on nuclear weapons and condemning many of the organizations responsible for the nuclear freeze movement and the march that day. The organizations were described as the same groups which "only a decade ago had struggled to help enthrone the bloody regimes that have given the world the Boat People, the Cambodian holocaust and kindred barbarians." The editor wondered why these groups hadn't "dissolved . . . in shame and guilt." Included in the list of peace groups was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

That same week, the *Wall Street Journal* carried a column which questioned the motives of the architects of the nuclear freeze movement, given the "congeniality" of their views with those of the Soviet Union. Again, WILPF was named.

WILPF women have been marching, lobbying, leafletting, letter-writing, educating, fundraising, witnessing and organizing for peace since 1915. That WILPF should come under attack from a mouthpiece of American conservatism like the *Times-Dispatch* and that WILPF should be linked to the "communist conspiracy" is hardly news. The oldest peace organization in the United States, WILPF has weathered these kinds of charges since



PHYLLIS CONKLIN

its inception.

WILPF's most famous and revered founding mother was Jane Addams. It was her view that "peace is not merely the absence of war, but the nurture of human life," that social, political and economic justice and the elimination of discrimination based on race, sex, creed and class are essential to the establishment of a peaceful world. Addams was certain that, as "nurturers of human life," women should assume special responsibility in the quest for peace. It was Addams who presided at the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague in 1915, when a thousand women from 12 neutral and warring nations called for an end to World War I, general disarmament by international agreement and an end to all discrimination. Thus was laid the foundation for WILPF, a union of women for whom PEACE and FREEDOM are indivisible, one possible only with the other.

Addams, who had been called a saint for her work as a social reformer, who had been proclaimed America's most admired and beloved woman, rapidly fell from grace with the

American press and people when she began promoting her pacifist position. She was branded a traitor for helping to organize WILPF and was called a bolshevik and "the most dangerous woman in America" when she denounced the U.S. entry into World War I. The current-day charges have a curious echo.

HER delicate, fragile appearance and her quiet, almost quivering voice mask her strength

and perseverance. Called a "pillar" of the organization, Marii Hasegawa eloquently embodies what WILPF is all about. A member since 1946, she was elected president of the United States section of WILPF in 1971 and was one of eight women from six countries who toured Vietnam in 1973 to determine the true extent of war damage. Her stature in the national organization is enhanced by her continuing activism on the local level. It is rare *not* to find her at each demonstration, meeting, program or fundraiser sponsored by the Richmond, Virginia, branch of WILPF and the various coalitions to which it belongs.

An American of Japanese descent, Hasegawa was one of the victims of the massive internment of Japanese-Americans at the outbreak of World War II. Despite a 13-month internment and forced relocation to the Midwest, she supported the war, believing that the atrocities of nazism, fascism and imperialism could be combated only with military action. It was the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that moved her to understand that a mili-

tary solution was really no solution at all. That new understanding led her to WILPF.

"I looked for a group," Hasegawa explains, "an umbrella organization in which it was possible to do many things under one banner, to help me look to the end of all this war and injustice."

Then living in Burlington County, New Jersey, Hasegawa in her early thirties found herself in a group composed almost entirely of white women in their sixties, women who had maintained their belief in nonviolence throughout America's most popular war. She recalls that everything was done in a very ladylike fashion, the style tending towards white gloves and afternoon teas, a fascinating portrait of women whose ideas were quite radical.

"Because I was from an ethnic minority, the Burlington County WILPF branch was now able to live what WILPF was. I experienced no feeling of outsidership. I was the beginning of our really becoming a multi-ethnic organization. I like to talk in multiethnic terms, rather than multi-racial . . . it is so hard to categorize people," says Hasegawa.

"Black women joined the group after I came. At first the older women had a rather patronizing relationship with the black community. But they were generous in supporting the local community center, and gradually they changed and got caught up in the ferment of desegregation."

The age gap that Hasegawa experienced is not unlike what young women joining WILPF today can find. She explains that WILPF seems to "skip generations," because somehow children need to be different from their parents. The connections made between young women and older WILPF members are invaluable. Little else works better to soften the arrogance of youthful idealism than to be in the presence of people who have been involved in social change longer than one has been alive. And the challenge of youthful idealism helps to maintain that spirit in those who otherwise might grow weary of the

struggle.

When Hasegawa and her family moved to Richmond in 1965, the national office asked her to establish a WILPF branch in her new community. A fledgling organization called the Richmond Committee for Peace Education had formed in 1964 to protest the war in Vietnam. It was a



MARI HASEGAWA

photo by Sheila Crowley

biracial group, given to frequent meetings and educational forums.

There Hasegawa met Phyllis Conklin, one of the organizers of the committee, who came to the peace movement as a natural outgrowth of her Quaker faith. The bonding of these two remarkable women led to the formation of the Richmond branch of WILPF.

It didn't happen overnight. The Richmond "Red Squad" — local police assigned to monitor anti-war activities — began taking pictures and otherwise intimidating local peace activists; their work quickly chilled WILPF's early efforts to stimulate dissent. When Hasegawa and Conklin began recruiting women to form a local branch, they found that many shied away, claiming that WILPF was "too subversive."

It took nearly two years, but their efforts started gaining supporters in the summer of 1967, and WILPF quickly became a Richmond contact for anti-war and civil-rights initiatives. WILPF was active in the Richmond Coalition for Peace, Freedom and Justice, and until 1972 held weekly

vigils at the Army Induction Center. WILPF promoted the lettuce, grape and Gallo boycotts on behalf of the United Farm Workers and was represented in the campaign for fair housing in Richmond.

After years of extensive activity at the height of the Civil Rights Movement and during the Vietnam War, membership in the Richmond branch of WILPF began to dwindle. A period of quiet followed during which the two friends steadfastly maintained the branch through participation in various coalitions and sponsorship of study groups on such topics as revolution, ethnicity and race. Today membership is on the rise and the branch is once again engaged in labor-intensive peace-making activity.

At age 62, what compels Phyllis Conklin to spend a dinner hour speaking about the arms race and the freeze campaign to a rural Kiwanis club or to be at the site of a local fair at 8:00 on a Saturday morning setting up the

freeze campaign booth? What moves Marii Hasegawa to host envelope-stuffing parties at her home or to join the planning committee of a local conference on racism? Both admit to building their lives and forming their friendships around the causes they espouse.

Conklin obviously enjoys the clash of ideas: "I relish each new opportunity to talk with people." Hasegawa, perhaps quieter in her determination, quotes Jane Addams, who wouldn't "quit before the final try."

Asked whether she would characterize WILPF, despite its members' outward serenity, as a militant organization, Conklin says, "WILPF women are occasionally willing to be arrested; our opposition to war is always non-violent and always vigorous. But militant is a word barbed with messages. WILPF women are reasoned, calm, determined, sometimes brave. Not militant, but not moderate." □

Sheila Crowley is director of the Women's Issues Program of the Richmond YWCA.

D U C K

INTERVIEW BY KEN HINSON



photo by Ken Hinson

A N D C O V E R

Since the U.S. dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945, nuclear holocaust has come to be known as "unthinkable." But in fact, a number of people in government spend a great deal of time and money planning for the "unthinkable," and they claim to have a plan for our survival. Foremost among these planners are those who work for the new Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Their goal is to make the unthinkable thinkable, and by promulgating the idea that there is life after nuclear war, they may be bringing that war closer.

FEMA evaluated the effects of a nuclear attack on the United States and came up with a plan. That plan includes the difficult — the evacuation of people from "risk" areas to "host" areas; the absurd — emergency change

of address cards from the post office to keep your mail coming; and the predictable — a shelter in a hollowed-out mountain, Mt. Weather, near Washington, DC, for the protection of "indispensable" government officials.

The plan will cost \$4.2 billion by 1989. The money will be spent to protect industry and the general population so there will be jobs after the holocaust and plenty of people to work. An estimated 50 million immediate dead will be bulldozed or shoveled into mass graves, but the rest of America will shake the protective dirt off the doors covering their three-foot-deep holes in the ground and get back to business as usual.

The FEMA master plan includes

Crisis Relocation Planning (CRP) for over 3,000 areas. So far, fewer than 400 plans have been approved. Led by Cambridge, Massachusetts, some cities and counties have rejected CPR plans as deceptive and unworkable and are instead emphasizing educating the citizens of their areas on the consequences and effects of nuclear war. Among these are San Francisco, Sacramento and Marin County, California; New York City; Houston, Texas; and Greensboro, North Carolina.

When Marilyn Braun came to head the emergency management program in Greensboro and surrounding Guilford County, North Carolina, four

ABOVE: MARILYN BRAUN IN A BARREN, BUG-INFESTED ROOM THAT WAS LISTED — BEFORE HER VISIT — AS A "MODEL" FALLOUT SHELTER.

years ago, she also began to think seriously about the "unthinkable." Her thinking was different. She realized the deception, confusion and wastefulness of the current civil defense program. Immediately she set out to uncover the truth and to tell that truth — something which all but a small handful of her peers in civil defense still seem reluctant to do.

She charges that the local civil defense program is unable to offer protection to the people. The people of Greensboro have reacted not with anger but instead quite positively. They want to know the truth, and Marilyn Braun wants to tell it.

In April, 1982, Marilyn Braun testified before the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources. "With respect to nuclear war, my assistant Ed Deaton and I have worked for three-and-one-half years to study all material that we have on file since 1961. We attended federal-government-sponsored courses and state-sponsored training on the subject of nuclear war. After one year of study, drawing upon FEMA documents, we began to question the objectivity of the resource material provided to us to plan. We sought, and located, some responsible and balanced information from other departments within our state and federal government as well as the private scientific community and public-interest groups."

She discovered that her office had been paying \$1,200 a year in storage fees for outdated medical supplies and tons of food supplies that were unfit for human consumption. Records show that federal and local officials had been aware of the situation since 1976.

She discovered that local architects and engineers had been taught to identify fallout shelter spaces. She discovered that the spaces were identified but never qualified by specific improvements to actually become fallout shelters. Instead, signs were simply placed on them worded "Fallout Shelter" to identify them. She began working on removing these buildings from the national list of fallout shelter spaces.

She discovered that the local crisis relocation plan was no plan at all and says, "All we would truly have to defend the citizens of Greensboro and Guilford County against a nuclear missile would be paper."

MARILYN BRAUN

After a war of any kind, there will be survivors. I don't know who they would be. I don't know how to plan for them. Nobody does.

Many people think that the Emergency Management Office is a mandated function — required by law — which it is not. My predecessors had given local government the understanding that all things were proceeding on course and that all emergency evacuation plans that should be in place were completed. I came to this office mainly because I was interested in working on energy-related emergencies, but within 24 hours, the real impact of what I had accepted — the full charge of this office and the fact that there was very little planning or information here — hit me. That was due largely to some pretty honest briefings by the staff that was here.

I wrote a proposal immediately back to the city and county. I said, "This office exists to coordinate all emergency planning. It exists to prepare public information for people on all threats. Implied in both functions is an awful lot of research that needs to be done." So I set about almost immediately to do something other than what I had been hired to do. The primary focus of this office became more the threat of nuclear attack on Guilford County.

I feel like civil defense has somehow led to the domestication of the atom bomb. Ed Deaton, the assistant coordinator, and I have always told the truth about nuclear war planning the whole four years we've been here. We used to get requests for talks — still do — on various threats to the city: tornados, power blackouts, that kind of thing. And it was awfully hard to include nuclear war. People didn't want to hear that. Or we got laughed at. Suddenly this year people are asking for that presentation instead of the others.

Before that, to our surprise, to our anger and to our sadness, it looked like we were the only civil-defense agency out of 3,000 in this country answering questions the way we did. That was a hard experience. It was our intention to be truthful; it was *not* our intention to be outspoken. It would be awful

if telling the truth about nuclear war planning were synonymous with being outspoken, but because there were not other people within civil defense — at least last year — joining in my comments, the effect was "outspoken."

The truth simplified is that an estimated \$2.7 billion has been spent



PRE-PRINTED COLUMNS WHICH WILL APPEAR IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS IF THERE IS A "WARNING PERIOD" PRIOR TO NUCLEAR ATTACK.

in the last 30 years in an attempt to plan for surviving nuclear war. Yet I don't know of a war plan that has been developed anywhere that offers predictable, minimal protection for the private citizen.

There are only two ways to look at it as far as I'm concerned: it is either intentional or unintentional

deception of the public. If it is unintentional, then the material I have here displays ignorance. If it is intentional deception, the kindest interpretation would be that there are folks that just don't want to frighten people with the truth. I answer that in this way: it is not our job to mask a threat. It is our job to give you information on what threatens you in Greensboro and Guilford County, and on what resources are available to give you a measure of protection. Now if we cannot do that because of the nature of the threat, it is painful to say that we cannot do it, but there is no question that we should tell you that.

I have no moral objections to doing anything to give you some protection as long as we have nuclear weapons. Only I can't do it. We have worked for four years to find *something* — something that could give you that minimal protection. It would be a great gift to the community to save lives from the greatest threat of our time. We don't know how to do it. When it comes to saying that you are protected or can be protected, we say it is a hoax. Twenty years' worth of paperwork in our office proves it for me.

In the press I would read where the federal government would call me uncooperative. They would never telephone me and say this, but I would read it in the paper. Some of our peers are also unhappy. But I knew the action I had to take. There was just no question about it in my mind. Then I stopped thinking about losing my job because of it. If you concentrate on that it could distort what you do. It is scary to think about losing a profession you love, but it is scarier to think that you could lose a job for telling the truth.

The truth is that in an all-out nuclear attack any city of any consequence will be roasted. The Department of Defense has three categories for nuclear targets: category one is strategic military targets, category two is non-strategic military targets. Category three is population/industry. Guilford County and Forsyth County are together the largest category three conglomerate in North Carolina by virtue of population, large defense-related industries like Western Electric, and the gasoline tank farm — the largest gasoline storage facility on the East coast — out by the Greensboro airport. The Department of Defense

planning scenario for us indicates we are to plan for five to seven one-megaton detonations. One megaton is equal to 80 times the force of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. If that happened, there would not be a Guilford County.

We have virtually no information on what the \$4.2 billion war planning budget request means — whether they are talking about hardware or people or paper or what. But this money,



“[A] Virginia civil defense official's plan for Alexandria, a municipal suburb of Washington . . . would [have sent] 94,000 persons out of town, 19,000 of them westward across the Appalachians and the Alleghenies on a six-hour drive [about 180 miles as the crow flies] for a stay of perhaps a week in Webster Springs, West Virginia.

“Last week the Alexandria City Council unanimously rejected the plan and directed Mayor Charles E. Bentley, who agreed with the council, to so inform Governor Charles Robb.

“Besides the hoots and jeers of Alexandria officials, the *Post's* Mary Battiata recorded this reaction from Webster Springs's Mayor R.J. Jorishie:

“Did you say 19,000 people? I haven't heard a word about it. I don't know how we would handle it, frankly. We've only got two grocery stores here, no civil defense shelters. Did you say 19,000? The government would have to come in here and do a hell of a job for us to be able to handle 19,000.”

“Webster Springs has a population of less than 1,000.”

— *Nation's Cities Weekly*
May 3, 1982



as I understand it, would go towards crisis relocation planning.

I will give you the official version of the system. This is not our version. Crisis relocation means that risk areas — known targets for nuclear attack — would evacuate into host areas during an increased period of

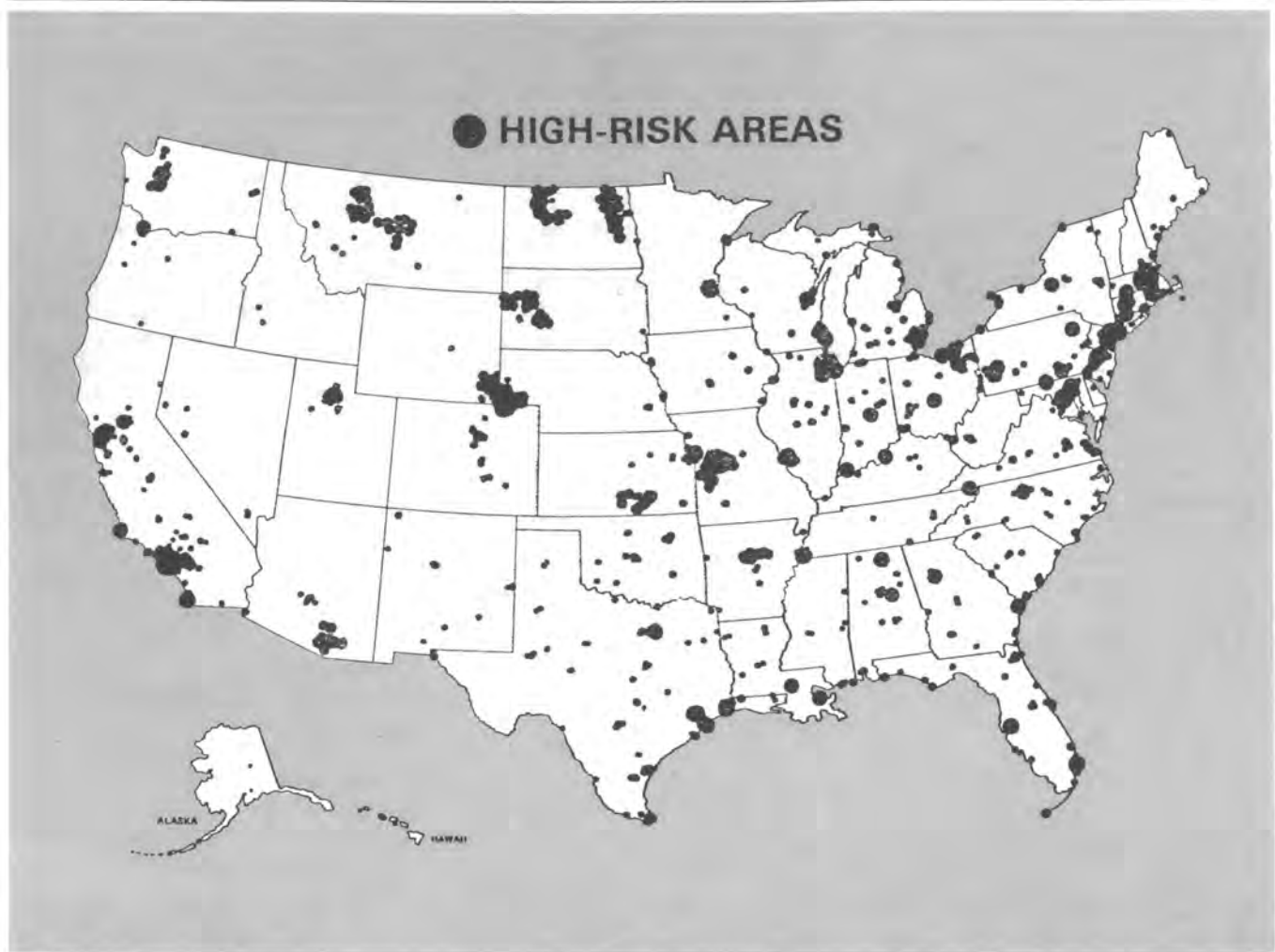
international tension, Ed and I, in our initial training, could not believe our ears. We couldn't understand the definition of a period of increased international tension. We did this year hear one definition. The example was when the Russians evacuate their cities.

We would be asked to evacuate 360,000 people into six surrounding counties. Let's talk about what that assumes. It assumes, number one, that there would be warning time. The estimated need that FEMA states is three-to-10 days' warning time. Let's say that is a fact, although any reasonable person would question that. It then assumes that everyone in Guilford County has the resources and that Guilford County has the supplies to stock up for three-day supplies of food, medical supplies and so on. There are a lot of hungry people out there who can't afford to feed themselves today, much less purchase for three days, but let's say that everyone could do that. It then assumes a docile and cooperative public in an unprecedented situation. It assumes that the host county will welcome everyone into their county under unprecedented conditions.

The system for the host counties involves reception centers where you would get your “Welcome to Davidson County” newspaper supplement which has already been printed, ready to distribute. It assumes that there would be congregate care facilities for everybody. There you would wait until there is evidence or warning that a bomb is coming. Then you would dive for a fallout shelter in their county. It assumes that the conditions would be right for you to construct something called an “expedient” shelter. An expedient shelter is basically placing dirt on a building.

Other things are not covered in the system. It assumes that the entire food distribution system of our urban county can be redirected in a short period of time to the six surrounding counties. It does not take into account inclement weather. It does not take into account, in our opinion, the diseases that according to our research here would be prevalent among people. Some places don't have hospitals. We have one host county that has only three doctors, and one is moving.

When people read through this kind of stuff in civil defense literature, the



THE SHADED AREAS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED BY THE U.S. GOVERN-

MENT AS HIGH RISK AREAS IN THE EVENT OF A NUCLEAR WAR. SOURCE:

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, APRIL, 1980.

first reaction is humor. It is almost impossible to look at this literature without some type of emotional reaction — anger, humor, sadness.

One part especially chokes me up. It is more tragic to me than anything else. It is a newspaper supplement, a portion of it is speaking to people in hospitals. And it says, if you can't be moved you'll still receive care and shelter. It doesn't tell the truth. Not if there is nuclear war.

Then there is a group of folks called "key workers." I would be among them. Key workers would be asked to come back into the risk area on 12-hour shifts to staff the city and county while the rest of you are out in the country. I don't mind telling you that if the whole system *could* ever possibly be designed, that fact alone is most disconcerting.

You could go out and devote the next 15 years to finding erroneous literature from the federal govern-

ment, but I dare say you will never find anything to top the pre-prepared public information newspaper supplements. For example, the treatment advised for radiation sickness is Kaopectate and aspirin. Press releases indicate that if you receive a small or medium dose of radiation that your body will repair itself, that you will get well. The material is simply not qualified at all.

One of the suggestions for a fallout shelter listed in the newspaper supplements, which is another tragic picture for me, advises you to take the door off your home, lean it against the side of your home, dig a little hole for the rain, and cover the slant with earth and crawl in. Another section suggests that you might want to dig a hole under your car.

An example, at least in my mind, of the fantasy of this system is that we are instructed in our training that people don't panic. One publication

even tells us that war makes heroes, and that people will help each other. I believe that people are basically good at heart, but I don't think we should expect them to be saints. Not them or us. Panic is not factored into the system. We are just told there won't be any panic, there won't be any looting. We were told in our training that the looting during the New York blackout was just media hype.

The official line is that we should plan for the police department and the sheriff's department to help out with the evacuation by providing security. In real life, we have studied this whole concept, this whole ridiculous idea, and it boils down in my mind to this: evacuation can be done, not easily, not without panic, not without incredible problems. The real problem is that the information is not out there for the people. You always hear from FEMA that, if you are away from the blast, then you are not blasted.

Well, that's a fact, but it doesn't talk about fallout and disease and panic and starvation.

Why should it be extraordinary to tell the truth? I think that people want to hear the truth. I couldn't begin to tell you the range of groups that ask for talks. We have talked to church groups, we have talked to Jaycees, the Gibsonville Ladies Club, teach-ins at the universities — a wide variety of people, political beliefs and backgrounds. They are not taking their time to hear bull. You have to lay it all out. They have no protection. Those are hard talks, and they are scary, but they ask and we talk. And of the letters we have gotten from the community, and from around the country, all but two are supportive. That has been an incredible experience, and from that you get a lot of energy. I think it is very hard for people to be encouraging. And it takes a lot of people being encouraging when you stand up and make a threat as real as you can.

The very act of saying or suggesting to you that even if we had the warning to evacuate, — look at the ethics of that. One of the state planners told me at a meeting, when I kept saying what is really out there for our people, told me my responsibility and that of other emergency workers ends at the borderline of Guilford County. I don't believe that. If we suggest to you that you evacuate to some place, then we are responsible for what happens. There is no design that we know of, and we are *trained* for what happens locally after a war.

There is another whole area called Continuity of Government — how federal departments will function during and after a war. We don't have much information on that. The only information we ever had was when we accidentally found out that the Department of Commerce at one time planned to bring 4,000 people here — their employees. When we found that out, one of the questions we asked was why would you bring people to a risk area? A phone call went to Raleigh and we never heard anything else about it, but we read about it. Someone asked us where we got our information about Continuity of Government planning. We told them, "the March, 1981, issue of *Esquire*."

The *Esquire* article also describes Mt. Weather, the massive shelter in Maryland where Category A personnel

— high-level government officials — will be evacuated from Washington. Their facilities are a lot fancier than a door against the side of a wall, or your trench in the back yard. The question I am respectfully posing is if protection against fallout is so simple, why don't Category A personnel, including the president of the United States, just carry shovels?

We are public servants. That is a serious term, public servant. Our work is your work. Our papers are your papers. I have never seen a document that you could not have access to. The war plans are public information. You have a legal right, and I would



After washing, all fruits and vegetables should be examined for radioactivity with radiological instruments before they are eaten. Extra care should be applied to leafy vegetables such as lettuce.

Canned meats are safe to eat after removing any contamination from the outside of the can. Remember — radiation harms only living tissue.

— "Emergency Public Information"

Davidson County Crisis Relocation Plan for Relocated Citizens

Fuel and food supplies will be rerouted to your home area; however, this may take a day or two. Retail grocery stores will probably take several days to restock your shelves.

— "Emergency Public Information"

Crisis Relocation Plan for Guilford (less High Point), Alamance and Rockingham Counties



hope an obligation, to see the evacuation plans. You can ask to see the public information that is already pre-printed for the newspapers.

We have different committees in Guilford County for different threats. If there is an interested group in the community, I like them to work on our planning committee. For example, years ago the American Friends Service Committee sent a representative to train our radiation team.

They trained that team along with the State Department of Human Resources, along with Duke Power Company. It was critical to get all different views for that plan.

I see hope. When you stand up and say, "Here's one disaster we've been unable to design a plan for," then you also say, "The information you've received in the past has been deceptive." One of the things we've done that doesn't get enough attention is that a group of people have come together to verify our findings. We have almost 30 people on this committee. It is the most well-balanced committee we have ever worked with — professionally, racially, sexually, politically. We've worked real hard on this. It got so busy around here that we had to put up bricks and boards so that the files could all be laid out for committee members and the public. All we have are two file cabinets now; the rest are bricks and boards with papers the people can look through.

I think it is important to work with people in the community on emergency planning. The more people who work together on these issues, I'm convinced, the better the results will be.

Civil defense people in this last year, thank goodness, aren't the only ones educating the public anymore. There are some fine groups out there that do — the Union of Concerned Scientists, SANE, Physicians for Social Responsibility, American Friends Service Committee. What is very discouraging is to see in our own publication, *Journal of Civil Defense*, where groups such as Physicians for Social Responsibility or individuals like Jonathan Schell, who wrote *The Fate of the Earth*, are belittled.

I'd like to envision the day when people who are in private research organizations are welcomed to work with government. People can only benefit from that. □

Ken Hinson is a free-lance writer and photographer living in Greensboro.

BLESSED ARE THE PEACE MAKERS

RELIGIOUS CHARITY AND THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH CANNOT COVER UP NATIONAL INJUSTICE BY GOVERNMENT. Human need and social justice cannot be sacrificed at the altar of economic programs and military might.

When 63 percent of the total budget cuts are related to programs that primarily serve the poor, it is time to ask some honest and disturbing questions about this administration's priorities.

— Nathan Porter, Domestic Hunger Consultant, Southern Baptist Convention Home Mission Board

For as long as organized religion has existed on this earth, religious leaders and major denominations have issued proclamations or asked "honest and disturbing questions" about peace and about social and economic justice issues. But a carefully worded public proclamation is too often an entirely different thing from collective action by followers of the faith to implement the inspirational words.

In the South, religious groups have typified throughout our tumultuous history both the best and the worst responses to human need and suffering. Flashy mass-media manipulators like Jerry Falwell and "Reverend Ike" promise miracles to desperate listeners if they send in their dollars; all too often, the major denominations hide behind facades of pious respectability.

Nevertheless, thousands of Southerners, both black and white, have found strength through deeply held faith to act on the basic religious values of peace, justice and equality. Black churches of course figured largely in the vanguard of the Freedom Movement of the 1960s.

Today, concern about the threat of nuclear war is spreading even among the wealthy white denominations, and in some cases the connections are

beginning to be made between that threat and the costs right now in human suffering caused by our exploding military budget.

What follows is a brief description of some of the actions being taken by Southern religious communities today in response to the current emphasis on military might. We realize that these listings are far from complete and urge our readers to educate us further by writing us with more news of Southern churches in action.

FROM ABOLITION OF SLAVERY TO WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, FROM OPPOSITION TO ALL WAR TO SUPPORT FOR ALL PEOPLE'S civil and human rights, Southern Quakers have steadfastly, courageously, and often in isolation worked according to their belief that "there is that of God in everyone."

The Quaker-sponsored American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has had a main office and several satellites in the region for more than a quarter of a century. Best known for its peace education and school desegregation efforts in the South, AFSC also sends food, clothing, medical supplies and personnel to war-torn areas of Southeast Asia, Central America, the Middle East and Africa. Regional education projects have focused on bringing balanced,

peace-oriented information to community groups and the news media on the Middle East and Southern Africa. Today, in addition to working on the nuclear freeze and jobs-with-peace campaigns, AFSC conducts projects for working women in several

states and helped organize the Greensboro, North Carolina, coalition which pushed the U.S. Justice Department to conduct grand jury hearings into the November 3, 1979, slayings of five anti-Klan demonstrators.

Like AFSC, the inter-denominational Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) stands out because of its high level of demonstrated religious commitment. CALC was organized by Martin Luther King, Jr., shortly before his death and has worked closely with AFSC through the years. Both groups are very active in teaching organizational skills and building regional and statewide coalitions on a variety of social issues, including peace.

Vigils, standing silently in protest, are a traditional nonviolent way of "speaking truth to power," as the Quakers say. Northwest Texas CALC holds monthly prayer vigils at the gate of the Pantex nuclear weapons plant in Amarillo. With the Catholic Diocese of Amarillo, CALC helps to support the Solidarity Peace Fund, established by the diocese in February, 1982, to provide counseling, social services and training for people who consider leaving their jobs at Pantex. This fund offers practical support for the August, 1981, statement of Amarillo Bishop Leroy T. Matthiesen asking workers to question the morality of the work they do and "seek employment in peaceful pursuits."

The Nashville, Tennessee, CALC chapter sends speakers to Sunday schools and churches, teaches courses on peacemaking and conducts parenting seminars to teach peace within the

LEAD ME FROM DEATH
to LIFE, from FALSEHOOD to TRUTH

family. The chapter sponsored a Children's Day for Peace in observance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Day and topped off an Income Tax Day demonstration on April 15 with a candlelight vigil which focused on military spending.

Vigils and other acts of quiet nonviolence as forms of protest might make more militant peace groups impatient, but the fact is that AFSC and CALC provide the lion's share — or should it be the lamb's share — of training, resources and personnel for peace work in religious communities throughout the South.

AFSC and CALC are by no means alone in the Southern religious-based peace movement. The North Carolina Council of Churches formed a Peace and Security Committee, made up of leaders from member denominations. In addition to conducting its own organizing and educational efforts, the committee has established a computerized resource center to help other peacemaking groups organize statewide.

Individual denominations are also beginning to move in some Southern communities and states. The Presbyterian churches in Atlanta recently hired a full-time peace education coordinator. The United Methodist Conference in South Texas held two peace conferences in San Antonio. The governing convention of the Episcopal Church, the Episcopal Bishops Council and the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta have adopted nuclear freeze resolutions. And Pax Christi, a Catholic peacemaking group, stirred enough interest outside the Catholic community in Memphis that a new CALC chapter was formed to broaden the scope of religious peace work there.

The Southern Baptists' commitment as an institution to peace and justice issues has rarely been outstanding; yet they too are beginning to act. The Southern Baptist Convention recently adopted a nuclear freeze resolution. Even more encouraging is the appearance of *The Baptist Peacemaker*, published from the Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. The *Peacemaker* began two years ago as a grassroots effort to encourage Baptist involvement in peace work. Volunteers work with local churches to organize Peacemaker groups throughout the South, and the seminary is writing a training



DETROIT, 1965: SELMA SUPPORT DEMONSTRATION. AT RIGHT: ROSA PARKS.

guide to assist in this work. *The Baptist Peacemaker* does not confine its effort to its own denomination; its mailing list of 31,000 includes many non-Baptists, and in Louisville its staff works with the Council on Peacemaking and Religion, a coalition of Christian, Jewish and Islamic groups.

ORGANIZING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE ISSUES HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CHALLENGE IN RURAL AREAS, BUT DURING THE PAST few years several new groups have formed to address peace and social justice issues from a rural perspective. The Appalachian Peace Fellowship draws members from churches in nine eastern Kentucky counties; they show films and hold skills workshops to reach out to community people. Cumberland Countians for Peace, based in Crossville, Tennessee, meets monthly to organize local peace education programs. In Burnsville, North Carolina, a group of activists — many of whom are associated with Warren Wilson College — publishes a newsletter, *Rural Southern Voices for Peace*, which keeps folks posted on activities, organizations and issues throughout the rural South.

The United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice has worked in predominantly black, rural communities of Virginia and North

LEAD ME FROM DESPAIR
to HOPE, from FEAR to TRUST

Carolina since the mid-'60s. Their educational and organizing efforts have consistently emphasized the links between domestic racial injustice and national policies of aggression and exploitation of Third World countries. A February, 1982, commission-led march from Goldsboro, North Carolina, to the state capital of Raleigh tied together such seemingly diverse issues as tax-exempt status for racist Christian schools, the attempted weakening of the Voting Rights Act, Jesse Helms's anti-busing amendment, and the expansion of the military budget at the expense of the needy.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT IS TO ENSURE THAT THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF ITS people are met. Religious bodies of this community cannot fill the gap created by recent and expected budget cuts. Charity is no substitute for justice.

Louisville Council on Peacemaking and Religion

While individual denominations sponsor and support a wide variety of peace and justice programs, ecumenical peacemaking groups are growing throughout the South. Atlanta has its Interreligious Peace Coalition; 34 churches in Dallas participated in a Peace Sabbath on the last Sunday in May; and North Carolina's Raleigh Peace Initiative spearheaded a successful drive for passage of the nuclear freeze resolution by the city council. In Auburn, Alabama, the Conscientious Alliance for Peace sponsored a week of peace activity with the endorsement of groups ranging from Church Women United to the Auburn ACLU.

Many traditional peacemaking groups have been strongly criticized for concentrating leadership — and too often membership and outreach — among white, middle-class males. The barriers to black and female participation are slowly beginning to crumble as it becomes increasingly apparent that the mushrooming military budget is being drawn from the pockets of the poor, who are predominantly women, disproportionately people of color.

Alabama has seen a flurry of peace-related activity led by women and blacks. The Tuskegee chapter of Church Women United organized community-wide observances of Hiro-

shima and Nagasaki Day in which the current nuclear weapons buildup was tied to local unemployment and hunger. And during the World Peace March, the Tuskegee Ministerial Association enlisted black involvement in worship and in sharing experiences with the Buddhist marchers.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference-sponsored march in support of the Voting Rights Act which trekked from Carrollton, Alabama, to Washington, DC, emphasized the necessity of putting human needs before military spending. And Tuskegee peace organizer Judy Cumbee addressed SCLC's Twenty-fifth Annual Conference in Birmingham this year on the effects of military spending on social programs.

In Atlanta, the Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change is making the issues of economic justice and peace the focus of its year-long round of activities leading to the Twentieth Anniversary of the March on Washington in August, 1983. Throughout the year, organizers will work with black churches, hold conferences and seminars, and sponsor a leadership meeting with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to build coalitions on peace and justice issues.

This boom in Southern peacemaking activity over the past couple of years signals a growing awareness of the ways in which militarism affects society. By encouraging local involvement in peacemaking and economic justice, the religious community contributes to "legitimizing" these issues for many Southerners. In demonstrating that people of faith are committed to acting upon their leaders' pronouncements for peace and world-wide economic and social justice, Southern churches can help to forge an alliance of men and women of all colors and backgrounds, whose efforts may contribute towards bringing the twentieth century to a close, not with a bang, but with this prayer fulfilled:

We seek a world free of war and the threat of war.

We seek a society with equity and justice for all.

We seek a community where every person's potential may be fulfilled.

We seek an earth restored. . . .

— Statement of the Friends Committee on National Legislation

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7000

Center of Concern
3700 13th St. NE
Washington, DC 20017
(202) 635-2757

Church Women United
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10017
(212) 870-2347

Clergy and Laity Concerned
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038
(212) 964-6730

Fellowship of Reconciliation
P.O. Box 271
Nyack, NY 10960
(914) 358-4601

National Council of Churches
110 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 544-2350

Sojourners
1029 Vermont Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 737-2780

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 522-1420

LITERATURE

Baptist Peacemaker
1733 Bardstown Rd.
Louisville, KY 40205
(502) 451-7220

The purpose of this quarterly newsletter is "to inform, encourage and assist Southern Baptists in the mission of peacemaking." There is no charge, but donations are encouraged for coverage of printing and mailing costs.

Friends Committee on National Legislation Newsletter

245 2nd St. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-6000
FCNL monitors legislative activity on issues of concern to the religious community. The newsletter is used to disseminate updates on current legislative activity.

IMPACT — Update
100 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 544-8636

IMPACT is an interreligious network which monitors legislation in a number of areas, including foreign and military spending, food policy and health and human services. The *Update* disseminates this information to members of IMPACT.

"A Matter of Faith: A Study Guide for Churches on the Nuclear Arms Race."
Published by: Sojourners, 1309 L St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

This study guide was designed for use as a basic educational tool for churches, college classes and prayer and study groups.

The Peace Packet. Available from the Christophers, 12 E. 48th St., New York, NY 10017, (212) 759-4050.

The packet contains three sections. Section I contains an annotated bibliography on peace and related subjects. Section II contains an annotated bibliography for educators and a listing of colleges which include peace studies in their curricula. Section III contains a list of organizations which are actively working for peace.

"Peacemaking and the Community of Faith: A Handbook for Congregations," by John A. Donaghy. Available for \$3 from: Covenant Peacemaking Program, Fellowship of Reconciliation, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

To Proclaim Peace: Religious Statements on the Arms Race. This 40-page booklet contains statements by 27 different churches and religious groups in the U.S. on the arms race. Price: \$1 each; 75¢ each for 10-100 copies. Add 20 percent shipping. Available from: Fellowship of Reconciliation, Disarmament Program, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, (914) 358-4601.

A Race to Nowhere: An Arms Race Primer for Catholics. Available from Pax Christi-USA, 3000 N. Mango Ave., Chicago, IL 60634.

"The Remaking of America?" Available from the National Council of Churches of Christ, Domestic Hunger and Poverty Program, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 572, New York, NY 10115, (212) 870-2307.

This booklet concerns itself with military spending and its effects on human needs and social justice.

MEDIA

"The Gods of Metal." 28-minute color film. For rental fees, write: Maryknoll World Films, Maryknoll, NY 10545.

This film analyzes the arms race from a Christian perspective, documenting its effects on the poor throughout the world. It also examines the work of pacifists to reverse this growing industry of violence.

"War to End All Wars." 25 minutes. Slide/tape or filmstrip formats are available. Sale price \$40; rental \$15. Available from: Weldon Nisly, Nuclear Moratorium Project, 300 W. Apsley St., Philadelphia, PA 19144.


This film explores Christian responses to war and concludes that a Christian perspective "ultimately leads to a pacifist stance towards nuclear weapons."

A FINE OLD TRADITION

The author of our Declaration of Independence, the Virginia native Thomas Jefferson, once opined, "Military conscription represents the worst intrusion of a national government into the private lives of its citizens and strikes at the heart of every precept on which our Republic is founded."

Draft dodging and draft resistance have a venerable history in the South, as elsewhere in the nation. The first real stronghold of resistance to military conscription during the Civil War was the Appalachian mountains. Whether in the hill country of Vermont or of North Carolina, the attitudes were much the same. When the draft laws were passed, untold numbers of young men fled to the hills, and beyond, with sympathetic help from mountain natives.

As the Southern forces of secession and government-approved enslavement became more hard-pressed, they beat the bushes for every



able-bodied man into whose hand they could thrust a gun, only to be met with, "The Bible says 'Thou shalt not kill,' and I won't." So widespread were such attitudes that the Civil War governor of North Carolina, Zebulon Baird Vance, himself a mountaineer native of the Asheville area, was moved to remark, "The hills of Carolina pose a greater threat to the continuation of the Confederacy than all the armies of the North combined."

The pervasiveness and persistence of such attitudes can be seen in the widespread refusal of young men to register for the draft today. And they are well illustrated by these Vietnam-era vignettes.

BILLY

Billy and I go back a long way together — all the way to junior high school. He was always a lover of nature, spending as much time as possible hiking, exploring woods and fields, camping out. He was never inclined to do much thinking about things like war and drafts and Vietnam and conscientious objection. He mostly just wanted to be left alone to live his life his way.

At age 16, Billy learned of an opportunity to earn a lot of money in a short time, working in a cannery on the West coast. Nature lover that he was, Billy just camped out all the way out West, then came back by a different route, camping out again as he came.

At age 18, Billy had no choice but to do *some* thinking about the draft and Vietnam. He had entered college, just as his family had expected of him. That choice gave him a student deferment, at first, but there was always the question: what about the draft when you're *not* in school. Going along with the government's expectations of him was a definite choice — and *that* choice was not the one that Billy wanted. On the other hand, he found nothing in school that appealed to him. He felt trapped, frustrated. After one year, he dropped out of school.

Selective service immediately pounced, ordering him for a physical. But Billy's summer work lay a-waiting out West. So out West he went, dutifully notifying his local draft board of that fact, and of the reason for it. . . .

. . . Or, at least, of *one* of the reasons for it. Besides the opportunity for a job, Billy knew that his draft board would have to transfer all of his records to Walla Walla, Washington.

Just about the time his records made it to Walla Walla, he would get this itch to climb Mount Rainier, or to get lost in the wilderness of Yellowstone or Yosemite for a couple of weeks. Then it was home-sweet-home to Raleigh, North Carolina, to work in surveying; and then, whenever the draft people were about to close in, to put in another semester at State University.

This rambling lifestyle went on for about five years.

In those five years, Billy had done a lot of thinking about the draft, of

course. He knew that no one could have a one-inch-thick draft file like he did without the selective service people having pulled at least one major boner: the sort that would get any case thrown out of any court, if it came to that.

Now, in the course of all his wanderings, Billy had taken up photography. Some of his nature pictures were — and are — simply breathtaking.

One afternoon, he went down to the draft board office in his home town and asked to see his file. He didn't make it obvious at first that his object was to take a picture of everything in it.

He was wise not to make it obvious. The draft people (like government people everywhere?) were intensely jealous of their paperwork. It never seemed to occur to them that any file which they had on hand was, after all, a repository of information with potentially life-shaping, if not life-shattering, importance to the individual whose name appeared on that file. Not that you couldn't get a copy of your file upon request — you could, for a price. I believe Billy told me it was a dollar a page, plus the cost on a per-hour basis of the labor involved in having it transported under the strictest of security measures down a long hallway to the copier.

Into this nest of security consciousness and cost effectiveness strode Billy, 35-millimeter camera with black-and-white film safely tucked away in a nondescript valise. He made some unusual requests: "Could you let me see my file over at *that* table, by the window? Wonder if you'd mind raising the blinds a little higher — that's better."

Out came the camera and click, he had his first picture — the outer cover of his file. The poor clerk was so startled that, at first, she couldn't even respond . . . just stood there staring in disbelief. Billy opened the file and click, took his next picture.

The clerk started yelling at him. "But you can't *do* that!" Click, and he flipped the page over; click, flip, click. "But this is *strictly* against the regulations! You just *can't do* that!"

As a matter of fact, they could do nothing to stop Billy, as a hasty check with the state headquarters of Selective Service bore out. He had a right to see his file, and nothing really forbade his photographing it at his

own expense. Billy just ignored the commotion, flipped and clicked.

Finally, his exasperated draft board secretary typed a memo. It read, simply, that on that date, one William Butler Bryan had come into local board whatever-number-it-was and taken a picture of everything in his selective service file. She shoved the memo under Billy's nose. He read it, click, took a picture of it, raised his camera and click, took a picture of the secretary. When Billy, smiling and oh-so-polite, thanked her for her help in positioning the file so as to get the best possible light, she said things the recollection of which turns Billy fiery red with embarrassment.

That was three years before the lottery system was put into place, as part of the overhaul of the old draft law. Billy remained vulnerable to the draft all three years. Maybe it was just a coincidence, but he never heard from them again. When the lottery was drawn, he had something like number 300 — something so high that there was no way he'd ever be in the top priority selection pool. A year later, he turned 26; and under the new law, anyone over 26 was too old to be drafted. His precious file, which had criss-crossed the country with him so many times, was simply burned in a selective service incinerator.

JIMMY J.

There is a myth in our land that anyone who is accused of a crime is presumed innocent until proven guilty. Anyone who has ever been arrested for a major crime knows from painful experience how much a myth — how much a lie — that really is. My experience with Jimmy J. is the best example of that which I know.

I have changed my friend's name, for his sake and his family's. He is from an "old money" Southern family. His daddy was, perhaps still is, a banker. The little church that they all attended bears the family name, as does each of the individual pews and the stained glass windows (each one having been given by different surviving family members "in loving remembrance").

Jimmy J. grew to maturity at a time when many of his peers were questioning authority. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, those most authoritative questioners, had set the

example, as had protesters of earlier wars. Midway into the Vietnam era, Jimmy J. found much in those examples which spoke to his condition. When he became 18 years of age, he took the (to his family) radical, unheard-of step of registering for the draft as a conscientious objector.

Jimmy J. had a *good* case for such recognition, but his draft board had never granted such recognition to anyone; and, family standing or no, they weren't about to start doing so with him. Upon being turned down, he lacked the counseling essential to successful appeals to the state or national draft boards. His family had a hard time understanding him and could not or would not come to his aid.

Cut off from all he had ever known and loved, and now impoverished, Jimmy J. turned to some new-found friends who tried to help. But there was little that they could do, except be there. When Jimmy J.'s case came up in court — yes, he had been ordered to report for induction, and had refused — his court-appointed lawyer botched what ought to have been a simple case.

Jimmy asked only for the right to serve his country in a way compatible with his faith, which meant service in some non-military, non-combatant way, but such things as truth and justice, or even legality, didn't matter much to that court. And so he went to prison for 18 months, despite the fact that his draft board had been the first to violate the law by denying him recognition as a conscientious objector.

In February of 1973, I was arrested myself for a very different kind of violation of the draft law. That same week, a good friend named Chuck, the son of a career marine, was tried and convicted of the exact same

offense for which I was arrested. My own arrest was, in fact, connected with the government's burning desire to get Chuck. In the early 1970s, he helped to establish a small organization called N.C. Resistance, the goals of which were to promote both draft and war tax resistance throughout North Carolina. He helped to organize several demonstrations at which, among other activities, draft cards were collected to be mailed in to the President of the United States. By February, 1973, he had become enough of a thorn in the government's side that the U.S. Attorney's office badly wanted him put away. They thought that arresting me would help their case against Chuck.

Chuck appealed his conviction, and my case was put on hold until his was resolved. Two months later, Jimmy J. was released from the Petersburg Federal Reformatory in Virginia. I knew that, if convicted, I would be likely to serve my time in the same prison. I learned from a mutual friend where Jimmy J. was living, and for two weeks I tried calling him. Someone else always answered, always took a message, always promised to have him call back. He never did.

Weeks went by, and then I saw Jimmy J. I was on my way into the little Quaker meeting that I attended in those days, when he came out the front door. I greeted him heartily, and he returned my greeting just as heartily. He then grew most solemn, and said that he had something to say to me.

He knew, of course, that I had been trying to reach him, but he had been unable to allow that. He had been released from prison after serving 18 months of a three-year sentence. As a condition of his parole, Jimmy J. had to do certain things, and avoid doing others. He had to do them for the remaining 18 months of his original sentence. If he violated any of those conditions, even if he had only one day remaining of his original three-year sentence, he could be returned to prison to complete the *full* term; in his case, another 18 months!

One of the conditions of his parole was that he was never to have *any* contact with two specific individuals — Chuck and me.

I couldn't believe what Jimmy J. was telling me. I gulped, "You mean, we were specifically mentioned, by name?" Nodding, he replied,

"By name." My disbelief deepened as Jimmy J. continued his story.

Knowing how persistent I can be, he had had a talk with his parole officer about the problem, and had been granted special permission to have one conversation with me, in person, to explain his distancing himself from me. "And, Jeral, this is that one conversation. Anything you wanted to say to me, or ask of me, do it now."

Presumed innocent? Until *proven* guilty? Chuck's case was on appeal; and I hadn't even been to court for a pre-trial hearing! I was so thrown off balance by what I had just heard that I became tongue-tied. That situation was not improved by Jimmy J.'s being obviously intent on leaving as soon as possible. Sensing my bewilderment, he thoughtfully volunteered what advice he could about getting along in prison. With that, having explained himself and briefly added what he felt he could, he proceeded down the steps, out of the little meeting and out of my life for the duration of his parole, 16 months away.

Personal liberty, despite a regulatory agency's flagrant violation of its own regulations; freedom of association; a friendship here and there; freedom to worship at the place of one's choice — these, then, became casualties of Jimmy J.'s act of conscience, his obedience to a higher law and the law's violation of itself. But that's not all the cost. Jimmy J.'s marriage perished while he was in prison. Maybe it would have anyway; but, as many a soldier in far away climes has found, distance and time *can* sometimes destroy even a good marriage.

It never mattered to the parole officer that Chuck's conviction would be overturned as early as the following October; or that I would never even go to trial, much less be proven guilty of a federal felony. We stood accused, and that was enough. Jimmy J. had to prove his sincere repentance by avoiding even the appearance of any further "wrongdoing."

EPILOGUE

Quite by accident, I saw Jimmy J. one more time. I was working in a library when he came in looking for a book. He stared at me in horror,

continued on page 56

Durham, NC, anti-draft rally, 1980



photo by Bob McMahon

HELL NO

BY CLEVE SELLERS

My fight to keep from being called into the army began in February, 1967, when I found out that the local draft board in Bamberg, South Carolina, was preparing to draft me. To counteract the board, I had Howard Moore, the attorney for SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), file a petition on my behalf.

The petition, which was designed to block my induction both in Georgia, where I was living at the time, and in South Carolina, was based on four objections: (1) that I had been ordered for induction out of turn because I was a member of SNCC and a civil-rights activist; (2) that all draft boards in Georgia and South Carolina were invalid because blacks were systematically excluded from participating in the election process; (3) that medical documents proving the existence of a cardiac defect had been ignored by draft boards in both states; and (4) that the actions of the boards deprived me of my constitutional rights — specifically, the right of due process of law and equal protection under the law granted by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

While my petition was still being processed by the courts, I was ordered to report for induction at the Atlanta Center at seven a.m. on May 1, 1967. Even though I knew that I would be subject to five years in prison and a thousand dollar fine for what I intended to do, my mind was made up. Under no circumstances did I intend to wear a uniform of the United States military. Stokely Carmichael, who provided me with moral support while I was making my decision, was with me when I arrived at the Atlanta Center.

"Don't let them get to you," he whispered as I left him at the

entrance and walked inside.

It took the induction officials longer than usual to process me because I told them that I knew Khaleel Syyed. Khaleel, whom I hadn't seen since we were working in Cambridge, Maryland, had been convicted — as a result of the testimony of an undercover police officer — of plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

I was closely questioned by several short-haired officials from the army's counterintelligence corps during most of the morning. By midafternoon, they concluded that I was not a "security risk."



Cleve Sellers

At 3:30 in the afternoon, I was escorted into the "ceremony room." There were five white and five black inductees with me. All of them looked worried. When it was time for us to take the fatal step forward, I was left standing in my tracks. One of the other inductees looked back at me, but the rest stared straight ahead.

After giving me an opportunity to change my mind, the visibly angry induction officers told me that I was free to go. When I got outside, the sun was shining brightly. It felt as if a heavy load had been lifted from my shoulders. Before I got two steps from the door, Stokely ran up to me and reached out to shake my hand.

"How was it?"

"I'm glad this part of it is over."

Before I could say anything else, we were swamped by a crowd of television and newspaper reporters.

During the short interview, Stokely pointed out that in Georgia and South Carolina combined only six of the 670 local induction board members were black. At the conclusion of the interview, I issued the following statement:

The central question for us is not whether we allow ourselves to be drafted, for we have resolved that this shall not happen by any means. But rather the central question for us is how do we stop the exploitation of our brothers' territories and goods by a wealthy, hungry nation such as this.

I am committed to give support to my brothers in Vietnam as they fight to keep America from taking her tungsten, tin and rubber. I shall be prepared to support my brothers in Iran when they move to overthrow their puppet regime which gives that country's rich oil deposits to the U.S. I shall be prepared to back my brothers in the Congo when they tell the U.S., "Hell, no, this copper belongs to me." I shall stand ready when my brothers in South Africa move to overthrow that apartheid regime and say to the U.S., "This gold, these diamonds and this uranium are ours." I shall stand with my brothers in Latin America when they throw out American neo-colonialist forces who would take the natural resources of Latin America for themselves and leave my brothers in utter starvation and poverty.

I shall not serve in this army or any others that seek by force to use the resources of my black brothers here at the expense of my brothers in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Cleve Sellers was convicted of draft evasion in federal court in Atlanta in April, 1968. The judge gave him the maximum sentence — five years — and denied bond. In October, 1968, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ruled that the denial of bond was unconstitutional; Sellers was released pending appeal of his conviction. It was overturned the following year. Sellers has continued to be active in political and civil-rights work.



A movement for all ages

as if I were some bizarre alien creature or a known carrier of the plague. Before I could even say good morning, he flew from the room, without, as far as I know, procuring his book. I later learned that he had moved to another town, found another job and place to live. I never saw him or heard from him again.

As for Chuck, his case was overturned on something more substantial than a mere technicality. He had been convicted of failing to possess his draft card, having mailed his to his local board some months prior to his trial. The appeals court decided that that act alone did not constitute a violation of the law — a decision that would still stand in the seven states covered by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, if ever a new draft law is enacted. He remains a deeply committed activist, having since worked for both the American Friends Service Committee and an agency aiding migrant workers in North Carolina, just to name two of his "Movement" jobs.

Billy has become a foreman with a surveying crew, somewhere on the northwest coast. He and his wife have one child. I understand from his family that he is still an avid and superb photographer.

I consider my having been willing to send my draft card to my local draft board, and to suffer the resulting risk of imprisonment, one of the true acts of courage of my life. Having the example of Chuck, and the history and traditions of the Quakers, all before

Resources

DRAFT AND WAR TAX RESISTANCE

Center on Law and Pacifism
P.O. Box 1584
Colorado Springs, CO 80901
The Center supplies legal counseling for war-tax resisters and conscientious objectors.

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
2208 South St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 545-4626
CCCO publishes "CCCO News Notes," covering developments in military and draft law. CCCO also publishes pamphlets on conscientious objection and the draft. Their "Military Counselor's Directory" contains detailed information on military counselors and counseling centers.

Committee Against Registration and the Draft
245 Second St. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-4340
CARD is an umbrella organization for groups opposed to draft registration. Referral to member organizations is available.

Military Law Task Force
National Lawyers Guild
1168 Union, Suite 400
San Diego, CA 92101
(714) 233-1701

Peace Education Program Resources
American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
Regional Office
Peace Education, AFSC
92 Piedmont Ave. NE
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 586-0460
AFSC publishes a series of informational pamphlets concerning the draft and draft resistance. They also provide draft counseling.

People Pay for Peace
Center for Law and Pacifism
P.O. Box 1584
Colorado Springs, CO 80901

Recon Publications
P.O. Box 14602
Philadelphia, PA 19134
Recon publishes draft counseling infor-

mation. They also maintain a draft counseling service which will answer any question about the draft.

LITERATURE

Basic Training: A Consumer's Guide to the Military, Steve Meiers, editor, the Progressive Foundation, 1982. \$2.95. Order from: the Progressive Foundation, 315 West Gorham, Madison, WI 53703. This book contains a question-and-answer section on the draft, chapters on conscientious objection, individual rights in the military and much more.

Task Force on Recruitment and Militarism
Friends Peace Committee
1515 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7000
TFORM publishes an information packet, available for \$5, which explains ROTC and recruitment procedures.

War Tax Resistance Kit. \$6 plus \$1 postage. Order from: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012.

MEDIA

"Are You a Conscientious Objector?: Resisting War in the '80s": 108 visuals, 17 minutes long. Slideshow sale price: \$50. Filmstrip sale price: \$40. Rental price (either format): \$15. Order from: CCCO, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146. (215) 545-4626.

This slideshow/filmstrip covers the history of war objection, different ways of objecting to war, a definition of conscientious objection, problems surrounding military service, and militarism vs. human needs. It was designed for use with high school and college groups.

"Choice or Chance": Rental \$20 in choice of format — slide/tape, filmstrip or three-quarter-inch vide cassette. Write: Registration Draft Media Project, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121.

This 20-minute show discusses registration, the draft and military recruitment.

me, was deeply inspiring. And, as the seemingly endless war dragged on, I found out that I had to do "something more" than merely write letters, sign petitions, march in demonstrations, or stand in vigils. After all, I had *done* all of those things for years. I have had a copy of the warrant for my arrest and of the indictment from a grand jury framed. They now hang on my workroom wall, alongside

my high school diploma, college degree, membership in an honor society, certificate of registration to be a registered nurse, and marriage license. □

Jeral Mooneyham is a critical care nurse in the coronary care unit of the Durham Veterans Administration Medical Center. He is active in Durham Congregations to Reverse the Arms Race.

Imagine the ultimate warrior. A warrior who needs no sleep, no food. A warrior who sees in the dark, kills on command and feels neither heat nor cold. A warrior who does not bleed and feels no pain.

This could describe a Star Wars droid warrior, but if the Department of Defense has its way it may describe the GI of the future: a flesh-and-blood human being stripped of all human needs, all human feeling.

Since 1954 various agencies of the Defense Department have conducted hundreds of experiments designed to create the super soldier.

In that year, a working group headed up by noted psychologist Harry Harlow was established to evaluate army research and development efforts. The group's report recommended the acceptance and integration of psychology, behavioral and social science into the army's research and development activities. It was a beginning. In time it became a pattern.

Just how much of a pattern was made clear in a 1967 address to a group of social scientists given by Donald M. McArthur, deputy director of research and engineering for the Defense Department.

"Twenty-five years ago, perhaps even 15 years ago, a defense R and D [research and development] meeting such as this — devoted to behavioral and social sciences — would have been unlikely. But today it would be unlikely to have any meaningful R and D conference without your participation."

The extent of the participation, from 1954 to today, can only be guessed at. It remains hidden behind clouds of secrecy, tangled in webs of technical jargon and obscured by euphemistic reports. The facts of this article were only obtained by repeated Freedom of Information Act requests over a 10-month period. Much of what the government finally released is minimal or incomplete. What is clear is that the same researchers seeking the ultimate weapon are seeking the ultimate warrior to operate it.

More than two dozen experiments have focused on sleep, with a basic aim in mind, an aim stated in a brief on project ENDURE, conducted by the army's Human Resources Research Office in Alexandria, Virginia. It was, they said, "to establish ways of extending troops' endurance so that

ESPERO SOLDIER

By Elton Manzione

the effectiveness of the equipment will not be limited by the user."

For example, a project contracted in 1981 is apparently designed to create soldiers able to operate new extended operation weapons. The newest tanks can operate at a sustained level for days; soldiers, however, need sleep. Doctors W.B. Webb and C.M. Levy of the University of Florida hope to change all that.

Webb and Levy study the effects of sleep deprivation on military performance. They hope to develop what they call "optimum placement of sleep opportunities": how often, when and for how long should tired soldiers doze so they can still perform at peak efficiency. The experiment is one of many aimed at regulating a soldier's need for sleep.

During the Vietnam War certain units, mainly Long Range Reconnaissance Platoons (Lurps) and navy SEAL* teams, often went days without sleep with only dexedrine to "enhance" their performance.

"We called ourselves Uncle Sam's snow-men," James Gilligan, a former Lurp and now a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, quipped. "We had the best amphetamines available and they were supplied by the U.S. government."

When I was a SEAL team member in Vietnam, the drugs were routinely consumed. They gave you a sense of bravado as well as keeping you awake. Every sight and sound was heightened. You were wired into it all and at times you felt really invulnerable.

While the Lurps and SEALs were capable of sustained operations, returning to base was often painful.

"They cut you off then," Gilligan said. "So what you had was a lot of guys who had been freaked by intense combat and suddenly they were crashing from a 10- or 14-day speed run."

It was common wisdom in Vietnam for most soldiers to avoid SEAL and Lurp camp areas. They put us into the worst possible combat situations. The screams, the pain, the fear were all heightened by the speed. Then they cut us off and we crashed. We weren't at all rational. If anybody — officer, other soldiers, civilians — got in our way we just walked over them. I stuck a .45 under a commander's nose and threatened to kill him just because he told me to get a haircut. I wasn't even reprimanded. It was just a fore-

gone conclusion we weren't wrapped too tight.

In order to avoid the unpleasant experience of facing dozens of wired, heavily armed, crashing and hostile groups of their *own* men, the army brass commissioned Dr. M.T. Orne of Pennsylvania Hospital to develop a way to teach soldiers to "therapeutically" nap.

In 1971 Orne began his research. Nine years and half-a-million taxpayer dollars later he concluded, "Unless such control [of sleep] can be taught to individuals not possessing the skill, attempts to teach prophylactic napping would be unsuccessful."

After all that time and money Orne could only conclude that if you can't teach someone to nap it's impossible to teach them to nap when it would do the most good!

Another sleep experiment seems aimed at applying the "chicken-house effect" to the military.

Large-scale egg-producing farms long ago learned they could increase egg-laying by leaving the lights on in a chicken house on for 18 or 20 hours. The chickens, seeing the light, would think it was still daytime and go on laying for the entire period.

The army thinks a similar approach might work for them. Under a contract with Human Factors Research, Inc., on the "biomechanical aspects of performance," researcher J.L. McGrath is investigating how "temporal orientation influences human performance." McGrath's research is aimed at "controlling temporal orientation to increase performance."

Although details of the research are classified, one could wonder if future army barracks will be equipped with slow-moving clocks, windows which show only daylight or lights that stay on 20 hours a day. They might even begin to look like chicken coops.

The army also conducts experiments to improve night vision, presumably so soldiers can see better while they stay awake all night.

Early experiments focused on developing night-vision glasses, starlight



* The Navy says that SEAL stands for Sea, Air and Land. When I trained in Vietnam we were told it stood for Small, Efficient, Assault Landing Teams. SEAL missions included "undermining the infrastructure of the enemy" (i.e., assassination). Lurps did intelligence work.

scopes and the like. These devices were cumbersome, delicate and subject to failure. Current military experiments aim at improving the ability of an individual soldier's *own eyes* to see at night.

In two experiments on improving night vision, soldiers served as guinea pigs while researchers measured the effect of two dangerous drugs on their night vision. In June, 1978, Optical Sciences Group of San Rafael, California, began administering benactyzine, a powerful central nervous system drug, to soldiers to see if it would improve their night vision. In April, 1980, OSG repeated the experiment using Atropine, a belladonna derivative.

Both drugs dilate the pupil of the eye, which could aid night vision, but both can have serious side effects. Various chemical reference books say the drugs can produce delirium, fever, convulsions, coma and heart stoppage.

A declassified report on one of the two experiments notes that 10 volunteers were used and they reported "mild discomfort."

OSG and its chief researcher, A. Jampolsky, received nearly \$700,000 in government funds for the experiments. The military volunteers were not paid for their risk. It was never noted whether the drugs did indeed improve night vision.

Perhaps the most frightening series of experiments are being carried out under the broad banner of "controlling autonomic response."

Autonomic functions are those which are usually automatic but over which we can exercise some control. A good example would be your breathing rate.

One of the most diabolical experiments in this area involves the use of hormones to "change bodily responses to stress and injury." In late 1977, researcher W.F. Hegge terminated an experiment designed to teach soldiers "non-drug management of wound-related pain." In other words — not to feel pain.

Another series of experiments seeks to determine what makes a particular soldier a killer, what will motivate a soldier to fight and what personality traits will influence their performance. Although the military closely guards this aspect of its research, some older reports have been declassified. Their contents are startling and disturbing.

The U.S. Army Personnel Research Office, for example, tried to establish a psychological test for selection of Special Forces officers. Among the items measured were the aggressiveness, energy level and assertiveness of the candidate.

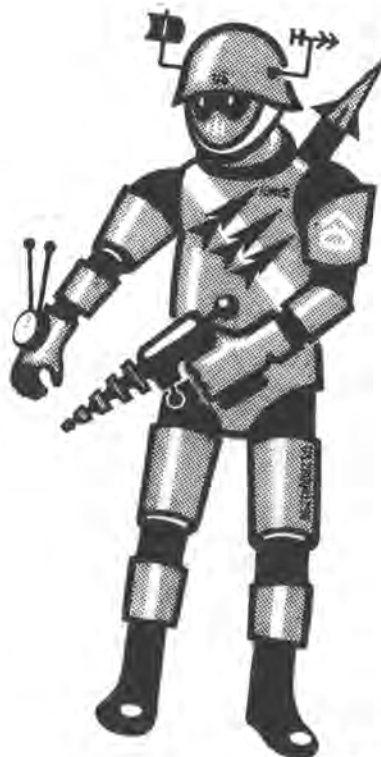
Another ongoing project of the Personnel Research Office seeks to "identify the qualities for effective performance in combat" and to "develop test measures of combat potential."

If the military were attempting to create the "super soldier" for protection of U.S. civilians, these projects might, perhaps, be excused. But in the age of nuclear war, the experiments seem superfluous. The government, however, might have possible applications in mind. One research project, perhaps stirred by the violent upheavals in the nation's cities in the 1960s, was aimed at the role of "minority groups in counter-insurgency," or how to get one Vietnamese ethnic group to fight against another. Although the project was started in 1965, it is still continuing. It is entirely possible that the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua were involved in this program.

Moreover, the projects emphasize "limited warfare situations." Night operations, as well as continuous operations, are more characteristic of guerrilla than conventional warfare. At least one of the army's Human Factors conferences took place at the J.F.K. School for Special Warfare at Fort Bragg in North Carolina — considered by many to be a consulting agency for repressive regimes.

What will be the effect of an army of super soldiers on future wars of liberation? One can only guess, but perhaps, as in the case of the F-15 and the smart bomb, even these technological zombies will be no match for a determined people's struggle. But that is certainly where they will be used.

Vietnam taught our military strategists that technically sophisticated equipment does not necessarily provide the winning advantage. Addressing a Human Factors conference in 1968, General Frank S. Besson, Jr., passed the lesson along: "In a limited warfare situation, man — more than ever — is *the* weapons system," he said. □



Scott MacNeill

Elton Manzione, a long-time political activist, is the Southern organizer for Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

WHO MAKES THE BODY BAGS?

In late winter, 1982, Tennier Industries wanted a little something extra from its workers in Huntsville, Tennessee. The company wasn't demanding the usual concessions: if workers surrendered wages or benefits, they would put the company in violation of minimum wage laws. Instead, management wanted them to sign a letter pleading for help — a crucial tool, supervisors said, for landing the contract needed to prevent the plant from shutting down. Senator William Proxmire was trying to snare that contract for a company in Wisconsin, the floor ladies explained. Who else to turn to but the rural community's most powerful resident and native son?

A few weeks later, Tennier announced that it had won the contract to make 94,000 sleeping bags.

Supervisor Elva Ruth Yeadon approached Sally Young,* extended pen and paper, and said, "Honey, sign this paper to thank Howard Baker for your job."

Young, who operates a sewing machine, turned to a mechanic working on some nearby equipment and replied, "I'm not gonna thank him. I don't like my job."

"You'd better thank him," the mechanic said dourly, "because without Howard Baker this place would have been gone."

Huntsville is not only Senator Howard Baker's home town but also, in 1981, the Southeast's leading per capita recipient of Pentagon prime contracts. On paper, the town got \$24,079 for

every man, woman and child within its limits. That's 15 percent more money per capita than was received by Lockheed-Georgia's home town of Marietta and three times more per capita than Newport News, Virginia.

The Pentagon spent \$736,000 of those contract dollars in Huntsville in 1981 for body bags, the long, ghoulish sacks imprinted on American minds as a symbol of the Vietnam War. In 1981, 34,592 body bags were produced just off the Congressman Howard H. Baker Highway in a blue corrugated-metal building which sits directly over the top of an old radioactive waste dump — a legacy of Huntsville's previous military industry.

Huntsville exemplifies the costs, insecurity and webs of dependency caused by Department of Defense (DOD) penetration into all corners of economic activity. For all its military money, the town and the surrounding portion of East Tennessee's beautiful, damaged Cumberland Plateau remain poor. In 1981, Huntsville's per capita military contracts exceeded its per capita income of \$5,191 four-and-a-half times over.

The people behind military contracting in Huntsville are two New York brothers. Their military apparel operations in Huntsville and two other rural East Tennessee communities — Clinton and Lenoir City — took in \$17 million in 1981 defense contracts. Since the 1960s, Howard and Carle Thier have maneuvered their apparel business from town to town and region to region, setting up a family of interchangeable companies under different names and ostensibly different

ownerships which the brothers and their associates insist have nothing to do with one another. In reality, those ventures — Tennier (called Helenwood Manufacturing until 1981), Lancer Clothing, Greenbrier Industries, Loudoun Industries, Downslope Industries, Eric Industries and Protective Apparel Corporation of America — have operated as a single entity, sharing personnel, contracts, office or plant space.

Maintaining the fictional lines helps the brothers fight unions, win preferences from DOD's contracting system and evade legal and moral responsibility to a skein of workers and communities. What makes all those communities inviting way stations to the Thiers is poverty — Scott County's chronic double-digit unemployment reached 22 percent in 1982. "You can't even get a job in a store around here," Sally Young says. "You know you got to like it or lump it."

The Thiers' operations represent the size and nature of most military contracting in the upper South, a region with relatively few big-ticket weapons producers like Lockheed or Tenneco. In 1981, about 550 companies received Tennessee's total of 2,734 DOD contracts worth more than \$10,000. Most were infinitesimal if matched against all Pentagon spend-

* The names of all current non-supervisory personnel listed here are pseudonyms.



IN 1981, 34,592 BODY BAGS WERE PRODUCED BY TENNIER INDUSTRIES AT THIS FACTORY BUILT ON TOP OF AN OLD RADIOACTIVE WASTE DUMP.

ing: of those 2,734 awards, only 21 cost DOD more than \$5 million. The more typical award in Tennessee is \$12,000 to the Pickett County sheriff's department for "surveillance services" or \$362,000 to Buring Food in Memphis for meat and fish.

As DOD commences the first weapons-buying binge in decades with enough magnitude to recast regional economies, the Southeast's military contractors remain largely subsets of traditional industries like textiles, food, tobacco and fuel. In 1981, clothing and textile products ranked as the second or third best-selling item to DOD for North Carolina (\$106 million and 16 percent of all DOD procurements), Tennessee (\$82 million, 16 percent), South Carolina (\$69 million, 16 percent), Alabama (\$80 million, 10 percent), Kentucky and Georgia.

Huntsville represents some important policy thrusts, too. Today, most public discourse over military production is monopolized by the "industrial preparedness" lobby bleating that DOD needs to reform its "adversarial" relationship with the "deteriorating defense industrial base." But all along the Pentagon has given contractors like the Thiers remarkable competitive advantages. And things are getting better, particularly with enlarged contracting preferences to small business and depressed rural and urban areas.

If recently created financial supports for small business presume that all small business is innovative, job-generating, loyal, clean, brave and trustworthy, then geographical targeting presumes that all money flowing to

Labor Surplus Areas (LSAs), the government's designation for areas of high unemployment, means good things for workers and communities. Huntsville's body bag factory benefits from and belies those assumptions. In 1981, two-thirds of all the contract dollars flowing into Huntsville, \$9.39 million, came as "total LSA and small business preferences." That means the company, trading on Scott County's poverty and recent congressional initiatives to target more of the defense budget to LSAs, could obtain "competitively bid" contracts even if it weren't the low bidder. Equally important, DOD seems to overlook the probability that Huntsville's military contractor may not be a small business. Effectively managed as one operation, the Thier brothers' three Tennessee companies employ far in excess of the 500-worker ceiling.

Adversarial relationship? Between 1977 and 1980, the federal government and the state of Tennessee gave the Thiers \$79,434 in CETA funds to train workers for minimum-wage jobs. In 1981, their companies received \$2.62 million in Government Furnished Material (GFM) via nine separate contracts. GFM comes in especially handy to the military garment industry, where material accounts for 65 to 85 percent of total contract cost, according to Howard and Carle Thier's comptroller, Steven Eisen. "If a contractor does not have to finance the cost of that material," Eisen reasons, "he's going to save a fortune in interest."

Huntsville also has some important things to say to America's fledgling

peace movement and its most familiar critiques of American capitalism. As anybody worth his or her weight in peace movement pamphlets assumes, the DOD derives its power principally through multi-billion-dollar weapons programs, composing a warfare sector which profoundly influences, but functions external to, the larger economy. The "Sunbelt" — conjuring images of a land mass bristling with weapons facilities and militaristic fervor — hosts an ever-increasing majority of the benefits of that sector to the implied detriment of the peace-loving, decaying "Frostbelt." Military spending doesn't create many jobs, according to the traditional peace litany. Instead, the money goes to "capital-intensive industries;" the few jobs involved go to engineers and others in least desperate need of employment.

In fact, DOD derives a great deal of its power by buying into economies across the board. Strip miners, sheriff's departments, apparel companies, whole local economies receive small but vital props. While the Pentagon is attacking employment on a grand scale — particularly through its little-publicized automation subsidy programs — it undeniably creates jobs as well. And it does so in labor-intensive industries like clothing.

Ritualistic dismay over military porkbarreling, major weapons system ripoffs and Labor Department employment projections neither explains nor challenges the Southern military contracting system's nub, its intricate grass-roots impacts. It fails to examine what *kinds* of blue-collar jobs

the Pentagon creates or how DOD shapes its contractors' relationships with workers and host communities. Howard Baker's home town is as good a place as any to ask those questions.

Since 1976, the Thiers' Huntsville operation has manufactured uniforms, tunics, flight jackets, tent liners and other standard items in DOD's annual \$1 billion barrage of clothing and textile purchases. Tennier religiously follows the apparel industry's usual method of maintaining productivity and minimum-wage levels: consolidate two demanding jobs into one even more demanding job; dangle piece-work rates at tantalizingly attainable levels; once the worker has mastered the operation, jerk production levels out of reach — and keep jerking. If (and only if) you're making production, you can take a smoking break — in groups of three around a red square painted on the floor.

The company complements its power to tantalize with a power to enlist workers as co-conspirators in such schemes as hiding a huge shipment of military mittens officially being made elsewhere or clamming up when DOD guests arrive. "They shafted the government a lot," says one sewing machine operator. "Rotten material, bad goods boxed on the bottom, good on the top. I don't see how what the government buys holds together." In 1981, shipments of mittens, high-altitude masks and sweat jackets all passed a DOD in-plant inspection but were returned when inspectors further down the line discovered what was on the bottom.

The company's biggest stick is its own impermanence, a quality it has emphasized to everyone. "I don't think they even own the sewing machines in Huntsville," says Lynn Tompkins, a lively, forthright woman who sewed 200 body bags a day during most of 1981. "They rent em. Two good semi-truckloads would get everything out." Delivering on that threat elsewhere — with DOD's cooperation — brought the Thier brothers to Huntsville.

Carle Thier has been making military apparel all his adult life. He says that, while still an industrial design

student at New York University, he created a "unique" armored vest which attracted DOD's attention. Recruited by the military to develop his vest ideas, Thier soon went into the production side of military clothing. In 1966, he and a partner established Lancer Clothing Company in the small Hudson Valley town of Beacon, New York.

By 1973, Thier had taken control of the company and was looking for places to expand. He found one in southern West Virginia. Thier, his younger brother Howard and their cousin Martin Lane set up Greenbrier Industries in a venerable mill building at Rainelle, the biggest town in the poor coalfield end of Greenbrier County. Within four years, Greenbrier Industries was contracting \$11.3 million of DOD work in West Virginia and at another plant in Knoxville.

When Carle Thier arrived in West Virginia, he set about ingratiating himself with the local elite. Greenbrier's landlord, a Rainelle insurance agent and state senator named Ralph Williams, says, "He appeared at the Lions Club and the Rotary around town and put on a big spiel that he was glad to be here and that he was really going to make this a thriving industrial metropolis in terms of sewing-machine type work."

The bonhomie didn't last long. "He'd get people in here for six weeks and let them go and hire somebody else," Williams continues. "I always had the feeling that they were en-

thralled with the philosophy of how they did things in New York."

Minimum wages, arbitrary hirings and firings, glue fumes, stifling heat and one particularly tyrannical floor supervisor all gnawed at the employees. So did the owners' superior airs. "Carle Thier looked at us down here that made money for him like we were a bunch of dumb hillbillies," says Nellie Tincher, a veteran sewing-machine operator at Greenbrier.

In April, 1977, Mrs. Tincher and other workers got the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) to launch an organizing drive at Greenbrier. The company and its union-busting consultants, Long Island-based Consolidated Corporate Consultants, responded hamhandedly with threats and interrogations. Union organizers and supporters say local police harassed them.

The Thiers also recruited a more potent ally — the Pentagon. From the start of the union campaign, Carle Thier and Martin Lane peppered government contract officers with reports blaming "labor unrest" for Greenbrier's inability to meet delivery schedules. An administrative law judge later described all those reports as unsupported or untrue "windmills at which the company tilted." But the military believed in the windmills and consistently gave the company what it wanted. Contract officer Bernard Johns acknowledged that DOD conducted no "independent investigation" into Greenbrier's false claims about "labor unrest."



SINCE THE 1960S, HOWARD AND CARLE THIER HAVE BUILT UP A FAMILY OF INTERCHANGEABLE COM-

PANIES UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES AND OSTENSIBLY DIFFERENT OWNERSHIP. IN REALITY, LANCER, TENNIER,

Greenbrier's chosen anti-union weapon was a \$318,174 contract for women's coats. The Defense Personnel Support Center (DPSC), DOD's multi-billion-dollar textile, food and medical goods contracting center in Philadelphia, awarded and administered that contract. In mid-July, after the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ordered a representation election at Rainelle, Martin Lane wrote a letter to DPSC's Bernie Johns. Lane said the company was "exploring" the possibility of subcontracting the 34,360 women's coats in order to forestall "a production slowdown" linked to union activity. Two days after Lane wrote the letter, Greenbrier drew up that contract with Helenwood Manufacturing of Huntsville, Tennessee.

Helenwood, a brand-new company, had ostensibly been started by a burly 38-year-old lawyer named Jerome Eisenberg. Shuttling in from New York, Eisenberg cut a noticeable figure in rural Scott County. "He reminded me of what Raymond Burr used to look like in Perry Mason," says a legal colleague. "Really well-tailored, gold ring, but not ostentatious. To him, money talked." Eisenberg had grown up with the Thier brothers in Brooklyn; at the time he legally represented Carle Thier, Greenbrier Industries and Lancer Clothing.

"Like everybody else in the garment industry, these guys are fast on their feet," recalls Bob Love, an industrial

development official who showed Eisenberg Scott County. "But hey, when you're in Scott County, you can't be too damn choosy about who you take in. Well, it's not just Scott. When you're in any isolated rural county and anybody has a way to create jobs, you'd better just swallow your pride and throw your feet way out to catch em."

For Eisenberg, Love says, "The big pitch was 'we've got labor and we'll give you a break on the building.'" Love's Scott County Industrial Development Board (IDB) arranged a juicy financing package, threw in \$10,000 of sewing equipment and arranged "virtually rent-free" terms on the IDB's one and only radioactive industrial site.

The site's sorry history dated to 1969 and the advent of Nuclear Chemicals and Metals Corporation (NCMC). That company also received a sweet financing package from an earlier development group, the Great Scott Development Corporation. NCMC was the creature of E.R. Johnson Associates, whose founder arrived in Huntsville with a contract to deliver thorium metal to Oak Ridge 50 miles south of Huntsville. Also in tow as vice-presidents and stockholders were the recently resigned directors of the Atomic Energy Commission's (AEC) Materials Licensing Division and Nuclear Materials Safeguards Division. With these AEC heavyweights on board, NCMC emerged as the epitome of the reckless nuclear shop, flouting the law and common sense.

When NCMC began operation in 1970, a state pollution control officer warned that its waste pond's plastic liner, designed to prevent radioactive seepage, was "totally ineffective." It was never repaired. Thorium, used as a fuel for experimental reactors and nuclear submarines, has a long half-life and generates extremely toxic and biologically active daughter products. But in 1971, a state health inspector found that NCMC had taken hardly any smears, surveys or air samples to measure plant radioactivity during its first year of operation and concluded that the company "was not very interested in the safety aspects of the process."

In 1972, Johnson and company closed and abandoned the thoroughly contaminated plant and moved on to greener pastures. According to NCMC's

former accountant, E.R. Johnson Associates now writes quality assurance and safety programs for clients like General Electric and Consolidated Edison.

It took six years to tidy up after NCMC. The building was eventually — and ineptly — washed down with water by the now-notorious TNS (Tennessee Nuclear Services), the subject of 1981 congressional investigations for its own atrocious health and safety conditions. And the waste pond's radioactive liquid was pumped into the New River, its sludge scraped and hauled off for burial in Oak Ridge in 1977.

None of the radioactive leavings deterred Jerry Eisenberg. In January, 1977, Eisenberg "extended a special thank you" to Howard Baker in the local paper, noting that without the senator's "cooperation this new business venture would not have been possible." Don Stansberry, a senior partner in the Baker law firm, helped arrange the terms of an IDB lease which Eisenberg signed in Baker's Huntsville law office.

By 1979 Helenwood Manufacturing had grown flush enough to build an extension over the top of the filled waste pond. During the next three years, a two-inch crack developed in the extension's slab floor. Contractors who laid a sewer line through the waste pond and sewing-machine operators who have worked on top of it suspect that it's still a health hazard.

The original NCMC part of the plant might be as well. Veteran nuclear workers say that it is impossible to eliminate radioactive materials from porous metal or concrete surfaces. Joseph Egan, a nuclear engineer and industry analyst who has reviewed the Tennessee Radiological Health Division NCMC file, observed glaring inconsistencies and "would not be at all surprised" to find radiation counts of two millirems per hour (the legal threshold for "restricted" areas) still in the plant.

From the perspective of the county's upper crust, Eisenberg did more than put the IDB's radioactive albatross back in use. He established a major source of employment with no threat to the prevailing parsimonious wage rate. And Eisenberg had a pipeline to federal money. At first that pipeline didn't stretch to the Pentagon. It cut through the coalfields



HELENWOOD AND OTHERS OPERATE AS A SINGLE ENTITY.

to West Virginia and stopped. All Helenwood's government contracts in 1977 were subcontracts from Greenbrier. Greenbrier was financing Helenwood. And Bankers Trust of New York, Greenbrier's principal lender, had just made the Helenwood expansion easier by expanding the Thiers' credit line 70 percent and lending them an additional half-million dollars.

The pipeline to Rainelle also lent an extra element of potential illegality to the long-running NCMC fiasco. The Farmers Home administration (FmHA) paid for cleaning up NCMC's waste pond with a \$21,000 grant. As that cleanup coincided with the Thiers' battle against ACTWU in West Virginia and the move to Tennessee, Scott County's boosters clearly violated the Rural Development Act. Like other federal programs, FmHA's development funds prohibit any use "calculated or likely to result in" a plant "transfer," "close down" or "the increase in unemployment in the area of original location" (emphasis added). Those were precisely the three options the Thiers were exercising, under DOD's auspices, in West Virginia.

In late August, 1977, Greenbrier's Rainelle workers voted in the union despite the company's illegal pressures. Four days later, Thier and Lane started laying off workers. By November, they had dismissed 80 percent of the work force, telling them there weren't any contracts to work with. DPSC was reinforcing the idea that contracts were scarce, along with the Defense Contract Administration Service (DCAS), DOD's contract monitoring arm. During the Rainelle organizing campaign, DCAS had recommended *against* letting Greenbrier subcontract the women's coat order to Helenwood. Helenwood was already delinquent on four of its five government subcontracts. Nevertheless, DCAS soon reversed its "no award" recommendation just before the union election.

Five days after the union vote, another DCAS survey, which rated Helenwood's production capacity and performance record "unsatisfactory," magically turned "satisfactory" — Greenbrier could transfer a \$325,000 contract for more women's coats to Huntsville.

Nellie Tincher recalls that a Greenbrier supervisor told her that "The

company was only going to work on small contracts and was not going to start on anything really big until we find out what the women are going to do" — i.e., stick with the union or acquiesce to the layoffs.

The contract shifting moved the Thiers' focus from West Virginia, the nation's most heavily unionized state to right-to-work Tennessee. Within the first months of Helenwood Manufacturing's operation, its plant manager heard about union cards circulating and illegally read workers the riot act. "He said if he even heard us mention the word 'union' we'd be out," remembers one of the initial employees.

But the Tennessee shift hadn't produced women's coats for Uncle Sam — just as DCAS originally warned. By January, 1978, four months and many delivery-date modifications after shipments were supposed to begin, Helenwood had yet to make its first delivery. Citing Greenbrier's "questionable integrity," DPSC contract officer Bernie Johns terminated one cost contract for default.

Two months later, Johns reinstated that contract at Helenwood. He later defended his reversal by describing "the government's urgent need" for those coats. In fact, the Thiers and Eisenberg supplied all the urgency because they had already cut all the coat material — \$92,000 of Government Furnished Material — into parts.

All these maneuvers cost the Thiers the grand total of \$2,375 for the termination and two other fines. But the Rainelle workers weren't being cowed out of their support for the union. And they weren't dropping the NLRB case they had filed against the company. Greenbrier gradually began rehiring workers, though the West Virginia plant was clearly now subordinate to the company's other operations.

In spring, 1979, management recognized the union. In September, 1979, Rainelle workers finally got their day in court when the NLRB pressed unfair labor practice charges against Greenbrier. In November, three weeks after the union received formal certification, Greenbrier announced that it was shutting down its Rainelle plant. In December, the company's trucks emptied its Rainelle building. "They moved out at night and on weekends," remembers one Greenbrier worker. "They had everything out in nothing flat."

A few weeks later, the labor law judge issued a rebuke-filled decision, ordering the folded company to rehire workers it had laid off in 1977 and award them back pay. The union and workers salvaged what they could — which turned out to be \$50,000, or \$403.23 per person.

Footloose again, the Thiers consolidated their assets in Clinton, Tennessee, the Anderson County seat, midway between Knoxville and Huntsville. Dealing with another desperate industrial development agency, the



THE PRODUCTS OF COMPANIES CONTRACTING WITH THE PENTAGON

brothers jointly purchased a 70-year-old hosiery mill in downtown Clinton for another Lancer Clothing factory. That plant put the Knoxville and Beacon shops – both closed in 1979 – and part of the Rainelle operation under one roof. In 1980, with three-quarters of their contracts flowing to Clinton and the remainder to Huntsville, the Thiers' operation became the second-biggest military clothing and textile contractor in the United States.



HAVE MANY OBVIOUS DOMESTIC USES.

In 1981, Lancer Clothing crushed an ACTWU organizing attempt at Clinton, employing familiar tactics. This time the company got out from under NLRB charges with a settlement of \$10,000 paid to five workers fired for union activity. In Beacon, IBM is warehousing goods in Lancer's old New York factory. In Rainelle, a recently retired DOD clothing inspector named Larry Trainor has rallied residents to find financing for him to reopen the Greenbrier Industries building and get it back into military clothing production. Though capital-short, Trainor has promised ex-Greenbrier workers that they can have prayer breaks during production if he takes over. In Knoxville, 11 former employees of a Greenbrier division, Downslope Industries, are waiting for restitution five years after a court found that they had been illegally fired for standing up to a male supervisor who had threatened to rape several of them. Carle Thier and Jerry Eisenberg claim that Greenbrier and Downslope have ceased to exist and can only be held liable for one year of back pay. "We've got companies here that employ people who need jobs," Carle Thier says. "We perform a function for the United States government. We're no different from any other company with a good reputation in this business."

Carle Thier is part of an ascendant order. Sincere or insincere, in peace or at war, American policy makers have always gone through the motions of imposing some moral, financial and regulatory controls on those who profit from war. But Ronald Reagan's hacks explicitly tout their military budget as an instrument for making America's "business climate" more "competitive." Caspar Weinberger's Deputy Secretary Frank Carlucci has made OSD (Office of the Secretary of Defense) a more overt opponent of environmental and health-and-safety regulation than any peacetime predecessor. DOD industrial policy means *profit policy*, guaranteed return on investments, outright loans, multi-year buys. The few bureaucrats charged with keeping DOD's nose clean are losing ground.

The Thiers are neither exceptionally bad apples nor a bitter foretaste of DOD's new supply-side look. The

human, environmental and financial costs involved in their story echo through many other areas of military production. Those costs are often invisible, even to people involved in military production.

Visibility has to do with information control, the kind of information sources that went into this inquiry – contracts, pre-award surveys, correspondence regarding place of performance, delivery schedules and materials. All the hidden paperwork that symbolizes the layers of insulation DOD provides contractors needs to be aired out. Sanitized forms of that paperwork can be obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, a grinding process that puts contracting agencies in the driver's seat and citizens in the supplicant position. That's backwards. Lancer and Tennier workers should have the *right* to complete information about their shop – like whether management is juggling contracts to prepare for another move.

However, gaining control of information can't fully redress the galloping insecurity associated with military production. The power that contractors wield won't bend or break just because it is identified as the problem. Contractors like the Thiers don't have to get DOD's *carte blanche* to roam the country in search of the coziest combination of high unemployment, desperate industrial development authorities and wired-up political connections. DOD *could* institute contracting procedures that instill more security and incur fewer costs for workers and communities.

Even a contracting system that paid attention to the first line of defense wouldn't alter DOD's massive penetration of our economic system. Achieving real security in places like Huntsville, Tennessee, means making fundamentally democratic changes in who controls the economy as well as in what it produces. □

Tom Schlesinger is a free-lance writer living in Tennessee. The Fund for Investigative Journalism supported research for this article.

BRINGING IT HOME

Much of the recent success of groups working to reverse the nuclear arms race grows out of their effectiveness in translating remote questions of strategic nuclear doctrine into matters of immediate local concern. Educational groups, such as Physicians for Social Responsibility and Ground Zero, make the danger of nuclear war realistic to people by describing accurately and in painful detail the devastation a nuclear attack would bring to a particular community.

The Reagan administration's huge increase in military spending, coming largely at the expense of social programs, is not so apocalyptically destructive as nuclear war, to be sure, but its effects are more immediately felt and, for large numbers of citizens, more real. The guns versus butter issue will become increasingly important at the national level as the 1984 election approaches — the task is to bring home to people the meaning of budget decisions made in Washington.

It is often difficult to convey to people just how extreme a change the Reagan Administration's budget policies really are. One complication in presenting the facts is that the federal budget includes funds for programs, such as Social Security, which are actually financed out of their own, separate trust funds. Each year the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) "corrects" the Office of Management and Budget figures with pie charts showing military spending as a proportion of the non-trust fund part of the budget. In the Fiscal Year 1983 budget, which Congress is now completing, military spending is projected at 29 percent of the overall "Unified Budget" but takes up 46 percent of the "Federal Funds" budget, which excludes trust funds (see Figure 1). WILPF also adds the cost of veteran's benefits and part of the cost of interest on the debt to the military side of the budget, since these

GUNS & BUTTER IN '80s THE

by Steve Daggett

expenses are attributable to previous military commitments, so that the military takes up a staggering 64 percent of the budget.

At the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, we make this same point by using the administration's own figures, which assume relatively small changes in Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, the programs reserved to the federal government under the New Federalism. By 1987, with military spending rising to 37.2 percent of the "Unified Budget," social programs which had taken up 35.2 percent of federal spending in 1981 (when military spending was 24.3 percent of the budget) will be reduced to 18.6 percent of the budget — almost a 50 percent cut (and even larger for many programs, since this part of the budget must cover the basic operating costs of government and a number of programs which will not be reduced.)

An obvious way to dramatize the impact of military spending on budget priorities is to contrast questionable military expenditures with alternative programs to meet social needs. The Washington-based Children's Defense Fund, for example, reported in last spring's "Children's Defense Budget" that Congress could restore money for immunizing 35,000 poor children if it cut out \$1.4 million to subsidize shots and other veterinary care provided to pets of military personnel.

It is easy to take pot shots at the Pentagon with such comparisons, but they can make legitimate and important

points; they also lend themselves to good graphic presentation. Comparisons make it clear that the Pentagon's budget is not subjected to the careful scrutiny which Presidential sermons on belt-tightening would seem to require, while social programs are slashed without regard to the value of the programs involved.

Information on the costs of individual weapons systems is available from the Pentagon's Public Affairs Office in a document titled "Procurement Programs (P-1)." A number of organizations critical of the Pentagon, including SANE, Council for a Livable World and the coalition, provide such data in more accessible form, along with lists of social program cuts.

A number of local organizations have recently produced excellent analyses of the impact of military spending on their own communities, and these may be useful models. The Boston Jobs With Peace Campaign earlier this year prepared a brief, graphically appealing "Boston Peace Budget" and a longer, well-researched back-up study, "Towards a Boston Peace Budget" (see page 41). Minnesota Clergy and Laity Concerned has just completed a 32-page report titled "Jobs and Peace: Military Spending and Its Impact on Minnesota's Economy." Each of these reports reviews recent changes in overall federal budget priorities, the impact on local budgets, the effects on delivery of key services, the local tax drain due to the military budget, local job losses due to military spending, and ways to cut the military budget. The Minnesota study also reports on area companies with military contracts, and the Boston study provides a full-scale alternative local budget for funds freed up by military savings.

Military contracts are by far the largest pieces of bacon in American pork barrel politics. Even in the South, however, most congressional districts pay out more in federal taxes for mili-

tary purposes than they receive back in business from the Pentagon. James and Marion Anderson of Employment Research Associates, regularly prepare state-by-state and congressional district-by-district figures on military-related tax flows and employment. Their publications are indispensable sources of detailed information for local work on these issues.

"Bankrupting America: The Tax Burden and Expenditures of the Pentagon by Congressional District" gives specific figures for every district on the inflow and outflow of Pentagon dollars. It also calculates the net gain or loss per family in each district — Representative Wynche Fowler's Atlanta district, for example, will experience a net outflow of \$2,800 per family in Fiscal Year 1982.

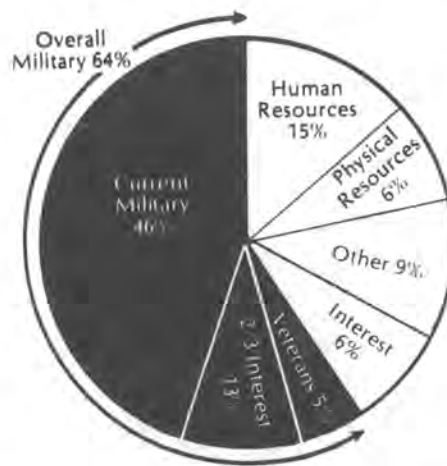
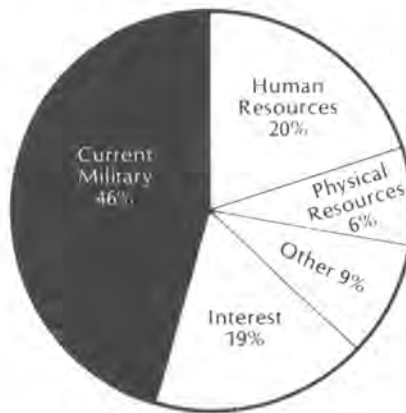
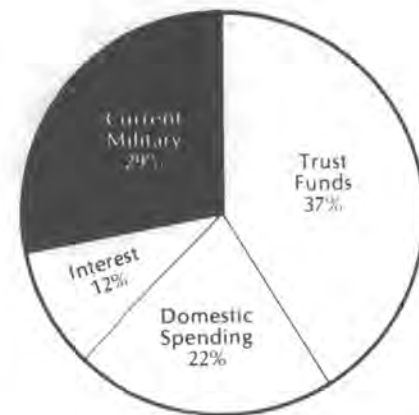
"The Empty Pork Barrel: Unemployment and the Pentagon Budget" gives related figures for the job losses due to military spending, though only in those states in which there is a net job loss, rather than a gain. The coalition has published the results of this study in a shorter pamphlet, titled "Unemployment: Fallout of the Arms Race."

By now it is becoming widely recognized that military spending creates relatively fewer jobs than almost any alternative use of the same amount of money — this is because military spending is relatively capital-intensive, and because the jobs it does create tend to be relatively high-skilled (lots of engineers, scientists and lobbyists, for example) with relatively high pay. An excellent discussion of the issue, and other key questions, along with a review of several important studies, is included in a 64-page report titled "The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup," prepared by the Council on Economic Priorities.

The high skill levels required by military-related jobs also leave minorities and women at a special disadvantage. Employment Research Associates has recently produced two detailed studies on this issue: "Bombs or Bread: Black Unemployment and the Pentagon Budget" and "Neither Jobs Nor Security: Women's Unemployment and the Pentagon Budget."

To make all of this as concrete as possible, however, requires a little more digging into the details of local military expenditures. The Pentagon's Washington Headquarters Service

FIGURE 1



source: WILPF

THE TOP PIE SHOWS MILITARY SPENDING FOR FY 1983 AS A PERCENT OF THE UNIFIED FEDERAL BUDGET. THE SECOND PIE EXCLUDES TRUST FUNDS (MOSTLY SOCIAL SECURITY). THE THIRD CHART SHOWS MILITARY SPENDING INCLUDING THE COST OF VETERANS AND INTEREST ON PAST MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

Directorate of Information provides a listing of relevant reports and an order form — individual reports can often be obtained free by calling (202) 697-3182. "Prime Contract Awards Over \$10,000 by State, County, City" for each fiscal year is probably the most useful document in tracking down military contractors in your area. Your state's Economic Development Department may also publish an indexed directory of state businesses.

Detailed information on each company — numbers of jobs provided locally for a given size of contract, its record in hiring women and minorities, etc. — needs to be tracked down separately. Often military businesses in an area have gone through a "boom-and-bust" cycle to the detriment of local workers and communities. The most important local issue may be the implications for the overall economic health of the area of excessive "defense dependency." To address the question fully requires an effort to review the overall economy of the area. Advice and help in doing research on the local military is available from the Council on Economic Priorities.

The Reagan budget cuts will affect local communities in three major ways: 1) individuals and organizations will see benefits and funding either terminated or reduced; 2) the local economy will suffer from the loss of federal funds; and 3) state and local taxes may be raised to offset the loss of federal money.

Two federal publications can provide basic information on federal programs in your area. The first is the "Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance," available in many public libraries and in all Federal Information Centers located in the federal building at a state capital. The catalog includes a complete description of federal programs, including eligibility criteria, application procedures and amounts allocated.

The second, "Geographic Distri-

bution of Federal Funds," lists all federal programs and the expenditures for each, broken down by state, county and large city. Reports for individual states come out near the end of each fiscal year (September 30) and should be available through local Community Action Agencies, County Commissioners' offices, and some public libraries.

In addition, State Information Reception Offices (SIROs) keep track of federal programs and where their money goes within each state. Local or regional clearinghouses, which can be located through the SIROs, keep track of local uses of funds.

These resources can help in determining how much federal aid currently comes into a particular community and how much will be lost because of the cuts. Additional information concerning how many people currently receive benefits or services, how many people will have benefits terminated or will receive reduced services, and whether state and local taxes will be increased because of federal cutbacks can be tracked down through offices and agencies administering the various programs, or through groups such as teachers' unions which are especially concerned with particular services.

Up-to-date information on federal social programs is available from a number of special interest organizations in Washington. Each year the U.S. Conference of Mayors produces a response to the administration's budget proposals as soon as they are released in late January or early February. The response is titled "The Federal Budget and the Cities," and is available very shortly after the official budget becomes public.

A number of groups cooperate in producing manuals reviewing the administration's various proposals. The manuals also include directories of organizations by issue area. One will be produced by the Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs titled "Briefing Book on Block Grants and Human Needs." An updated "Organizer's Manual" is being planned by the Fair Budget Action Campaign, and the Center for Community Change produces a very useful multi-issue newsletter and acts as a clearinghouse for information. □

Stephen Daggett is Budget Priorities Coordinator for the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

ORGANIZATIONS

Center for Community Change

1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20007
The CCC helps local community development organizations in low-income urban and rural areas. Its journal, the *Federal Programs Monitor*, provides an in-depth examination of the national budget and its effect on low-income people.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Human Military Policy

120 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-8400

Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs

1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20007
The Coalition produces "Briefing Book on Block Grants and Human Needs," a manual on the federal budget.

Council for a Livable World

100 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-0006
The Council maintains a 24-hour nuclear arms control hot-line which can provide up-to-date information on arms control and military budget legislation, upcoming votes in Congress, and a weekly action request.

Council on Economic Priorities

84 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10011
(212) 691-8550
CEP provides information on U.S. corporations and their impact on the quality of American life. It publishes 3-6 reports annually, as well as a newsletter.

Fair Budget Action Campaign

P.O. Box 2735
Washington, DC 20013
(800) 368-5663
The FBAC toll-free hotline for current budget information operates from 1:00-5:00. FBAC also provides assistance to local groups in organizing and planning events. A free organizer's manual is provided to all contributors; \$5 to non-contributors.

Full Employment Action Council

707 D St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 546-6626
The Action Council sponsors a national teach-in campaign to inform the public about the dangers of Reaganomics.

Interreligious Emergency Campaign

110 Maryland Ave. NE
Box 71
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-1517
The IEC is a concerted effort by national religious groups to secure economic justice for needy Americans.

WILPF Legislative Office

120 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
The WILPF legislative office produces pie charts annually that show military spending as a proportion of the non-trust fund part of the federal budget.

LITERATURE

"Bankrupting America" (\$3.00), "The Empty Pork Barrel" (\$2.00), "Bombs or Bread" (\$2.00) and "Neither Jobs Nor Security" (\$2.00) are all available from Employment Research Associates, 400 S. Washington Ave., Lansing, MI 48933.

"Coalition Resource Packet on Military Spending and the Economy" and "The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup." Available from: Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002. (\$2.00)

"Jobs and Peace: Military Spending and Its Impact on Minnesota's Economy." Available from: Minnesota CALC, 122 W. Franklin St., Minneapolis, MN 55404. (\$4.00)

MEDIA

"The Outskirts of Hope." (55-minute color film, 1982) In a series of six portraits, each illuminating a different social group, this film examines poverty in America; the successes and failures of the "War on Poverty," and the impact of the Reagan budget cuts. Available from: New Day Films, PO Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. Rental \$75; purchase \$685, or \$550 in video cassette.

"People Like Us." (50-minute color ¾" video cassette, produced by Bill Moyers/CBS-TV; broadcast April, 1982). A Bill Moyers report on the people the government is hurting the most with its new policies. Contact: CBS Broadcast International, Attn. Dolores Sura, 51 W. 52nd St., New York, NY 10019 (212) 975-3200.

"People's Forum on the Budget Cuts." (20-minute color ½" VHS or ¾" video cassette). The testimony of 12 people from labor, religious, black and women's groups on the impact of the budget cuts and against military spending. Rental: \$10 plus shipping. Write: Triangle Project on Military Spending and Human Needs, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701 (919) 682-6374.

"Whose Budget Is It Anyway?" 20 minutes. 120 slides, tape cassette. Purchase price \$50 from Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002. Rental from: NARMIC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7175.

MATTERS OF LIFE AND DEATH

**STATE-BY-STATE PROFILES
OF THE SOUTHERN
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT,
THE BUDGET CUTS, AND
ORGANIZING FOR PEACE,
JOBS AND JUSTICE**

FOR GOOD AND ILL the policies of the federal government relate directly to the lives of the people of the South. That has been true for at least a century, from the ending of slavery in the 1860s to the New Deal of the 1930s.

The New Deal and its more recent stepchildren — Truman's Fair Deal, Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society — all claimed to target the South for special help to pull it out of its economic woes, as measured by standard indicators such as poverty rates, illiteracy, education levels and income. The aid came, sometimes exacerbating the problems, often in ways that antagonized one or another political faction, once in a while in ways that brought real benefits.

Overall, whether due to federal intervention or to "natural causes," the South and the nation did progress, especially between the 1950s and the mid-'70s, the period when civil-rights agitation pushed the government hardest towards more responsible social and economic policies. As the programs of the Nixon-Ford administration were felt, the real gains of the South — especially of Southern working people, white and black — slowed from a walk to a crawl. With the advent of Ronald Reagan, the era of progress initiated by the New Deal officially ends, transformed into the era of the Raw Deal.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of regression is that the poverty rate, which steadily declined for at least 20 years (except for brief jumps in 1970 and 1975), shot up in 1980 to the 1968 level. The rise was more severe — in terms

of regression — for whites than blacks. The 31.8 million Americans in poverty in 1981 is the highest number since 1965. Chart One, with poverty rates for Southern states between 1959 and 1975, indicates that clear and consistent steps forward were made.

Chart 1: PERCENT OF FAMILIES
BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

	1975	1969	1959
AL	12.9	20.7	36.9
AR	14.0	22.8	42.0
FL	11.0	12.7	23.8
GA	14.6	16.7	33.1
KY	15.0	19.2	33.6
LA	14.9	21.5	34.0
MS	20.4	28.9	47.9
NC	12.1	16.3	34.2
SC	12.9	19.0	38.1
TN	12.6	18.2	34.2
TX	11.7	14.6	26.4
VA	8.3	12.3	25.7
WV	11.5	18.0	30.1
South	12.5	17.0	31.7
U.S.	9.0	10.7	18.4

Source: *State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1979*

Similar progress was made in wiping out illiteracy. In 1930, illiteracy among whites stood at three percent. By 1940, it was down to two percent; 1.6 percent in 1959; 0.7 percent in 1969 and 0.4 percent in 1979. The strides in combating illiteracy among blacks were even greater. From 16.4 percent in 1930, the black illiteracy rate fell to 11.5 percent in 1940; 7.5 percent in 1959; 3.6 percent in 1969; and 1.6 percent in 1979.

The federal budget proposed by Reagan can only move the clock back, as

**ALABAMA
ARKANSAS
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
KENTUCKY
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
TEXAS
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA**

Chart 2: PROPOSED CUTBACKS IN THE FEDERAL FY 1983 BUDGET FROM FY 1982 LEVELS (millions of dollars)

	Total	Medicaid	Child Nutrition	Food Stamps	Employment Training	Economic Development Assistance
AL	185.1	6.0	.6	5.8	33.8	1.7
AR	84.7	00.0	.3	2.9	18.9	2.4
FL	377.2	13.9	.9	8.5	65.7	2.4
GA	251.0	14.8	.7	6.6	36.9	3.0
KY	166.7	14.8	.4	4.8	34.2	1.9
LA	17.2	22.4	.6	6.9	32.0	1.9
MS	111.9	6.9	.5	2.9	19.9	3.0
NC	210.7	16.1	.8	5.1	40.7	3.3
SC	118.6	7.5	.4	4.0	21.6	2.1
TN	266.1	16.9	.5	5.3	33.0	4.3
TX	437.4	33.8	1.6	13.9	74.2	4.4
VA	196.2	15.6	.4	3.6	31.8	2.1
WV	94.2	6.5	.2	2.0	17.3	1.4
South	2,672.1	175.4	7.8	72.4	460.2	34.8
U.S.	10,268.3	817.0	20.0	196.0	1,735.0	118.0

Source: "Reagan's '83 Budget: More Bad News for the States" by Public Employees Department, AFL-CIO, March 31, 1982

Chart 3: ESTIMATED TITLE I CUTBACKS DUE TO PROPOSED BUDGET CUTS

	Funding (millions of dollars)		Schoolchildren served ('000s)		Staff	
	1981-82 base	cuts, 1982-84	1981-82 base	cuts, 1982-84	1979-80 base	cuts 82-84
AL	68.8	36.7	130.8	80.0	4,458	2,660
AR	39.2	20.8	84.6	48.2	3,941	2,340
FL	81.3	43.7	157.9	101.7	6,803	4,452
GA	74.5	39.3	159.6	99.8	3,559	2,072
KY	53.0	27.6	114.2	71.6	3,945	2,325
LA	78.4	42.1	163.1	96.8	6,033	3,695
MS	66.2	35.7	131.8	78.9	6,004	3,594
NC	78.7	40.8	149.5	89.1	6,477	3,862
SC	52.5	27.6	98.0	57.7	4,456	2,612
TN	62.8	33.5	50.4	27.1	1,990	1,215
TX	168.5	92.3	415.8	244.3	13,951	8,331
VA	56.0	28.7	111.8	65.4	5,032	3,147
WV	28.1	14.6	43.8	25.2	2,473	1,321
South	907.7	483.4	1,811.3	1,085.8	69,122	41,626

Source: "Proposed Title I Cuts: A Problem for the South," by Southern Governors Association, March 19, 1982

Chart 4: WHERE MILITARY DOLLARS GO (FY '81 estimate)

	Percent of U.S. Population	Number of Personnel**	Percent of U.S. Total	Payroll (civ, mil, reserves, ret mil***)	Percent of U.S. Total	Contracts***	Percent of U.S. Total	Number of Military Installations
AL	1.7	54,092	2.4	\$1,338,872	2.3	\$1,038,359	1.1	36
AR	1.0	14,078	.6	449,093	.8	239,396	.3	6
FL	3.4	95,348	4.3	3,348,735	5.7	3,350,758	3.5	57
GA	2.3	108,265	4.9	2,154,189	3.7	1,479,503	1.6	23
KY	1.6	52,159	2.3	931,992	1.6	464,276	.5	7
LA	1.8	31,886	1.4	783,455	1.3	3,136,184	3.3	11
MS	1.1	29,383	1.3	766,616	1.3	1,478,910	1.6	14
NC	2.5	98,213	4.4	2,067,905	3.5	902,744	.9	21
SC	1.3	70,489	3.2	1,653,580	2.8	632,737	.7	19
TN	1.9	19,608	.9	598,547	1.0	549,231	.6	14
TX	5.5	196,101	8.8	4,769,867	8.2	8,159,338	8.6	46
VA	2.3	105,518*	4.7	5,571,496	9.5	4,318,232	4.5	37
WV	.9	2,083	.1	113,307	.2	120,758	.1	2
South	27.3	877,223	39.3	\$24,547,654	42.0	\$25,870,426	27.2	292
U.S.		2,231,783		58,453,122		95,088,220		923

*excluding metro DC

**1980, civilian and military

*** thousands of dollars

Source: Defense '82, September, 1982, a publication of the Department of Defense.

basic programs that support economic progress and that provide basic security are cut or eliminated. Chart Two shows where some of the cutbacks would come if Reagan and his many and monied cohorts among Southern political leaders have their way. Undoubtedly, the final figures will differ after much congressional wrangling, but the intent and direction are clear. The child nutrition programs, food stamps and medicaid all provide benefits to people who, because of the inequities of capitalism, need basic protections in order to stay alive — the "safety net" programs. Employment training and economic development assistance are intended to make capitalism function more smoothly and equitably: to get people out of the safety net. The South is especially hard hit by cuts in the food and nutrition programs, with the largest per capita cuts in the nation. In most cases in Chart Two, the numbers represent cuts proposed for 1983 from already reduced funding in 1982. (The impact on each state is influenced by a number of factors, including need for a particular program and previous participation in a program.)

Chart Three shows the impact in detail of proposed cuts in a single program, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Title I funds are targeted at districts where large numbers of children exhibit difficulties in the basic skills of reading and math. In the case of Title I, progressive critics of the cutbacks have been joined by the Southern Governors Association (SGA), which adopted a resolution in February, 1982, opposing any reductions in the program. As the SGA resolution noted, the South, with a high proportion of low-income and otherwise disadvantaged students and the highest illiteracy rates in the nation, benefited proportionately more from the program; the resolution also stressed the clear improvements that could only be credited to assistance provided under Title I.

IT IS CLEAR WHERE THE money is going: for the first time in American history, the present administration has placed the economy on a wartime footing during peacetime. Chart Four suggests how much wartime spending comes into our region. As the chart shows, the impact here is greater than in the rest of the nation, a fact attributable in part to the large number of Southerners — currently and in the past — participating enthusiastically in the relevant congressional committees

(Chart Five). Significantly, even in the South two-thirds of the congressional districts pay out more in tax money to the Department of Defense than is returned. The map shows how much military spending costs *each family* in the congressional districts of two sample states, Alabama and Mississippi. Remember, even for those dollars that do get returned, *more* jobs could be created by investing the same money in civilian industries. And, of course, even in those districts that seem to benefit, the dollars don't end up in the hands of each and every family.

If the first year-and-a-half of the Reagan administration is a test for the economic policies it represents, then Reaganomics fails most dismally. Budget deficits are up from \$57.9 billion in Carter's last year to over \$100 billion for 1982. Unemployment, at 7.4 percent in January, 1981, hit 10.1 percent in October, 1982, the highest since 1941, and is still climbing. The black jobless rate rose from 10.8 percent to 18.5 percent and the teen-age jobless rate from 18.9 percent to 24.1 percent. The first six months of 1982 saw 11,950 business failures, the highest rate since 1932.

How far can the clock be turned back before 1984?

Numbers can be deceiving. The warmongers use many of these same numbers to support military spending as creating needed jobs. On the other hand, as Steve Daggett shows on page 66, numbers can be a tool for organizing by pointing out how each military dollar spent is a real drain on the economy. Following are profiles of each of the 13 Southern states, with ideas and inspiration from across the South of how people are learning to fight back. □

Chart 5: ARMED SERVICE COMMITTEES (as of June 1, 1981)

Senate (41 percent Southerners)

Republicans

John Tower, Texas (chair)
 Strom Thurmond, South Carolina
 Barry Goldwater, Arizona
 John Warner, Virginia
 Gordon Humphrey, New Hampshire
 William Cohen, Maine
 Roger Jepsen, Iowa
 Dan Quayle, Indiana
 Jeremiah Denton, Alabama
 Nicholas Braden, New Jersey

Democrats

John Stennis, Mississippi
 Henry Jackson, Washington
 Howard Cannon, Nevada
 Harry Byrd, Jr., Virginia
 Sam Nunn, Georgia
 Gary Hart, Colorado
 James Exon, Nebraska
 Carl Levin, Michigan

House of Representatives (42 percent Southerners)

Democrats

Melvin Price, Illinois (chair)
 Charles Bennett Florida
 Samuel Stratton, New York
 Richard White, Texas
 Bill Nichols, Alabama
 Jack Brinkley, Georgia
 Robert Mollohan, West Virginia
 Dan Daniel, Virginia
 Sonny Montgomery, Mississippi
 Les Aspin, Wisconsin
 Ronald Dellums, California
 Patricia Schroeder, Colorado
 Abraham Kazen, Jr., Texas
 Antonio Won Pat, Guam
 Larry McDonald, Georgia
 Bob Stump, Arizona
 Beverly Byron, Maryland
 Nicholas Mavroules, Massachusetts
 Earl Hutto, Florida
 Ike Skelton, Missouri
 Marvin Leath, Texas
 David McCurdy, Oklahoma
 Thomas Foglietta, Pennsylvania
 Roy Dyson, Maryland
 Dennis Hertel, Michigan
 Joseph Smith, Pennsylvania

Republicans

William Dickinson, Alabama
 William Whitehurst, Virginia
 Floyd Spence, South Carolina
 Robin Beard, Tennessee
 Donald Mitchell, New York
 Marjorie Holt, Maryland
 Robert Daniel, Jr., Virginia
 Elwood Hillis, Indiana
 David Emery, Maine
 Paul Trible, Virginia
 Robert Badham, California
 Charles Dougherty, Pennsylvania
 Jim Courter, New Jersey
 Larry Hopkins, Kentucky
 Robert Davis, Michigan
 Ken Kramer, Colorado
 Duncan Hunter, California
 James Nelligan, Pennsylvania
 Thomas Hartnett, South Carolina

THESE MAPS SHOW THE TAX DRAIN OF MILITARY SPENDING FOR EACH FAMILY (FY 1982). FOR FIGURES FOR OTHER STATES, SEE "BANKRUPTING AMERICA," BY JAMES R. ANDERSON, EMPLOYMENT RESEARCH ASSOCIATES.



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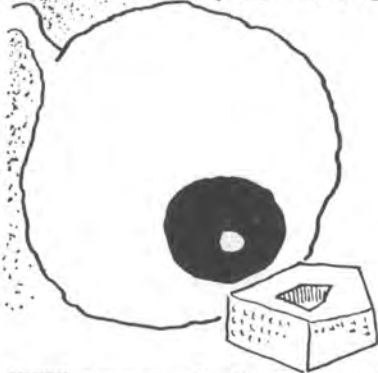
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WOMEN & KIDS COME FIRST

by Pat Reuss

The Reaganauts dealt the harshest blow to the very group the administration purports to "protect" — the family — especially its most vulnerable and economically powerless members, women and children.

• *Women, Infants and Children Program (WIC)*: Two million children benefit from this program that provides milk, cheese, eggs and cereals to children under five and to pregnant or nursing women. Reagan wants to fold the program into a block grant and reduce funding drastically.

• *School Lunch Program*: Last year, funds were cut by \$1 billion. Some 1,500 schools dropped the free or reduced-cost lunches; 1.2 million were affected.

• *Food Stamps*: One million people were eliminated from the food stamp program after the 1981 cut of \$2.4 billion. Seventy percent of food stamp recipient households are headed by women; 11 million children benefit from the program.

• *Family Planning Services*: Each year an estimated one million poor and teenage women received birth control information and services through local family planning clinics. Funds were cut by 25 percent last year, and many in the Reagan administration are working to eliminate the program altogether.

• *Community Health Centers*: Many centers were forced to close after the budget was slashed by 30 percent. Over two million children have had to go without polio, tetanus and measles vaccines.

• *Medicaid*: Designed to provide health care for the "truly needy" and the elderly poor, Medicaid was cut \$1 billion last year and new proposals call for almost \$2 billion in additional cuts. Women make up 60 percent of Medicaid recipients; children, 30 percent. Some 550,000 children in "working poor" families lost all Medicaid benefits last year.

• *Title I*: Special teaching assistance in basic math and reading skills went to 5.3 million children through Title I;

60 percent of the families served by the program are headed by women. Funds were cut by almost 30 percent in 1982, and the cuts are expected to go above 30 percent in 1983.

• *Students' Benefits for Social Security Dependents*: Eliminated. Four million students are affected.

• *Vocational Education, CETA*: These programs had just begun to target women as needing special job and training skills. The Reagan administration has scaled down these programs and de-emphasized the needs of women.

• *Title XX*: Last year's 22 percent cut in Title XX left 150,000 families without subsidized child care in licensed centers; the one million children who still benefit from Title XX day care face reduced services.

• *Child Care Food Program*: This program reimburses public day care centers for meals provided to low-income children. Its funds were cut 33 percent in 1982 and another one-third cut is proposed for 1983.

• *Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)*: AFDC benefits go to 3.8 million families, over 80 percent of which are headed by women; 7.6 million children are affected. Cuts last year were over \$1 billion; in 1983, combined federal, state and local cuts could exceed \$2 billion.

• *Supplemental Security Income (SSI)*: Proposed changes in eligibility requirements and reductions in benefits will affect 2.7 million aged and disabled poor women.

• *Social Security*: Nearly 60 percent of women who receive social security depend on those benefits as their sole source of income. As many as two million women over 65 may be affected if the proposed reductions in social security benefits go through.

President Reagan says his economic policies do not hurt people. After analyzing the impact of Reaganomics on women and children, I must conclude the President simply doesn't consider women and children to be people. □

Pat Reuss is legislative director of Women's Equity Action League. This article originally appeared in Engage/Social Action, September, 1982. It is excerpted by permission of e/sa.

ALABAMA by Jordan Churchill

"JOBS, DOLLARS FOR STATE IN ARMS BUDGET" READ THE FRONT PAGE HEADLINE IN THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS GREETING EARLY REPORTS OF THE 1983 military budget proposals. "If Reagan gets even a portion of that buildup, it could mean new jobs and millions of dollars."

"My concern is that the next Cuban missile crisis may end up causing us to blink instead of them," said Major General David L. Gray, recently retired as commandant of the Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, and now a resident of that city.

These responses to the Reagan arms buildup represent the views of most official Alabamians who see the wedding of patriotism and military spending as a happy stroke of fortune for a state in desperate depression. Current conditions in Alabama starkly epitomize the economic coercion imposed by the lure of jobs funded by military spending. With unemployment running around 14 percent in 1982, a rate second only to Michigan's, and a quarter of a million unemployed workers on the streets, it is the economy and not the nation's defense that dominates discussion in Alabama politics today.

Apart from industry supported by the Department of Defense (DOD) and related funding, the state's economy is a shambles. Coal mining is at an all-time low; more than half of the mines in the state are shut down, and 5,000 workers have lost their jobs. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), traditionally a heavy buyer of coal, is instead making personnel and operation cutbacks of its own. Steel and rubber production have declined with the auto industry. Birmingham — "Steel City" — now has as its largest employers the University of Alabama and South Central Bell Telephone. U.S. Steel closed its Fairfield works in Birmingham in June, 1982; three years ago it was the largest and most diversified steel plant in the South with almost 10,000 workers. Other usual mainstays of the economy — lumber, plywood and other homebuilding materials — are also in a deep depression period. And foreign competition and antiquated equipment contribute to the slump in the textile industry. In one month — February, 1982 — Alabama lost 7,000 manufacturing jobs.

With historically high poverty rates and low income, Alabama has been especially hard hit by both the nationwide recession and the cutbacks in federal funds available for human services. The state budget office estimates that the losses in federal funding in Fiscal Year (FY) 1983 will be 14 percent in social

services, 70 percent for TVA, 15 percent for education and 61 percent for employment and training. A controversy arose in 1982 over state funding of kindergartens, now sufficient for only one-third of the eligible children: selection for kindergarten is made by lottery.

In the past, Alabama has shown little interest in funding human services at anywhere near adequate levels. Instead, state boosters continue to brag about having the lowest property taxes in the nation, even after counting in a \$100 million increase from the last legislative session. The \$450 million received from oil and gas leases in Mobile Bay was a welcome windfall for the state (although fishers are beginning to find their catch coated with oil), but those funds make little more than a dent in the high level of unemployment and social needs.

Despite (or as the official line goes, because of) the press of competing needs, there is no visible disposition to inhibit the flow of DOD funds into Alabama. Official and mainstream Alabama, at the very least, wholeheartedly support any move to enlarge the armed forces and their armaments. DOD funding forms a substantial part of the state's economy, and the sums are growing larger. Prime contract awards



grew from \$479.8 million in FY 1978 to \$1.0384 billion in FY 1981. Total DOD spending for FY 1981 in Alabama was \$2.3772 billion, and if Reagan and Company continue to have their way, the best (or worst) is yet to come.

Five of the seven congressional districts have major army or air force installations, with 54,000 employees in 1980, of whom 55 percent are military personnel; the army's Missile Command (MICOM) is Alabama's largest employer. Most of the nearly 25,000 civilian employees are at army installations: Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, the center of the army's missile and rocket program; Anniston Army Depot, where several leaks have been reported recently from stored nerve-gas and mustard-gas weapons; and Fort McClellan, home of the Army Chemical Corps and the Women's Army Corps. The air force base at Maxwell Field houses the Air University, Gunter Air Force Base has the Extension Course Institute (the correspondence school of the air force) and Craig Air Force Base trains pilots.

In 1979 six of the 10 largest DOD contractors in the nation did business in Alabama. Eight of the top 10 contracts in the state go to Huntsville, the aerospace center in northern Alabama. With the assistance of long-time Senator John Sparkman, this city (named after John Hunt, who once used gunpowder to blow up rattlesnakes) became the site of the world's largest chemical warfare complex and a huge adjacent munitions center. An even bigger boost came when the army moved Wehrner von Braun and 130 scientists from Nazi Germany into Huntsville to create its Ordnance Guided Missile Center. As the missile and space programs rocketed, so did Huntsville. It has grown into the third largest city in the state, and the story of one military contractor there illustrates how profits may be made in the military-industrial complex.

Alabama Tool and Engineering Company, started in Huntsville in 1953, was taken over by the California giant Teledyne (now Teledyne-Brown). T-B today employs nearly 1,400 people in Huntsville on a variety of projects for the space shuttle, anti-ballistic missiles and uranium enrichment, and pays no taxes on prime land it owns at five industrial sites. The company hit a peak with the Apollo space program, declined with the shrinking of the NASA budget and rose again with the Reagan administration. T-B is currently building five new buildings, hiring new people (especially

engineers, systems analysts and computer specialists) and expects to employ 1,700 people by the end of 1982.

The military's influence on north Alabama matches Huntsville's impact on the U.S. military. MICOM has developed nearly two dozen missile systems — including Hawk, Pershing, Hellfire, Dragon and Viper — which shape our military's reliance on expensive and esoteric weapons and which underlie the transformation from relying on soldiers to relying on intricate weapons systems. MICOM also watches over the only open-air testing site for chemical weapons in the U.S. — one mile from the Huntsville city limits.

The buildup of the military-industrial complex in Alabama accompanies, in an apparently perfect symbiotic relationship, the views of its congressional delegation. The nuclear freeze movement, which almost won in Congress in 1982, got brusque treatment in Alabama. All seven of Alabama's House members voted against the freeze. It would be, said Representative Bill Dickinson, "the dumbest thing the United States could do."

On the other hand, the nationwide Coalition for Peace Through Strength, a conservative group whose 300,000 members include most of the state's congressional representatives, is pushing a resolution calling for U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union and opposing any arms control which "locks the United States into a position of military inferiority." All seven representatives voted for the funding to produce the first nine MX missiles.

At the extreme right even of Alabama's delegation sits Rear Admiral Andrew Jeremiah Denton, Jr., of Mobile, the junior senator elected in 1980. A graduate of the Naval Academy, he was shot down over Vietnam and spent seven years there as a prisoner of war. He achieved notoriety as the man who blincked "t-o-r-t-u-r-e" in Morse Code on

film from Vietnam, and he was the first POW to return home. He caused a furor in the Senate in October, 1982, when he suggested that Peace Links, a project led by the wives of other senators, had links to the U.S.S.R. Only North Carolina senators Jesse Helms and John East defended him.

Denton supported Reagan's original budget proposal, deficit and all (even before the \$100 billion tax increase in August, 1982); it is, he states, a solution to the nation's economic ills if only it is given time to work. Above all, we must not touch the increase in military spending. Denton cites the preamble to the U.S. Constitution, which states that the government is established "to provide for the common defense," but only "to promote the general welfare." The senator's view is that the most important social service the government can provide is the national defense, which faces its principal enemy at home in "the liberal media elite" (the major TV networks and the nation's largest newspapers). They report negatively on Reagan's economic recovery program; they inject us with the "Vietnam Syndrome," which is responsible for the decline in our ability to protect ourselves from Soviet aggression; they continue their mischief by reporting right-wing atrocities in El Salvador. Denton knows why the media behave as they do. A poll showed, Denton said, that of the people who run the networks and the papers, "86 percent . . . don't go to church at all. If I started rattling off their moral beliefs, it would blow your mind."

Despite Denton's antics, there is opposition to Reaganomics in Alabama, just as there was opposition to the segregation that blacks assaulted in the '50s and '60s. Anti-war groups have been springing up all over the state recently. Perhaps even more important, Alabama has a number of civil-rights and economic justice organizations that have been active



for periods ranging from several years to several decades, and the first contacts are now being made between peace and human-needs organizations.

The centers of opposition to war preparation are Birmingham and Mobile, where groups actively supported the June 12 disarmament rally in New York City, Ground Zero Week and opposition to draft registration. Activists are planning more work for the latter part of 1982, including a continued nuclear freeze campaign, a Methodist-sponsored ecumenical peace rally in October and an interfaith conference on peacemaking in November. Even in Montgomery, called "a tough nut to crack" by one activist, several hundred people joined a Pentecost Sunday peace march to Maxwell Air Force Base. Among the groups to spring up recently are a Physicians for Social Responsibility chapter in Birmingham, a chapter of the Union of Concerned Scientists in Mobile and a chapter of United Campuses Against War at Auburn.

In 1979, the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice (SOC) made military spending and human needs a priority of its work, and Birmingham has been one city where SOC's impact has been felt most. In that year, SOC cosponsored — with the U.S. Peace Council, the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) — a regional meeting, "The Martin Luther King Workshop on Human Needs and Military Spending." At a rally accompanying the meeting, Dr. Richard Arrington, then a city councilor, was a featured speaker; his appearance began a continuing relationship between him and peace groups. Elected mayor in late 1979, he proclaimed Hiroshima and Nagasaki days; in 1981, on his own

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initiative, he proclaimed Birmingham's endorsement of the nuclear freeze resolution. (Another Alabama black mayor, John Ford of Tuskegee, joined Arrington as an early endorser long before the freeze became a national cause.)

Since it has no local chapter, SOC works in conjunction with other local groups, including SCLC (which made jobs with peace a key demand of its 1982 pilgrimage from Pickens County, Alabama, to Washington, DC), the Peace Council and the Birmingham chapter of the Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. SOC's work with ministers over the years has been rewarded with increasing activism, especially on the part of young black ministers. SOC and its allies have worked hard to support public housing tenants councils, helping strengthen these organizations while drawing them into broader social justice issues such as fighting against the cutbacks. Besides the obvious and immediate benefits of this cooperation, SOC sees the efforts with tenant groups as laying the groundwork for a stronger movement against militarism (see "Turning Toward Life," page 28).

Still, these steps are only a beginning and face tremendous barriers. In a dramatic example of how public opposition is stifled, on February 17, 1982, federal, state and local authorities invaded the Birmingham and Mobile Vet Centers, two of over 100 outreach centers established nationwide under the supervision of VA hospitals to help Vietnam veterans deal with postwar adjustment.

Based primarily on the testimony of Grady Gibson, an Alabama Bureau of Investigation undercover agent, director Donald Reed and chief therapist Thomas Ashby of the Birmingham Center were indicted in June, charged with conspiracy to sell drugs and unlawful possession of drugs. David Curry, director of the Mobile Center, was indicted on similar charges in July. John Matthews, a black counselor at the Mobile Center, was apparently singled out for harsh treatment and required three weeks of inpatient psychiatric care following the raid.



photo by Pat Bryant

BIRMINGHAM, 1979: SOC WORKSHOP ON HUMAN NEEDS AND MILITARISM

The Alabama centers are significant in that they are staffed by Vietnam-era veterans trained in counseling; their purpose is to help veterans deal with suppressed memories of combat. While that goal might not seem reason to draw official ire, the statements of David Curry, previously active in Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Democratic Socialists of America and a sociology professor at the University of South Alabama, make the attack more understandable: "These petty charges stem from [Reed and Ashby's] concern for helping Vietnam-era veterans and their continued defense of a veterans self-help project that the Reagan administration has openly tried to demolish from the start. . . . They don't want vets talking about Vietnam. They don't want to hear about Vietnam at a time when they're jumping into every little war in the world."

The Mobile Center, with seven of its eight staff members suspended, was forced to close on its opening day, while the Birmingham center remains open, although its interim staff is composed largely of ineffective government bureaucrats. The Mobile Center also reopened with a new staff, but its effectiveness is limited because veterans no longer consider it a safe place to confide in a counselor.

The charges against Ashby have been dropped, and Reed pled guilty to several minor misdemeanors. Curry, the government's major target, has yet to come to trial and faces 68 years in prison. A Vetscam Defense Fund has been established to raise money and generate support for the centers and the arrested staff members.

The attacks on the Alabama veteran centers are not isolated cases. Whether

or not the drug charges are true, the reason for the investigations is clearly political. In a public statement, Ashby, Reed, Curry and Matthews laid out the basic issues, and these issues are being duplicated in agencies across the nation facing assault through harassment and cutbacks as effective as indictments: "For the last two years, we have been 'investigated' by many agencies of various levels of our government. Regardless of any charges that may have resulted from this, we and our program are what we are purported to be. We may not have been the government's favorite program and/or employees, but we were damned successful with those whom we served."

Resources

ALABAMA

Alabama Coalition Against Hunger
P.O. Box 409
Auburn, AL 36830
(205) 821-8336

Physicians for Social Responsibility
512 Yorkshire Drive
Homewood, AL 35209
(205) 933-8101

Mobile War Resisters League
P.O. Box 6414
Mobile, AL 36606

Vetscam Defense Fund
2764 South Sherwood Dr.
Mobile, AL 36604
(205) 479-2387

Women's International League for Peace
and Freedom
c/o Amelia Boynton-Robinson
1000 N. Greenwood Dr.
Tuskegee, AL 36088
(205) 727-1486

ARKANSAS

by Marc Miller

"THE ONLY PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY WHO ARE SURE TO APPROVE OF . . . THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION LAST WEEK [TO FUND THE B-1 BOMBER program] are the big defense contractors — an industry that operates on the theory that we pay for it now — and figure out what to do with it later."

The speaker was David Pryor, the junior senator from Arkansas, and his audience was the Little Rock Rotary Club.

David Pryor's outspoken criticism and the more muted (some say more inconsistent) criticism by his fellow senator, Dale Bumpers, may surprise those who associate Arkansas politics with Governor Orval Faubus's attempts to block school desegregation in 1957, or with the current uproar in the state over teaching evolution in the schools. Yet there are other traditions in the state's political life, from the strong Populist movement there in the 1880s to the powerful role of former Senator William Fulbright, who, as chair of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee for many years (until 1974), castigated the Vietnam policies of the federal government.

One reason why Pryor and Bumpers — like Fulbright, and like other Arkansans now speaking out for peace — might

feel a certain amount of freedom to criticize the Pentagon is that the military presence and military spending in Arkansas are unusually small compared to most other Southern states. Arkansas is a primarily agricultural state, with relatively few large manufacturing companies of any sort, and even fewer defense contractors. With approximately one percent of the U.S. population, Arkansas receives less than 0.5 percent of the military dollars spent each year in this country. There are only about 14,000 military and civilian personnel working for the Pentagon statewide, located mostly in the two air force bases — one in Blytheville and the other near Little Rock. (The Little Rock base is distinguished for being the point from which all military supplies are sent from the U.S. to El Salvador.)

The two major companies with defense contracts are the Vought Corporation (with \$26 million in contracts in fiscal year 1980) and General Dynamics (\$14.2 million). Both these companies (which make strategic aircraft) are located in an industrial park near Camden, down in the deltaic lowlands near the Louisiana border. Camden was a boom town during World War II, but its economy slowed almost to a standstill after the war. It is now growing again with the influx of more military dollars from the Reagan administration, and the amount of military spending in the state in general is also increasing. Yet the fact remains that Arkansas politicians have historically felt freer than those in most other states from the pressures of powerful defense contractors and their lobbyists.

The oldest and best-known military plant in Arkansas is the Pine Bluff Arsenal, 40 miles southwest of Little Rock. The arsenal is famous as the center of the army's chemical and biological warfare testing and production. During the Vietnam War it manufactured gas grenades, napalm-tipped rockets and "incendiary clusters." It also produced the nation's supply of deadly nerve gas until that program was suspended in 1969.

Pine Bluff has recently come back into national attention due to President Reagan's decision in January, 1982, to

resume nerve gas production — a decision which Senator Pryor aggressively opposed. His leadership in the recent congressional battle over Reagan's proposal earned him accolades from liberal politicians and media nationwide; the *Washington Post* dubbed Pryor's stand "the opposite of the politics of the pork."

The senator admits with equanimity that his stand has earned him a certain amount of hostility back home, especially in the Pine Bluff area, where more jobs (though how many is uncertain) would open up with the resumption of nerve gas production at the arsenal. "I've read the confidential minutes of the Pine Bluff Chamber of Commerce," he



says, "where they have a section called 'the Pryor problem.' But I also remember the standing ovation I got at a meeting when I had a chance to explain my position" — which is, that renewed nerve gas production would be an unnecessarily dangerous and fiscally irresponsible act.

In fact, public criticism of Pryor's stand has not been loud; perhaps Arkansans remember the accident in which a nerve gas test in Utah killed 6,000 sheep grazing 27 miles away. That accident led directly to the 1969 decision to suspend nerve gas production. The senior senator Dale Bumpers, originally went along with Pryor's position, but eventually reversed himself, succumbing, some say, to pressures from both the Pentagon and from certain Arkansas constituents. The Senate passed the \$54 million appropriation for renewed production in May, 1982. But the House voted against it — and voting with the majority was Ed Bethune, a consistently conservative Arkansas Republican who opposed the bill on fiscal grounds. (Arkansas's other three representatives, two Democrats and a Republican, voted for the appropriation.) A decision by a House-Senate conference committee finally killed Reagan's proposal — for this

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A growing number of Arkansans share the burgeoning nationwide concern over disproportionate military spending and the threat of nuclear war, and this concern has spawned several new organizations working across the state for disarmament. The most widely known group is called Peace Links, and was organized by Betty Bumpers, wife of the senior senator. Peace Links seeks to educate and mobilize women to speak out primarily on the dangers of nuclear war. The goal, according to Peace Links' literature, is to activate women not ordinarily involved in the peace movement, making "PTAs, garden clubs, Junior Leagues, Jaycettes, civic and church groups, social and professional associations and other community groups . . . the forums for discussing nuclear war concerns." The organization spread rapidly after its March, 1982, founding. It sponsored Peace Days in 33 counties in October, and is aiming toward national activities in 1983. The Peace Day events featured prominent local speakers, like mayors and ministers, and stressed creating a family atmosphere.

Peace Links focuses on organizing women; as Betty Bumpers told an audience in Russellville, "I think women have a sixth sense that their children are in danger." Bumpers and other leaders in the organization generally steer clear of partisan politics, emphasizing instead some basic human values with which, they say, a broad spectrum of Arkansas's population can identify. The Peace Links brochure says, "Women are measuring values rooted in nurturing and the protection of life against statistics of death and destruction unparalleled in the history of the world, and they find that these values grow dim under the shadow of nuclear war."

Arkansas also has its share of more nationally active peace groups and movements such as the freeze campaign. The city of Fayetteville, home of the University of Arkansas, led the way with a resolution supporting the freeze, and Little Rock followed in July. The city council of Eureka Springs is considering the question and two counties (Stone and Izard) placed the question on their ballots for November, 1982. Both senators support the freeze, but in typical political doubletalk, they endorse both the liberals' Kennedy-Hatfield version and the conservative "alternative" sponsored by Warner and Jackson. Arkansas's two Democratic representatives voted for the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze; the two Repub-

licans (including the same Ed Bethune who voted against nerve gas production) opposed it.

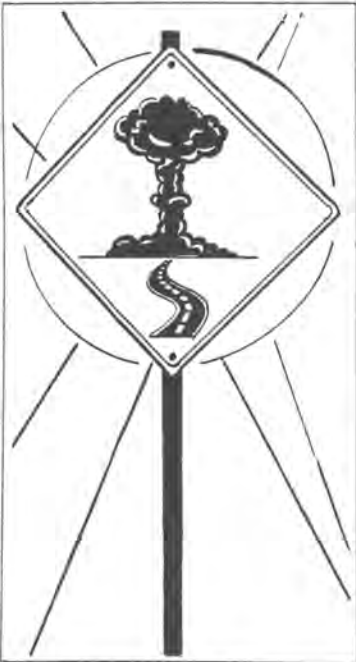
In addition to groups working specifically for the freeze, numerous other peace groups are working throughout the state, including Presbyterians for Peace, Ground Zero, the Dogwood Alliance, the Little Rock Committee for Non-Intervention and several chapters of Arkansans for Peace. A contingent of Arkansans attended the June 12, 1982, New York peace rally, which was also the occasion for activities at home. An annual Sun Day event in Little Rock was converted into a "Peace Under the Sun" rally and celebration which drew about 500 people. The people who organized that event have now constituted themselves into a chapter of SANE. Dr. Regina Groshang, a member of the June 12 Committee, said the fair served two purposes: to emphasize the need for disarmament and to call for funds to be redirected from military needs to human needs such as health care, education and stimulation of a domestic peacetime economy.

TO DATE, MOST OF ARKANSAS'S peace groups are white and middle-class. Peace Links, for example, in aiming itself

towards women not ordinarily organized as peace activists, targets not poor women but "middle-class, definitely mainstream women," says executive director Nell Weaver. Yet Arkansas is one of the states hardest hit by Reagan's budget cuts: with the second lowest per capita income in the U.S., the state has been especially dependent on federal aid in all areas of human services from education to housing and health care. Thirty-one percent of all government funding in Arkansas, the highest proportion in the nation, comes from Washington.

The urbanization of Arkansas's economy has been slower than that of most other states in the region; rural poverty is widespread and often acute, especially in the southeastern lowlands, where most of the state's black population is concentrated, but also in the predominantly white sections: the Ouachita hill country and the Ozarks.

Consequently, there is a huge potential constituency in Arkansas of people whose well-being is directly threatened by military spending, which is drawing away funds crucial to their daily lives. As elsewhere, that constituency is disproportionately black — unemployment among black youths statewide is over 35 percent



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The impact of the federal budget on poor people was documented early in 1982 by the *Arkansas Gazette*, a liberal newspaper in Little Rock that serves the entire state. In a series of six articles, reporters Elizabeth Fair, Carol Matlack and Tom Hamburger looked at the impact of the cuts in nutrition programs, nursing programs, Medicaid, welfare, disability benefits and education. The report, "Rich Man, Poor Man," focused on both the especially heavy impact on the poor in Arkansas and on federal programs that have produced some success in communities across the state.

The reporters found that the infusion of federal funds into the state over the last decade has made a big difference in the lives of many Arkansas citizens, particularly in isolated rural towns. In Madison, for instance (population: 1,400; current unemployment rate: 25.1 percent), a federally supported meal center for the elderly run by the Madison Self-Help Corporation now must charge \$1.25 per week due to the recent budget cuts. As a result, attendance has dropped, and nine elderly shut-ins no longer receive home-delivered meals.

In Lake View, another tiny community, the reporters found that Title I funds have boosted student achievement scores in the local schools dramatically since the program began there in the 1960s. Residents of this community — one of the poorest in the nation — were inspired by this success to vote unanimously for a 70-mill school tax, a rate matched by only one other Arkansas school district. But this year, Lake View's Title I program was cut by \$15,000, forcing the district to lay off a teacher and two aides; further reductions are expected.

Reagan says that the state and local governments should pick up the slack. But Arkansas's right-wing governor, Frank White, says the state cannot and will not help, and residents of towns like Madison and Lake View are paying as much as they can already. Willard Whitaker, who took over as Madison's first black mayor in 1971 and who was largely responsible for the infusion of federal funds into the town, told the *Gazette* reporters, "When we came in, the town either had to sink or swim. We made some improvements. We tried to give people the essentials they are entitled to, like a bathroom for the old people and health care. I can't see how he [Reagan] can just blindly cut."

WHILE THE BUDGET CUTS ARE hurting every poor Arkansan, middle-class people are suffering, too. Because Arkansas's economy remains primarily agricultural (with a fair amount of timber and mineral production), the relatively few manufacturing companies loom large as employment sources in the state. The nationwide recession has meant plant closings and layoffs in Arkansas as elsewhere, and since the total number of plants is small, finding new jobs in the

escalating arms race dramatically increases inflation and unemployment. It drains money away from meeting human needs, while benefiting only a few, select corporations."

Peace and disarmament groups form one-half of the anti-Reagan movement; organizing around economic concerns forms the other half. Here, too, the domestic and military portions of the budget are viewed as connected. For example, Mary Bolden of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) spoke at the Little Rock June 12 peace rally. She castigated the "cruel and regressive ideology which rewards the rich, forgets the jobless, punishes the minorities, ignores the poor and destroys protections for working people, the elderly and the needy." She connected the current recession, featuring the highest unemployment rate in 40 years, directly to inflationary and morally indefensible military spending.

Grassroots Women's Projects, a group of about 12 organizations directed by low-income women active in advocacy and direct action organizing, links up and supports women active in Little Rock and in small towns in southern and eastern Arkansas. Grassroots' interests include racism in the schools, welfare rights, access to jobs, domestic violence, working conditions and housing. All of these are affected by the militarist moves in the federal budget, and the work of Grassroots has come to include providing information about the military spending/human needs link to peace groups. Along with two other groups which focus on economic issues — ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) and the Welfare Rights Organization — Grassroots organized a successful "Fight the Cutbacks" march in late 1981 when Arkansas AFDC payments were cut back to 25 percent below the 1976 level.

Elaine Burns, volunteer co-organizer of Grassroots Women's Projects, says, "Some Grassroots organizers are more familiar with the larger picture than others — but almost all have been watching the bomb-makers grab food right out of their own children's mouths — and have been vocal about it in their own communities. The most progressive part of the [white, middle-class] peace movement is beginning to recognize that their strongest allies are those with a history of struggle for human needs."

Resources

ARKANSAS

ACORN
523 West 15th
Little Rock, AR 72202
(501) 376-7151

Catholic Office for Peace and Justice
St. John's Catholic Center
2415 N. Tyler
Little Rock, AR 72207
(501) 664-0340

Dogwood Alliance
5904 W. Markham
Little Rock, AR 72205

Peace Links Worldwide, Inc.
611 Gaines, Suite 950
Little Rock, AR 72201
(501) 372-0903

SANE
8015 Brandon
Little Rock, AR 72204
(501) 565-3581

state is extremely difficult. Unemployment in Arkansas now runs near 10 percent; over 100,000 people are out of work. But 4,700 Arkansans lost their extended unemployment benefits in the summer of 1982 because the state's unemployment rate wasn't high enough by new federal standards.

Because the budget cuts have been so broad and the implications of Reagan's policies so evident, the opposition to those policies has been coming together with a speed unknown since the Populist heyday of the late nineteenth century. Peace Links and other groups in Arkansas do talk against the cuts in the human service side of the federal budget.

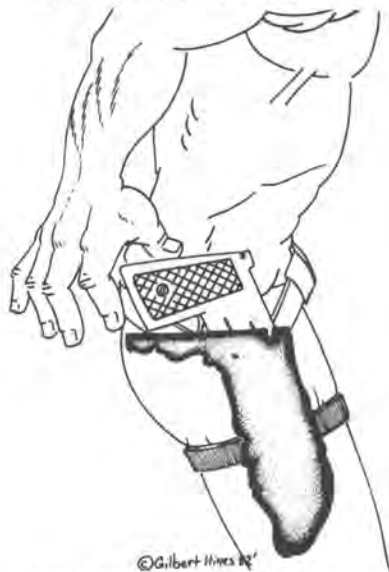
The Dogwood Alliance, for instance, began in 1979 to oppose a nuclear power plant, later changed its focus to nuclear weapons, and now includes in its policy statement this declaration: "In the United States, military spending for the

FLORIDA by Greg Michaels and Martha Rappaport

ON THE SURFACE, FLORIDA'S ECONOMY IS AS DAZZLING AS ITS BEACHES. IN 10 YEARS, TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME IN THE STATE HAS TRIPLED, AND unemployment in mid-1982 was a full two percentage points less than the national average. The influx of military spending has boosted this growth substantially. From 1977 to 1981, Department of Defense (DOD) dollars for contracts and salary to military personnel increased from \$3.2 billion to \$6.7 billion. The military ranks as the third largest industry in the state, behind citrus and vegetable production and tourism; Florida receives the fifth largest amount of DOD funds of any state in the nation.

Despite these glowing statistics, the gap between the affluent and the needy is widening at an alarming rate. Florida has the fourth largest number of low-income people in the nation — the highest number in the South after Texas.

As the military and its attendant businesses burgeon, the federal government's already paltry assurances of security and welfare are being withdrawn



from low-income people. Until recently, federal expenditures for social welfare acted as a partial buffer to offset the impact of the large influx of elderly people looking for an idyllic retirement, migrant workers in search of employment and numerous Caribbean, South and Central American nationals fleeing from poverty and political oppression (often strengthened by American foreign policy) in their homelands.

The reduction of social programs in favor of military spending will hit Florida hard. Counties with large concentrations of low-income and indigent people are especially vulnerable. In Dade County (Miami Beach), well over half the funding for health and nutrition programs comes from the federal government. Since the

majority of the Hispanic people and the largest number of blacks in the state live there, the budget revisions harm them more severely than the general population. Seventy-five percent of the nation's new Cuban and Haitian refugees live in Florida, mostly in Dade County. The social and medical programs designed to provide emergency aid and maintenance for them are destined for total elimination from the federal budget.

Ten percent of all federal money received by Florida before the New Federalism went to Medicare payments. Anyone, poor or not, seeking hospital care will feel the impact of reduced Medicare support. Cuts in the program, among the most severe in the 1981 budget, have already forced a 25 percent increase in average hospital rates in Orange County. Further losses threaten to force the closing of smaller hospitals and reduce the quality and amount of services provided by others. Elderly people in the Florida Panhandle may especially suffer because they have one of the highest hospitalization rates in the country.

Attempts to compensate for past deficiencies in health care delivery to low-income people will be significantly hindered. For many years, a baby born in Florida has stood a smaller chance of surviving than most American infants. The risk increases by 50 percent if the mother has little or no prenatal care, as will be the case for more and more women as federal support for health care dwindles. For example, the layoff of two obstetricians from the Orange County Health Department will deny prenatal care to those who have no other options than that public facility.

While the health of many Floridians will suffer, that of the state's military contractors is increasingly hardy. In one year from Fiscal Year (FY) 1980 to 1981, Florida corporations increased their share of military contracts from \$2.2 billion to \$3.3 billion, a 50 percent leap. The state ranks eighth in the nation as a recipient of military contract dollars. Almost 400 companies take a share, although two-thirds goes to the top 10 companies.

In 1981, United Technologies gleaned the largest share of the Pentagon pork —

almost \$900 million, 28 percent of the total DOD contracts in Florida. The money goes largely to the company's Pratt and Whitney division, manufacturing gas turbine jet engines in West Palm Beach. Two \$2.1 million Pratt and Whitney engines equip each F-15 Eagle, a superjet that will launch "a variety of missiles and bombs at supersonic speeds."

United Technologies exercises considerable influence locally and nationally: it is the largest employer in West Palm Beach and the second largest recipient of Pentagon contracts in the nation. It not only produces hardware like the F-15 engine, but also conducts extensive research and development. As DOD's

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eighth largest researcher, United Technologies received over \$231 million, half of which went into its Florida operations.

The number two company, Martin-Marietta Aerospace, plays a leading role in the economy of Orlando and the rest of Orange County. The city's largest employer, it receives about a fifth of Florida's total DOD contract dollars, taking in over a half billion dollars in 1981. The 5,400 Martin-Marietta Orlando employees, coupled with another 14,000 DOD personnel in that area, constitute a sizable presence in a city of 128,000. The sophistication of Martin-Marietta's military products — day/night fire control for the army's Advanced Attack Helicopter and cannisters and transporter/launchers for the army's Patriot air defense missile — requires a pool of technical talent readily found among the remnants of the space program in neighboring Brevard County.

Resources

FLORIDA

American Friends Service Committee
1205 Sunset Dr.
South Miami, FL 33143
(305) 666-5234

Florida Clearinghouse on Human Services
222 W. Pensacola St.
Pensacola, FL 32303
(904) 222-8403

Florida Coalition Against Hunger
1200 Central Ave., Suite 206
Kissimmee, FL 32741

Florida SANE
1001 55th Ave. S.
St. Petersburg, FL 33705

Naples Fellowship of Reconciliation
c/o John Dwyer
1235 Woodridge Ave.
Naples, FL 33904

Pax Christi — Florida
1642 N.W. 12th Rd.
Gainesville, FL 32605

South Florida Peace Center
17430 S. Dixie Highway, Suite B
Miami, FL 33157

Tallahassee Peace Coalition
Box 20168
Tallahassee, FL 32304
(904) 222-5845

War Resisters League of Central Florida
P.O. Box 6208
Orlando, FL 32853

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
P.O. Box 330056
Miami, FL 33133

Three of Florida's top 10 military contractors do business in Brevard County, home of Cape Canaveral. The Harris Corporation, with 10,000 employees in several cities throughout the state, received a \$7 million order for computers from the U.S. Army in 1981. It now runs neck-and-neck with Martin-Marietta as the state's largest industrial employer. Also doing business in Brevard County are Cadillac Gage Company, which manufactures armored cars, and Pan American Airways, which operates the Eastern Test Range and the Air Force Eastern Space and Missile Center.

Although not a particularly large state in area, Florida does have room for 57 military installations. The large number of active military personnel stationed in Florida means the state receives the second highest amount of DOD pay in the country. Former First District Representative Bob Sikes, who chaired the House Appropriations Committee on Military Construction from 1965 to 1977, gets credit for loading the northern Panhandle counties with the sprawling Elgin Air Force Base (the nation's largest air base at 486,946 acres) and the Pensacola Naval Air Station; 37,000 people — one-third of the state's DOD employees — work at the two bases.

Jacksonville, in the Third District (represented by Charles Bennet, a member of the House Armed Services Committee), has 20,000 military personnel on two major naval bases, the Jacksonville Naval Air Station and Mayport Naval Station. Orlando's Naval Training Station houses the most personnel — 21,000 — of any of the state's military installations. One of three navy boot camps, it houses the navy's Nuclear Power School.

Given Florida's serious need for health and other social services, it is not surprising that there is a proliferation of organizations which deplore the continued production of so much expensive and deadly weaponry. Perhaps the most evident in Florida, as elsewhere, is the nuclear weapons freeze campaign. At least 38 groups are part of the Florida Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, including the Sunshine Action Group of the American Friends Service Committee, Pax Christi-Florida, Womyn for Survival, the South Florida Peace Center and Tampa Bay Peacemakers. The groups are variously involved in letter-writing campaigns to their elected representatives, vigils at churches and military installations, educational workshops and cultural events designed to garner support for anti-militarist organizing.



photo courtesy L.C. Dorsey

GEORGIA by Steve Unruhe

One freeze activist in Orlando is providing an unusual service to his colleagues around the state. Paul Schaffer is producing a resource kit to help freeze groups identify supporters in their communities. He plans to collect the information gathered by local groups using the kit, assemble the lists of supporters on a computer, then distribute the list back to groups to use in lobbying their representatives.

Meanwhile, organizations including Florida IMPACT, Florida Legal Services, Project Block Grant and the Clearinghouse on Human Services are battling to meet the immediate needs of people feeling the effect of the loss of funds from the federal budget. According to Budd Bell, chair of the Clearinghouse on Human Services and a member of the Human Rights Advocacy Commission of the Florida State Hospital, "What's happening in this country is that in the name of 'family protection' and so-called budget cuts, we are allowing this country to arm itself to the eyeballs. As a result, we are not able to see that what is happening is the closing of day-care centers and the elimination of Section 8 subsidized housing; such programs are the lifeblood of aid to working parents and enable them to stay independent." She adds: "True defense would address the well-being of children and their families rather than the transfer of billions into the Pentagon's greedy arms."

The human services and advocacy agencies and organizations now face a three-fold task: they must organize and solicit resources to meet immediate needs; they must work with other agencies and organizations to avoid fighting one another for the remaining funds; and they must do long-range planning to fill in the gaps created by the budget cuts, such as setting up alternative health-care facilities for the indigent.

Human services agencies and groups organizing against the military are natural allies. However, barriers of race, ethnicity, age and language have kept those most directly affected by the government's military spending priorities from discovering their mutual interests. What could bring them together is the common thread that runs through all their lives — the budget horsetrading that primes the military industry at the expense of numerous forms of social support that could help to sustain lives. Reversing that tradeoff would salvage the needed funds to meet the state's special needs and stem the willy-nilly growth of the military industry. □

ACCORDING TO GEORGIA LEGEND AS RELATED BY HERMAN TALMADGE, FORMER REPRESENTATIVE CARL VINSON WAS ONCE OFFERED THE POST OF Secretary of the Navy. "No thanks," Vinson replied, "I'd rather run the navy from over at the Capitol."

For the better part of the century, the building of the U.S. military complex was presided over by Georgia's Senator Richard Russell (1933-1972) and Representative Carl Vinson (1914-1965). Each chaired his chamber's Armed Services Committee for longer than the lifetime of the battleships they commissioned. President Lyndon Johnson acknowledged the Georgia congressional clout that secured a Lockheed Aircraft contract for Marietta in 1968: "I would have you good folks know there are a lot of Marietta, Georgias, scattered throughout our 50 states. All of them would like to have the pride that comes from this production, but all of them don't have the Georgia delegation."

The military pork barrel Vinson and Russell helped fill has returned considerable revenue to their home state. During World War II the country's largest bomber aircraft plant was built in Marietta (outside Atlanta), two other air bases were opened, and Fort Benning became the army's main infantry training school. Today every major city in Georgia has a nearby military installation. And one of every nine U.S. Army soldiers is stationed inside the state. Military affairs people on Capitol Hill fondly remember Vinson's classic quip: "We're very above board in the way we approach where military bases ought to be located. That is, we share 50/50 — 50 percent for the state and 50 percent for the rest of the nation."

Georgia's present congressional delegation prides itself in carrying on this legacy. They have a remarkable record of appointments to military-related committees, using these Pentagon supervisory positions to preserve and build the state's military investment. Sam Nunn, elected to Russell's vacant Senate seat in 1972, immediately took a position on the Armed Services Committee. Georgia's other senator, Republican Mack Mattingly, sits on the military construction subcommittee of Appropriations. In the House, the state's senior representatives — Bo Ginn, Jack Brinkley and Larry McDonald — all sit on military-related committees. The Georgia delegation votes as a virtual bloc on military matters — in the 1982 debate over Reagan's transfer of funds from social programs to the Pentagon, the Georgians

swung to Reagan with but one exception, Wyche Fowler of Atlanta.

"By far the biggest business in Georgia" is the military, says former Senator Talmadge. He should know. Years of congressional appropriation votes have delivered a stream of military contracts to Georgia companies. Most important has been the aircraft industry, led by Lockheed, the world's largest military contractor. Lockheed-Georgia's contracts for \$628 million in 1981 made up half of the state total for military contracts. Its 13,000 workers include one of every seven manufacturing employees in the six counties surrounding Marietta.



"It takes a lot of assistance to keep a defense contractor," an aide to Senator Sam Nunn told the *Atlanta Weekly*. "[Lockheed has] a billion dollars' worth of programs that have to get approved." But getting congressional approval of Lockheed's contract bids can hardly be a piece of cake when you consider the finagling that must be necessary to overcome the corporation's notorious reputation for bribes, kickbacks, political slush funds, corporate espionage, shoddy products and its infamous cost overruns. The term "corporate welfare" was coined after Congress rewarded Lockheed for its \$2 billion C-5A cargo jet cost overrun with a \$250 million bailout. But at least the C-5As could fly. Not so with its Starfighter jet, which became known among NATO allies to whom it was sold

U.S. Army photo by Bill Walton



FORT BENNING, GEORGIA: THE ARMY CALLS THESE TANKS "BRADLEY FIGHTING VEHICLES."

as "The Widow Maker" after 234 of them crashed in routine peacetime training missions in Germany and Japan.

Lockheed first set up shop in Georgia in 1950 to refurbish bombers for the Korean War, using the virtually abandoned Bell Aircraft plant in Marietta. Early on in the war, Lockheed got wind of the Pentagon's need to increase troop mobility vastly to fulfill its self-image as a global police force. The company bid for and won the contract for a transport plane — the C-130 Hercules — which would carry troops across the ocean in a day instead of weeks by ship; the contract also propelled Lockheed to the top rungs of the Fortune 500. Lockheed's contracts in Georgia now make up over 31 percent of the company's total military sales.

Today, Lockheed is engaged in a fierce and very public bidding war against Boeing for a new multi-billion dollar air transport. The competition, which includes major ads lambasting each other's production, would be laughable if so much tax money weren't involved.

Other aerospace giants have followed Lockheed's yellow-brick road to Georgia, most notably Rockwell International, whose facilities in Atlanta and Norcross and at Robins Air Force Base are working on \$24 million worth of contracts for bombs and missile system components. Best known for its decade-long quest for appropriations to produce the B-1 bomber, which most weapons experts agree will be obsolete before it leaves the assembly line, Rockwell was finally paid off for its persistence with the election of Ronald Reagan and crew. Along the way, Rockwell spent \$1.3 million lobbying Congress in an attempt to defuse the aggressive, and almost successful, "Stop the B-1" campaign spearheaded by the American Friends Service Committee. Board chair Robert Anderson confessed

to *Fortune*, "I just hate to lose." Even without the B-1 go-ahead, Anderson can hardly be called a loser by anyone's standards: his 1980 salary was a tidy \$2,967,000.

To hear Georgia politicians talk, the military is an economic bonanza for the people of the state. But what is the cost to the state of such dependence on Pentagon dollars? Perhaps the most significant long-term effect, though difficult to measure, is the diversion of potential resources from productive investment. In every major Georgia city, the largest single employer and largest concentration of capital is military-related — producing jobs but no product.

Even the employment value is questionable. For all of the astronomical contracts signed by Lockheed, current employment of 13,000 is less than half its

1969 work force, and just about the same as when the plant opened in 1950. When employment drops between contracts, as in the early 1970s when it dropped to 7,000, the entire city and county face depression.

The social consequences of military dependence go beyond nonproductive or nonexistent employment. The percentage of federal funds dispersed in Georgia from the Department of Defense grows as social programs are cut back. In Chattahoochee, the Fort Benning payroll for soldiers undergoing infantry training in 1980 was \$219 million, while total federal aid to education — including vocational training and student loans — was only \$140,000. In Camden County, site of the navy's new \$1.5 billion-plus Trident base, over half the federal spending is for military payroll and contracts. Long bypassed for economic development assistance, Camden is being targeted for the navy's largest peacetime construction project, which by the time it is completed in 1998 will cover some 28 square miles. For now, though, the Camden area's only booming local businesses are fast-food stands and mobile home sales lots. The navy has rented 100 private apartments for the crew of its first sub-tender, closing out the city's rental market. The base and surrounding business is expected to bring 25,000 new residents to the area — twice again the present population. Schools, sewage systems, parks — all will be submerged under the navy's population wave.

Resources

GEORGIA

American Friends Service Committee
92 Piedmont Ave., NE
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 586-0460

Atlanta War Resisters League
1225 Cameron Court, NE
Atlanta, GA 30306
(404) 378-3237

Black United Front
P.O. Box 11025
Atlanta, GA 30310
(404) 766-4960

Black United Front
2328 Norton Drive
Augusta, GA 30906
(404) 793-7920

Clergy & Laity Concerned
c/o Leslie Withers
222 E. Lake Dr.

Decatur, GA 30030
(404) 377-6516

Georgia Citizens' Coalition on Hunger
133 Luckie St., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 659-0878

Georgians Against Nuclear Energy
P.O. Box 8574
Station F
Atlanta, GA 30306
(404) 622-7242

Jubilee Partners
Box 274
Comer, GA 30629
(404) 783-5244

Northeast Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze
1010 S. Lumpkin St.
Athens, GA 30605
(404) 725-7717

KENTUCKY by Steve Unruhe

For many in Camden County, and across Georgia, military-related economic growth appears to be the only alternative to continued stagnation. But there are a host of organizations, coalitions and church groups — many of whom Representative Larry McDonald of Marietta, an avowed member of the John Birch Society, has labeled "communist subversives" in the Congressional Record — that are working to change the state's priorities to meet the needs of its people.

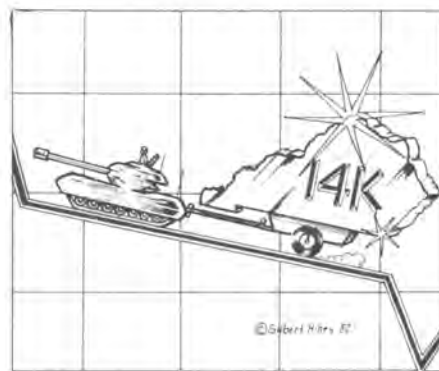
Among the best-known of these groups is the Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change; it is organizing a one-year Jobs with Peace campaign that will culminate in a march on Washington in August, 1983, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of King's historic march. The American Friends Service Committee, which recently moved its entire Southeast regional office to Atlanta, is also working on the Jobs with Peace project, in addition to the broad range of peace and justice issues it coordinates throughout the South. Clergy and Laity Concerned, an organization that King helped to found shortly before his assassination, is active in the Nuclear Freeze Campaign as well as on hunger issues, the Nestle boycott and a project to halt aid to Central American dictators.

Perhaps the most heartening sign in Georgia is the recent influx of veterans' groups, like Agent Orange Victims of Atlanta, the Association of Atomic Veterans and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). VVAW Regional Coordinator Elton Manzione sums up the feelings of Georgia's vets and peace activists alike: "[We] perceive the issues of war, racism, poverty and sexism as being very interrelated. The forces which caused us to be used, abused and shafted in an illegal, stupid war are the same as those which heap on other citizens in other situations. We're opposed to both Reagan's budget cuts and his military expenditures. Just like in Vietnam, we see it as a way to feed the generals — General Electric, General Dynamics, etc. — and fuck the people."

When the U.S. Senate, by a one-vote margin, bailed Lockheed out after its C-5A boondoggle, a member of the House Banking Committee labeled Lockheed "an 80-ton dinosaur who comes to your door and says, 'If you don't feed me I will die and what are you going to do with 80 tons of dead, stinking dinosaur in your yard?'"

"WE BEGAN ORGANIZING AROUND CUTBACKS IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND ELIMINATION OF LEGAL AID, WHICH WE SEE AS PART OF REAGAN'S move to weaken the courts and reduce their impact on social justice issues. This focus concerns workers, minorities and social service professionals. We have become connected with the peace movement by looking at the *cause* of budget shifts."

Kathy Russell is co-chair of the Jefferson County Fightback Coalition in Louisville. This coalition of religious, civil-rights, labor and social service organizations was formed in early 1981 to counterattack the Reagan administration's proposed federal budget. Its first action, a rally in May, 1981, featured talks by recipients of threatened state and federal aid, educators, labor leaders and neighborhood council representatives. In December, as the impact of program cuts began to hit home, the coalition sponsored a community Speak-Out in the Louisville Alderman's Chamber. "We gave recipients a chance to speak about the impact on their lives," says Russell. "Half of the two hours was for recipients



to testify; the other hour was given to social service professionals to describe the overall effects of the cuts."

For Kentucky, the combined effect of the budget cuts and the diversion of Kentuckians' personal income to the military is profound. With 11.5 percent of the state's workers unemployed and nearly 15 percent living below the poverty level, Kentucky spent \$631.7 million more in 1980 defense-related taxes than it got back in defense contracts. The projected loss for 1982 is \$829.9 million — about \$5,600 per family.

Kentucky's only major metropolitan area, Louisville, dominates as a recipient of defense contracts. Impoverished inner-city residents will be interested to know that when their electricity is cut off this winter due to their inability to pay the ever-escalating electric rates, Louisville Gas and Electric will collect \$9.5 million

from the Department of Defense to keep the lights glowing over the gold bricks at Fort Knox. As public school lunch and remedial reading programs are gutted, Louisville parents and students may rightly wonder why the federal government is allocating more than \$6.5 million to Fort Knox school personnel. Or why a British-owned tobacco company, Brown and Williamson, is getting \$9 million to roll Kools, Viceroy's and Raleighs for American troops.

These defense contracts are just droppings in the Derby paddock compared to the Bluegrass State's big-time contractors: Ashland Oil and General Electric. Ashland, whose president's weekly salary rivals the yearly earnings of the average Kentucky family of four, had 1981 DOD contracts totalling \$166 million in that state. Its Louisville, Catlettsburg and Ashland facilities produce fuel oil and liquid propellants for fuel-efficient military vehicles like the M-1 tank, which burns four gallons per mile.

GE, who used to employ none other than that great American thespian Ronald Reagan as its number one hawk, gets a comparatively paltry \$10.65 million for defense contracts at its Owensboro plant. The company ranked fifth nationwide in 1980 DOD sales at \$2.2 billion. GE's Kentucky contracts amount to just about 10 times the annual salary of its president: \$1.2 million.

Louisville's Fightback Coalition may well wonder what a corporate executive actually does to earn \$4,623 a day. Or how in the world he or she spends that amount of money. But wondering about the ostentatious and absurd has not diverted the coalition from the practical.

This summer the Fightback Coalition organized a public forum at which AFDC recipients successfully challenged county government and health-care professionals to block the proposed shift of Medicaid health costs to patients. Coalition members plan to continue investigating and speaking out on how federal programs are monitored and implemented at the local level in an effort to make "human needs government's first priority," says Kathy Russell.

One of the coalition's member organ-

izations is the Louisville Council on Religion and Peacemaking, a two-year-old group that now has 500 members. The council was organized by Episcopal priest Spencer Simrill after he attended a national meeting of the Mobilization for Survival. "I came back and said, 'I'm tired of seeing the same old radicals at conferences.' So we got some people together. We wanted to reach Jane Smith and John Doe in our congregations — Jewish and Christian. We decided to use the model from the civil-rights days, to ask each denomination to appoint a person to be on the board. So we got a lot of civil-rights ministers whose names people recognized.

"Now we have 500 members and six subcommittees including draft counseling, human needs and human rights, education, special events (which works with individual congregations), media and disarmament. In July, members of the Islamic faith joined the inter-faith

council."

The council defines "peacemaking" in broad terms: in addition to joining the Fightback Coalition on Medicaid cuts, it issued a statement condemning the vandalism of the Socialist Party headquarters in Louisville and worked, unsuccessfully, to block a Klan rally at a local high school that was the scene of intense racial strife during school desegregation. Simrill was a plaintiff in a lawsuit to enjoin the Klan from using the site. Though the federal courts upheld the Klan's right to use public property — as long as the meeting was open to all regardless of race, religion or nationality — several hundred people attended a council-sponsored alternative program which featured a vigil and sermons by Reverend Ben Chavis and Joseph Lowery of SCLC.

Earlier this year, the council asked Louisville mayoral candidates to respond publicly to the concerns of the member



photo courtesy Anne Braden

LOUISVILLE, KY, 1979: YOUTH MARCH FOR JOBS

churches: "We believe that the primary responsibility of government is to ensure that the basic human needs of its people are met. Religious bodies of this community cannot fill the gap created by recent and expected budget cuts; charity is

The military will spend \$200 worth of advertising on each recruit this year.

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It will promise lucrative educational benefits. But less than 10 veterans on the entire University of Wisconsin campus use the program.

It will promise travel in interesting countries, but neglect to mention that many GI's families in Germany need food stamps to live on.



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no substitute for justice."

The political community, at least in Louisville, has acted upon the electorate's concerns: the city council has passed resolutions urging Congress to shift funds to social programs and has also endorsed the nuclear freeze. Louisville's congressional representative, Romano Mazzoli, not only voted for the freeze in Congress but conducted a local forum on peace and moral concerns.

Peacemaking may be more effectively coordinated, and thus more visible, in Louisville than in the rural areas which dominate Kentucky, but smaller cities like Owensboro and Lexington have growing peace movements, too. One hundred and fifty people turned out in Lexington for a unique Hiroshima Day demonstration.

With a chain of 30,000 paper links — each link representing 10 deaths in Hiroshima and Nagasaki — the demonstrators surrounded the headquarters of the Mason-Hangar-Silex Company (best known for its Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant in Amarillo, Texas).

Kentucky activists are making headway in connecting human needs in local communities to the U.S. military policy, but connecting the issues is just the first step. As one organizer put it, "There is not yet a grassroots door-to-door movement, but people are working hard to form effective groups to build that kind of movement."

Resources

KENTUCKY

"Baptist Peacemaker"

Deer Park Baptist Church
1733 Bardstown Rd.
Louisville, KY 40205

Council on Peacemaking and Religion

c/o Pat McCullough
3940 Poplar Level Rd.
Louisville, KY 40213
(606) 255-4402

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Central Kentucky

812 Surrey Lane
Lexington, KY 40503

Kentucky Task Force on Hunger

1500 W. Main St., No. 238
Lexington, KY 40505
(606) 255-4402

Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice

P.O. Box 11308
Louisville, KY 40211

LOUISIANA by Herbert Rothschild

ON APRIL 15, 1981, OVER 1,000 PEOPLE GATHERED IN BATON ROUGE IN ANSWER TO A FIGHTBACK CALL FROM AN ORGANIZATION BILLING ITSELF as the Survival Coalition. Speaker after speaker challenged federal budget priorities, making explicit the links between U.S. militarism and the assault on poor and working-class people.

Anyone attending that day should have left encouraged. The Survival Coalition had brought under its umbrella a broad range of groups, among them the Louisiana State Tenants Council, Louisiana Interchurch Conference, Neighborhood Welfare Rights, NAACP and the Student Government Association of Louisiana State University (LSU). People in attendance purportedly represented many thousands of others. The rhetoric was tough in spirit and clear-sighted in analysis. Blacks and whites, men and women, working-class and middle-class activists had made common cause.

Yet for all practical purposes April 15 was not just a beginning but an end. Nothing of significance followed. About 50 coalition folks picketed the Baton Rouge hotel where David Stockman spoke on April 24. There was an effort to turn out far more people in New Orleans on September 27 during a visit by President Reagan, but no more than 300 showed. Rumors floated around the rally site that marchers from the housing projects were on their way. No marchers materialized.

What had happened is not hard to understand. Most importantly, during the 1970s grassroots organizations atrophied. Leadership positions remained, but the constituencies had dropped away. Indeed, an apparent political success had made their involvement seem unnecessary. The leadership was getting federal money to run their operations. They had access to public officials. They were being flown to conferences around the country. In sum, they thought they were insiders. The best of the leadership were intent on dividing up the pot for folks who had never before had much chance to dip into it; the worst were intent on dividing it up among themselves. Nobody was intent on politicizing the people.

Organized labor in Louisiana is well controlled by the AFL-CIO central leadership, which is historically militaristic at the national level and, though much less so in Louisiana, reluctant to buck what it perceives as jingoistic patriotism among its rank and file. Having done well treading the dangerous waters of opposing racism in the '60s, state president Victor Bussie is wary of shouldering a similar burden of

ideological leadership at a time when trade unionism is losing ground. At a mass labor rally in September, organizers confined their attention to relatively noncontroversial, and irrelevant, grievances like the hiring of out-of-state labor, plus vague animadversions against Reaganomics.

The churches in Louisiana have been generally quiescent as, under Reagan, national priorities have been weighted even more heavily against building a just society and toward reasserting U.S. world hegemony through violence. The silence



of the black churches has been especially distressing given the potential they demonstrated during the civil-rights struggle. White churches are relating to the issue of nuclear war, but for the most part they isolate that issue from the racism and classism to which it is so closely tied in the national budget and the national psyche.

Finally, the leadership of essentially white middle-class movements — peace, environmental protection, women's rights, and so forth — has, like the white church leadership, made little effort to cross the racial and class barriers. Economically secure themselves, they have difficulty realizing how true necessity can simultaneously narrow one's focus and diffuse one's energies.

If the fightback in general has gone badly in Louisiana, the movement to end the arms race has gone well. The key

forces have been the white churches and the Center for Disarmament Education (CDE), a chapter of Clergy and Laity Concerned in Baton Rouge.

CDE was organized in 1978 by myself and another LSU professor. At first, it focused exclusively on the threat of nuclear holocaust. Over the next two years its concern gradually extended to the interlocking complex of peace and justice issues — international traffic in arms, U.S. support of Third World dictatorships, budget priorities and global economics — that CALC, with which CDE affiliated in 1980, addresses. Still, its major emphasis and most of its success center on the arms race.

That success has not been confined to its own programming. Indeed, CDE's founders did not originally intend to build an organization with a high profile, but instead to encourage the institutionalization of concern for peace within existing structures like the churches, universities and labor unions. Somewhat despite itself CDE became quite visible in the Baton Rouge area, staging various kinds of public witness and gaining media attention. However, in the long run the group's much quieter efforts to facilitate other people's work are likely to prove much more significant.

It was initially hard going for those efforts because organizing handles were not readily available. With the exception of an always shaky War Resisters League chapter then in the final stages of dissolution, no groups had consistently worked in Louisiana against militarism since the Vietnam War years.

Nor did the military-industrial complex present itself as an obvious focal point of protest. Petroleum is the hidden giant among military purchases. By early 1981,

the Pentagon was consuming fuel at the annual rate of \$9.8 billion. Most of the Seven Sisters and small companies like Guam Oil and Refining Company consistently rank among the Department of Defense's top 100 contractors. The bulk of Louisiana's military contract dollars comes to it, an oil-and-gas-producing-and-refining state politically dominated by the energy industry, through fuel purchases. The largest Pentagon contractor is Exxon, which in Fiscal Year 1980 received \$80.9 million for products of its Louisiana operations.

Yet for workers at the refineries or in the oil fields to identify themselves or be identified by others as part of the great American war machine is well-nigh impossible. The easily identifiable weapons facilities — a SAC base and an army ammunition plant — are both in the northwest section, whose mostly fundamentalist Protestant and rural residents are even more conservative than the general population of Louisiana. Two ship-building firms in the New Orleans area have Department of Defense work, but they produce strictly conventional ships.

Indeed, social psychology, not economics, must explain Louisianans' longstanding devotion to U.S. militarism. Of the state's eight congressional districts, only the Fourth, a relatively poor and rural district where the large infantry base named Fort Polk is located, receives more in military spending than is siphoned out of it in taxes for the Pentagon.

CDE quickly discovered that the white churches were offering the best handles to grip. Whatever else may be said of religion in the South, people take it seriously, and Louisianans are no excep-

tion. Of the various institutions that self-consciously try to shape social values, the churches carry far more weight than, say, the media or the schools. And those churches that are integrated into national and/or international structures (which few black churches are) must, however unwillingly, be responsive to moral perspectives that transcend the traditional parochialism of the area.

For three years the best CDE could do was to locate sympathetic individuals so that a film might be shown, an adult study group led, a liturgy dedicated. Beginning in the second half of 1980, though, the increasingly strong commitments to reverse the nuclear arms race being made at the national and international levels by Christian churches began to have an impact in Louisiana. Rather than working with isolated individuals, it became possible to work within institutional structures.

Unquestionably, the two religious groups most responsive to the call for peace-making in this state have been the United Methodist Church (UMC) and Roman Catholic nuns, especially the Benedictines and the Sisters of St. Joseph.

At its June, 1982, assembly, the Louisiana Conference of the UMC endorsed the nuclear freeze. The UMC bishop in Louisiana, J. Kenneth Shamblin, is personally very supportive. Congregations around the state, a few of which (like Aldersgate in Covington) have been active for several years, are finding ways to work effectively. Response to the call has not yet been thoroughly institutionalized at the district and state levels, but within a year it probably will be.

NEW ORLEANS, 1977



The Leadership Conference of Women Religious, representing almost all nuns in the U.S., has made a strong commitment to end the arms race, and District V, which includes Louisiana, lost no time in acting on the commitment. Visible witness, such as the May 30 march and rally in New Orleans, has been combined with the more important task of influencing the church and school structures within which most of these women work and in some cases control.

Less responsive so far are some religious entities that nonetheless have shown promise of activity: the Presbyterian Church—U.S., Roman Catholic priests and the United Church of Christ.

The "Southern Presbyterians" adopted a freeze support resolution at their national meeting this past June. That should give further impetus to the work that some pastors have already been doing on their own initiative. No official mandates for action have been issued yet, but Presbyterian participation in the peace movement should become visible in Louisiana within two years.

Roman Catholic priests are being dissuaded from peace work by their bishops in most Louisiana dioceses. Archbishop Philip Hannon of New Orleans is perhaps the most outspoken of the small minority of U.S. bishops still supporting militarism, and he dominates the state's prelates. Bishop Joseph Sullivan of Baton Rouge, who died in September, was a one-man John Birch Society within the U.S. episcopacy. Bishop Gerard Frey of Lafayette

is a welcome exception, personally far more in tune with the national and international church on peace issues, though he has not thrown much weight behind active programming in his parishes. Despite the general hierarchical discouragement, some priests are finding ways to do work in their congregations. Much more energy would be released if Archbishop Hannon were to be reassigned.

Special notice should be taken of the First Unitarian Church and the small Friends meeting in New Orleans. Folks from these groups have provided impetus for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament/New Orleans (CND/NO), founded in June, 1981, with CDE assistance. CND/NO and a New Orleans chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility have, among their other credits, an endorsement of the freeze by the New Orleans city council.

Of these church or church-based groups, only the Catholic women are consistently linking the issues. Most are not even connecting the nuclear arms race with the larger pattern of U.S. militarism, much less to our behavior in the Third World and in Third World communities within our own borders. They are responding to the urgent need to guarantee human survival but not to

the more demanding task of real peace-making.

Whether the burgeoning movement to end the arms race will hook up with the fightback and whether the fightback itself will develop momentum in Louisiana are open questions at this point. Only two groups — CDE and the Institute of Human Relations at Loyola University in New Orleans — are working hard for the hookup. The Survival Coalition has gotten a new lease on life from a grant from the Campaign for Human Development, which will allow it to have staff for 12 months beginning in September, but so far attendance at its reorganizing meetings has not been broadly based. Predominantly black groups in Louisiana have a distressing history of being used and fragmented by leaders with large egos and small visions, yet high-quality black leadership is indispensable to the success of the fightback. Nothing really good ever happens in Louisiana unless whites and blacks stand together against the powers and principalities that have for so long exploited the region as an underdeveloped nation. Solidarity across the racial line, however, will only be possible if blacks stand with each other, as they did in the '60s.

Resources

LOUISIANA

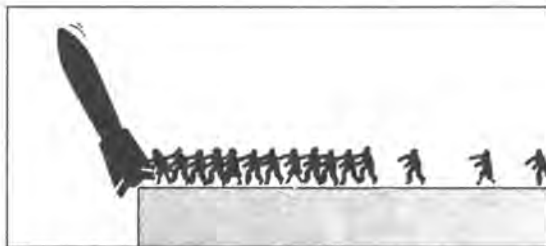
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
P.O. Box 15036
New Orleans, LA 70175

Center for Disarmament Education
P.O. Box 23709
Baton Rouge, LA 70893
(504) 924-1519

Lafayette Pax Christi
c/o Joe McCarthy
611 Taft St.
Lafayette, LA 70503
(318) 233-5970

Slidell Peace Ministry
360 Robert Rd.
Slidell, LA 70458

The Survival Coalition
2020 Jackson St.
New Orleans, LA 70113
(504) 523-3663



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Photo: Anthony Abuzeide

MISSISSIPPI

by Greg Michaels and Maxine Alexander

ALABAMA'S GOT ME SO UPSET,
TENNESSEE MAKES ME LOSE MY REST,
But everybody knows about Mississippi,
Goddamn!

There is no denying the image. Long before the rise of the New Right and the advent of Reaganomics, the parallel powers of militarism and racism worked to impoverish the people of Mississippi. Current budget cuts to social and economic reform programs at the federal level are hurting many Mississippians, but because of the state's bitter legacy the political and economic struggles of today reflect the past in Mississippi — perhaps more so than in any other state in the nation.

In 1930, shortly after the federal government began keeping statistics on per capita income, Mississippi ranked as the nation's poorest state; and every decade since then it has been at or near the bottom. It is understandable then that Mississippi officials clamor for investment from outside the state. In Fiscal Year (FY) 1980, the federal government provided \$5.5 billion in revenue to the state: a single funding agency, the Department of Defense (DOD), supplied almost 30 percent of those federal dollars. Mississippi ranked second, fourth and fifth nationwide in DOD major prime contract awards for FY 1981, in construction, shipbuilding and ammunition manufacturing, respectively. At a glance, it would appear that military spending offers the prospect of priming the state's economic development and improving the quality of life for many Mississippians.

But most Mississippians do *not* benefit. More than 60 percent of the contracts go to only three Gulf Coast counties — Jackson, Harrison and Hancock — which comprise only 11 percent of the state's population, and the share of DOD dollars approaches 70 percent when neighboring Pearl River County is included. Other federal funds tend to follow the flow of DOD expenditures, reinforcing the inequities in the distribution of the state's wealth.

In a state apparently strapped for sufficient funds to provide such basic services as education, health care, sanitation and paved roads statewide, selective expenditures for waterways, highways and water-and-sewer systems in those few key areas helped lure defense contractors. Mississippi's "favorable business climate,"

— Nina Simone, Freedom Summer, 1964

rated the best in the U.S. by some financial analysts, is built on the support of state and local governments which depend in part on sales tax revenues for their operation. In Mississippi, this form of taxation extends even to food sales, in effect ensuring that the state's poor contribute to the cost of attracting industry from whose presence they realize little benefit.

More than half the state's DOD contracts go to Litton Industries, which receives an array of public services from the Jackson County town of Pascagoula.



At the same time, Litton enjoys the tax exemptions that brought and keep the company there. Defense contracts account for more than one-fourth of Litton's total revenues. In FY 1981, \$753 million in DOD shipbuilding contracts went to the company's primary operation site, Ingalls Shipbuilding Yard. Here, Litton builds Aegis guided missile cruisers, Kidd-class guided missile destroyers and their stock-in-trade, landing helicopter assault ships (LHAs). Recently, Litton has begun overhauling and modernizing existing ships in the navy's fleet.

If Mississippi is depending on Litton's share of defense money to improve the economic well-being of the state, the hoped-for results have not been apparent. Large fluctuations in labor demand characterize Litton, whose work force peaked at 25,000 in the mid-'70s. While the company vaulted to a top position as a supplier of navy cruisers and destroyers and more than doubled its profits over the four-year period from 1975 to 1979 (\$17 million to \$44.1 million), it became

an unemployment burden for the state as the number of workers was cut in half to 12,500 by 1981. In January, 1981, the unemployment rate in Jackson County stood at over 10 percent and exceeded 8.5 percent in the two neighboring counties from which many workers are drawn. At the same time, statewide unemployment was 7.6 percent. In the face of an employment situation that is worse where defense money is being spent, the contention that military spending can sustain economic development is clearly in error.

The military's infrastructure and accompanying hidden expenses are typified by Mississippi's fourth largest DOD contract recipient, Chevron USA in Jackson County. The company was attracted to the county by its proximity to crude oil sources in the Gulf of Mexico, its outlay of public services and the nearby military installations. DOD fuel requirements limit available public fuel reserves and help maintain high fuel prices. Fuel bills in Pascagoula seem to increase in proportion to the numbers of aircraft flown from Biloxi's Keesler Air Force Base and destroyers launched from Ingalls.

But the least attractive aspect of Chevron is its environmental impact. Oil refineries are among the five worst polluters nationwide, and of the eight major oil companies in the U.S. Chevron ranks as the second worst water polluter. The Pascagoula refinery emits oil, ammonia and chromium into the Mississippi Sound.

Harrison County's share of military

Resources

MISSISSIPPI

Committee Against Registration and the Draft

330 Pine Ridge Rd.
Jackson, MS 39206
(601) 362-6518

Delta Ministry

P.O. Box 457
Greenville, MS 38701
(601) 334-4587

Physicians for Social Responsibility

612 Burnson Drive
Tupelo, MS 38801

Renewal Center

2225 Boling St.
Jackson, MS 39213

dollars flows in via the Keesler Air Force Base, by far the largest military installation in Mississippi with over 13,000 military and civilian employees. Keesler demands continually increasing public services that are being shunted away from less fortunate areas of the state. While Mound Bayou, a predominantly black town in the Delta, edges toward economic collapse with the cutoff of federal grants, Biloxi is allocated ample funds for new roads and services, largely because of the presence of the base.

The public services taken for granted at Keesler are the exception in depressed areas of the state which, until Reagan, looked to the non-military programs of the federal government as an equalizer of sorts. But federal money sometimes has strings attached that contradict the people's immediate needs. For example, the Springhill Development Association in north-central Lafayette County is facing substantial bureaucratic obstacles to using five percent of a \$1.3 million grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to purchase a vitally needed garbage truck and bins that would provide the Springhill area with its first public sanitation program.

While the benefits of military spending are questionable at best, the need for the social programs that are now being gutted is unquestionable. A report on poverty produced by North Mississippi Rural Legal Services (NMRLS) found that 32 of the 39 counties it serves have

poverty rates above 25 percent. The report found that the majority of Mississippians in the counties served by NMRLS lack access to information about the minimal services that are available, and attributed this situation to the bureaucratic fragmentation of the public services that could assist the poor.

Mississippi's poverty is highly correlated with race: the highest poverty rates exist in counties having the highest percentages of black population. And the highest poverty rates and percentages of black population coincide with the lowest median education levels. Quoting the NMRLS study, "By not spending federal and state money on constructive enterprises such as education and job training, the poorest Mississippi counties spend proportionately more per capita on foodstamp expenditures, AFDC expenditures and other social programs which increase dependency on welfare programs rather than independence. By not educating disadvantaged persons and not helping them obtain jobs, the state ends up spending more on welfare."

Mississippi currently ranks forty-ninth in the nation on per pupil expenditures for public education, and as federal money is withdrawn from education the situation threatens to get worse. Besides the threats to elementary, secondary and higher education, combined federal and state assistance to vocational education is decreasing, and funding for



photo by Hollis Watkins

CETA programs has dropped from \$84 million in FY 1980 to \$32 million in FY 1982, with an anticipated drop to \$25 million for FY 1983.

On September 9, a letter by Isaiah Madison, legal counsel to the Black Mississippians Council on Higher Education, appeared in Greenville's *Delta Democrat Times*. Madison wrote, "I am tired of being told that Mississippians are inferior, that blacks are inferior, that Southerners are inferior. I am tired because I know that it is simply not true. More than anything else, we Mississippians need to free ourselves from our perennial bondage to the paralyzing stigma of negative comparisons. We need to liberate our thinking from the tyrannical rule of people of little minds — people who are adept at compiling and citing statistical averages but who lack the courage to venture and the capacity to dream."

Without a program for balanced economic development statewide, Mississippians will continue to suffer. The state can only start advancing with an educated populace and sound development policies aimed at attracting industries that offer employment opportunities that make use of that education. Every dollar removed from the budget of a meaningful "people-oriented" program and shuttled — either directly or through support services — to a defense contractor only further compounds the inequities, rooted heavily in race, which are already painfully obvious in the state.



JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, EARLY '70S

NORTH CAROLINA by Gretchen Klopfer and Mark Steinberg

"NOT ENOUGH PEOPLE RECOGNIZE HOW IMPORTANT THE ARMED FORCES ARE TO NORTH CAROLINA'S ECONOMY. . . . TOBACCO, TEXTILES AND furniture generally are thought of as basic industries in our state. I would add the military to that list."

At first glance, statistics would seem to support that statement by Governor James Hunt. North Carolina ranks fourth in the nation in the size of its military payroll: \$1.4 billion is paid to almost 87,000 people on active duty, while an additional 13,000 civilians draw \$250 million yearly. The state is home for 38,500 retired military personnel as well, living on pensions totaling \$300 million. Fort Bragg in Fayetteville is the largest active military base in the United States, with its 40,000 troops outnumbering the totals of 41 other states combined. Fort Bragg attracted national attention in 1982 as the training base for Salvadoran troops. Camp LeJeune, on the coast, is the second largest marine base in the world and the center of marine training, housing 33,000 marines.

In addition, research, service supply and construction contracts totaling over \$800 million were awarded to private companies within the state in 1980. These contractors are mostly located in the central Piedmont region. Western Electric in Greensboro, Burlington and Winston-Salem is by far the state's largest contractor, receiving over \$215 million in contracts in 1981. Western Electric works primarily on the NIKE-Hercules missile project, on communications systems crucial to satellites, and on producing spare parts and launcher systems. Second and third on the list are Burlington Industries in Raeford (whose contracts tripled from \$15 million in 1980 to \$43 million in 1981) and R.J. Reynolds Company in Winston-Salem. The fast-growing Triangle area composed of Durham, Raleigh and Chapel Hill is especially favored with military funds. Northern Telecom is the state's fifth largest contractor, with contracts totaling nearly \$25 million in 1981. "Basic Research," as the army terms it, is conducted at the Triangle's three major universities — Duke, University of North Carolina, and North Carolina State — funded by the Army Research Office in the state's burgeoning Research Triangle Park.

The military is obviously deeply involved in North Carolina's economy. But is it a vital industry? A study by the Employment Research Associates shows: "Excluding military personnel, North Carolina has a net job loss of 81,250 for

every billion-dollar increase in military spending. . . . It is only because of the bases — Fort Bragg, Camp LeJeune and Seymour Johnson Air Force Base — that N.C. exhibits a net job gain."

The reason for this loss of benefits



is twofold. In the Piedmont region, the best jobs on contracts for defense research and development go to high-technology professionals attracted to the area by Research Triangle Park and the universities. In the depressed southeastern part of the state, the series of military installations that stretches from Fort Bragg to Buxton Navy Base provides little significant employment to anyone but members of the armed forces. Low-wage service and supply jobs are open to the local population, the North Carolina Public Interest Research Group (N.C. PIRG) has found, but these fluctuate with the traditional military cycle of boom and depression.

In addition, N.C. PIRG reported, "The presence of bases has been an obstacle to civilian industrial development in the state as the promise of military growth has convinced politicians that industrial development is unnecessary." In the third congressional district, which includes Seymour Johnson Air Force Base and Camp LeJeune, eight of nine counties had unemployment rates of at least 11 percent in March, 1982, when the state rate was 9.7 percent. In the seventh district, home of Fort Bragg, only Cumberland County had an unemployment rate of less than 10

percent. A local developer in Onslow County, in which Camp LeJeune accounts for 80 percent of the payroll, admitted, "We can't afford to depend on the ups and downs that go along with a military base. Only a broad industrial economy can offer the type of economic security which our county needs."

One undisputed legacy of the military presence is high rates of drug-related arrests, prostitution, rape and other violent crime in the cities dominated by bases. Cumberland County (home of both Fort Bragg and the Pope Air Force Base) reported a rate of 53 rapes per 100,000 people in 1981, more than double the average rate statewide of 23. A rate of 720 per 100,000 was reported for other violent crimes, as against a statewide 441. In Onslow County, home of Camp LeJeune, the violent crime rate last year was 723, and the rape rate was 32.

But while the state's politicians and much of its traditionally conservative population continue to praise the military presence as good medicine for a sick economy, every dollar spent represents a drain on the state's actual well-being. Fiscal year 1982 saw a reduction of approximately \$241 million in federal funds for social service programs in North Carolina.

To implement the cuts, the state has adopted, for the most part, a policy of reducing benefits in direct proportion to the reduction in funds received from Washington. Among the hardest hit in 1982 are the state's CETA and Child Nutrition programs: over 8,000 people lost their CETA jobs, and 150,000 children were cut from subsidized school lunch or breakfast programs. Barracks and other construction projects at Fort Bragg almost equal the cuts in food stamps (\$9.1 million), CETA youth training programs (\$8.8 million) and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (\$8.6 million) combined. As federal money pours into the huge bases, over 81,000 people will have their food stamp benefits reduced and over 7,000 will lose them entirely. Over 81,000 youths (a 65.2 percent reduction) will lose training and employment opportunities during a period of high youth unemployment.

Medicaid, which provides health care and services to poor people through vendor reimbursement, suffered the fourth largest cut in the state this year: \$27.6 million, of which the federal share is \$16.9 million. As a result of this cut, over 21,000 people suffered from limits on drug prescriptions and over



photo © Arthur Rothstein/American Postcard No. 261

BASIC TRAINING, FORT BRAGG, 1951

12,000 from limits on visits to physicians and clinics.

Other programs formerly administered by the federal government are consolidated into state-implemented block grants, which offer an approximate 20 percent reduction in the necessary funds.

The enormous disparity between military and human-needs spending in North Carolina will likely continue as long as the state clings to the notion of the military as an economic boon. Among the politicians, Democratic Governor Hunt is at the more liberal end of the political scale for his state. North Carolina's congressional delegation, led by Republican senators Jesse Helms and John East, represents the other.

However, rising voices of citizen dissent are making themselves heard among various social, religious and political groups within the state. Many of these groups, like the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Greensboro, are local branches of national organizations which have been involved in peace-related work in the state for decades. AFSC concentrates on the nuclear freeze proposal and organizing statewide conferences and workshops designed to spawn further organization at the local level, including a locally sponsored Nuclear Freeze Week October 24-30. AFSC sees the freeze as a first step in stemming the flood of federal dollars into arms and away from programs which serve the needy.

The Triangle Project on Military

Spending and Human Needs, based in Durham, focuses on the widening gap between federal spending for "guns" and "butter." Begun in 1981 with the help of the War Resisters League, the Triangle Project organized a successful Tax Day People's Forum on the Budget Cuts on April 15, 1982; two dozen representatives of local groups ranging from the NAACP to the North Carolina Association of Educators to the AFL-CIO spoke out on the negative effects of the military buildup. The Triangle Project is also working with the Durham Tenants Steering Committee on helping to save

public housing from disastrous cuts in its funding, and has been laying the groundwork for a Jobs with Peace campaign aimed towards a week of activities in April, 1983.

As of November, 1981, rural folks have gotten a chance to voice their concerns through a new newsletter and to share them with others in rural settings. The *Rural Southern Voice for Peace (RSVP)* — based in western North Carolina and including news from several Appalachian states — fills a real gap in the peace movement by focusing on rural, grassroots peace organizing. *RSVP* encourages the organizational efforts of rural people on issues ranging from the nuclear freeze to stopping U.S. military aid to El Salvador, and includes a "letters-to-the-editor" project urging participants to write to their local newspapers on issues of concern.

In the eastern part of the state, the North Carolina Hunger Coalition in Fayetteville is involved in educating low-income people, mostly AFDC mothers, about the economic threat posed by the military budget. The group is also trying to stimulate the interest of middle-income consumers, working especially through the churches.

The work of these and many other groups is having a significant effect on the state, especially since they have now begun to coordinate their efforts better. As of August, 1982, seven cities and towns, including the capital city of Raleigh, had voted to approve the freeze proposal. The freeze will come up for a vote in the 1983 session of the General

PALM SUNDAY, 1982

A bullet tends to drop at two hundred yards.
 At five hundred yards the target is a haze;
 the soldier has to squint and account for windage.
 The round, in all probability, will rise.
 It is in the illusory field between
 that he will sight and pull,
 metamorphosing the target into fragments of a puzzle,
 without counterparts:
 A young man in a wheelchair trying to match
 his coins to fit the slot
 of a newspaper box on Palm Sunday.
 He searches the news, piecing,
 always piecing.

— Joseph Bathanti
 Charlotte, North Carolina

Assembly. Supporters are planning a huge rally promoting its adoption to coincide with the vote. But the freeze is only one small step in the long road these groups are traveling: the road towards state and federal recognition of human services funding as a priority above the military.

Resources

NORTH CAROLINA

American Friends Service Committee
1004 N. Elm St.
Greensboro, NC 27401
(919) 373-0082

Black United Front
709 Park Ave.
Greensboro, NC 27405
(919) 275-8470

Black United Front
P.O. Box 1411
Raleigh, NC 27602
(919) 847-6104

CAN-Disarm
2151 Silas Creek Parkway
Winston-Salem, NC 27103
(919) 723-1395

Charlotte SANE
P.O. Box 220101
Charlotte, NC 28222
(704) 364-4518

N.C. Council of Churches' Committee on Security and Peace
Bryan Building 201-A
Cameron Village
Raleigh, NC 27605
(919) 828-6501, 828-6542

North Carolina Hunger Coalition
P.O. Box 273
Fayetteville, NC 28302

Pax Christi
c/o Fr. H.C. Mulholland
112 9th St.
Washington, NC 27889

Quaker House
223 Hillside Ave.
Fayetteville, NC 28301

Rural Southern Voice for Peace
Route 5
Burnsville, NC 28714
(704) 675-4626

Triangle Area Project on Military Spending and Human Needs
604 W. Chapel Hill St.
Durham, NC 27701

War Resisters League/Southeast
604 W. Chapel Hill St.
Durham, NC 27701
(919) 682-6374

SOUTH CAROLINA by Sue Bowman

SOUTH CAROLINA HAS BEEN BESET BY POVERTY SINCE THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR. SLOW TO ADJUST TO CHANGING POSTWAR ECONOMIC NEEDS, the rice-and-cotton-rich state lagged behind in "New South" industrialization. What little industrial development did take place up through the first half of the twentieth century occurred in low-paying industries like textiles and furniture. South Carolina politicians, unable to stimulate the economy, instead stimulated virulent racism among the state's whites, who often forgot that they were nearly as poor as South Carolina's large black population.

With World War II, a ray of hope appeared amidst such gloomy conditions: as soon as Pearl Harbor was bombed, construction began on military bases across the state. The army trained thousands of troops at Columbia's Fort Jackson and Spartanburg's Camp Croft, as did the marines at Parris Island. The navy greatly expanded its Charleston facilities. Numerous airfields opened in the state. And women, older men and teen-agers were kept busy at three-shift-a-day operations in the state's textile mills, turning out products for the war machine.

South Carolina's politicians quickly added an even-more hawkish militarism to their longstanding racism to net huge military contracts for the state and to secure their futures for many elections to come. South Carolina representatives like Mendel Rivers and John McMillan built their reputations on twin foundations of fighting civil rights and procuring more pork for South Carolina's military barrels. Also important was Democratic heavy-weight and former U.S. Supreme Court Justice James Byrnes, the Secretary of State who convinced President Harry Truman to drop the atomic bomb on Japan because it was the politically expedient thing to do. They soon brought in the massive Savannah River Plant, expanded the existing military bases and kept military contracts flowing to South Carolina companies.

The current generation of South Carolina politicians has kept the military pump primed by stepping into positions on the key Pentagon committees. Republican Senator Strom Thurmond is second in command on the Senate Armed Services and Veterans' Affairs committees; the *Almanac of American Politics* describes him as "a retired general in the army, an unabashed enthusiast for things military, a supporter of armed intervention just about anywhere it is conceivable." His fellow senator, Democrat Ernest "Fritz" Hollings, while slightly more moderate than Thurmond on

domestic issues, has repeatedly and wholeheartedly advocated higher military spending from his spot on the defense subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. U.S. Representatives Thomas Hartnett of Charleston and Floyd Spence of Columbia preach similar messages at their posts on the House Armed Services Committee.

This bipartisan political team has brought rewards to the state. The U.S.



military spent \$2.25 billion in South Carolina in 1981. Also, the U.S. Department of Energy is spending \$673 million more in 1982 to operate the Savannah River Plant. Fort Jackson remains one of the army's largest recruit training centers. The Charleston shipyard is the navy's fourth largest U.S. installation. Parris Island is the major marine recruit training base in the U.S. And the air force operates major bases in Charleston, Sumter and Myrtle Beach.

Pentagon largesse also trickles down to the "civilian" economy. The state's textile mills received nearly \$59 million in orders from the Department of Defense in 1981. The transportation equipment and construction industries have benefited handsomely from military contracts.

Given this steady stream of federal defense dollars, has South Carolina been able to climb out of its chronic poverty? The answer is a resounding no. The state

still ranks forty-eighth in per capita income. Fourteen percent of the state's 3.1 million people are on the food-stamp program. The unemployment rate has soared to 11.5 percent — substantially higher than the national average. South Carolina has the second highest infant mortality rate, the second lowest life expectancy and the third highest illiteracy rate in the U.S.

The 1983 federal budget can only worsen the above dismal statistics: South Carolina is facing a 55 percent cut in employment and training funds, 35 percent in education, 31 percent in health and human services and 37 percent in community and economic development.

Though proficient at bringing in the military, the state's elected officials have failed to attract a diversified economic base. Touting the state's low rate of unionization, the State Development Board has attracted few industries other than low-paying plants like textiles and furniture — many of which are closing up shop as corporations shift production overseas.

South Carolina has become less attractive to new industry as its quality-of-life indicators have remained woefully low. Plant location consultant Alexander Grant & Co. recently dropped South Carolina from third to twentieth in its rankings of states attractive to new industries. The firm indicated that the state's poorly funded educational system was a main reason for the drop.

Thus, bloated military budgets have not fattened the pockets of very many South Carolinians. Yet the military remains a bulwark of the South Carolina political scene and an overwhelmingly powerful influence over the lives of South Carolinians. Just how powerful that influence is can be seen by looking at two massive military installations: the Charleston Naval Base and the Savannah River Plant.

CHARLESTON IS A SCENIC SEAPORT in low-country South Carolina. One of the oldest cities in the South, it grew as a

center of the slave-intensive rice and cotton industries. Devoted to protecting slavery, South Carolina became the first state to secede, and the Civil War officially began when the Palmetto Guard fired on federal troops at Fort Sumter in the Charleston harbor.

Following the Civil War, Charleston's economy collapsed. The slaves had been freed, the boll weevil was destroying the cotton crop, and new rice-gathering machines proved too heavy for the marshy lowlands. Charlestonians were desperate for an economic fix. They got one in the form of the navy.

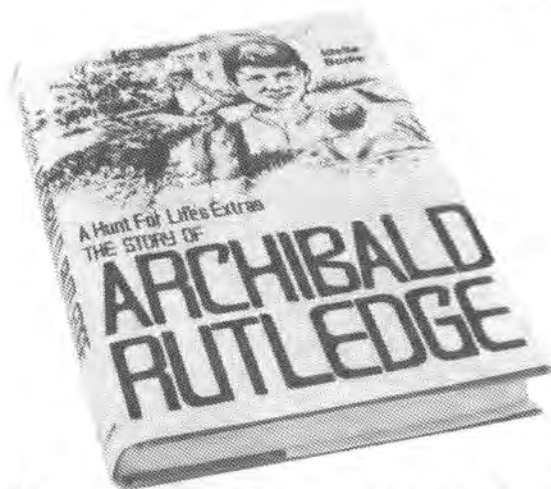
In 1901, the U.S. Navy set up a base at a tiny repair port built in Charleston during the Civil War. From that point forward, the Charleston Naval Base has grown steadily, always flourishing during wartime and always receiving lavish appropriations from South Carolina's seasoned congressional leaders.

Today's Charleston Naval Base encompasses everything from the old shipyard to a medical center to nuclear submarines. Consisting of 10 different facilities, it serves as the principal home port for the 70 ships and submarines of the Atlantic Fleet. And, as the Reagan administration pushes to "rebuild" America's naval strength, the base should house 12 new ships within several years.

The base dominates the economy of lowcountry South Carolina. The largest single-site employer in the state, the base employs 36,692 military and civilian personnel — almost one out of every 10 residents in the Charleston area — paying nearly \$1 billion in wages. The navy also purchased some \$311 million in goods and services. The private shipyards have also benefited from the presence of the naval base; for instance, Braswell Shipyards, Inc., received \$29 million from the Department of Defense in 1981.

Expanding the naval base has been the key issue in Charleston's congressional politics for decades. Mendel Rivers and his godson Mendel Davis were elected for 40 years on promises to protect and promote the base. Current U.S. Representative Thomas Hartnett quickly joined the House Armed Services Committee upon election in 1980. Charlestonians protect those who they think protect their economic fortunes. Jerome Smalls, founder of People United to Live and Let Live (PULL), a human-rights group based in Charleston, recounts that his father's supervisor at the base "passes the word to employees that if Strom Thurmond is not re-elected, everybody's job

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will be lost."

Though not as dependent on the navy as it was several decades ago, Charleston has built its image as an aristocratic haven of Old South virtue on the benefits from the naval base. But not everyone shares in the Pentagon's largesse. The lowcountry is also the home of some of South Carolina's poorest citizens; their lives go untouched by the salaries and contracts created by the huge naval base. The lack of industrial and agricultural development has forced these people to depend on federal assistance programs which are now being cut back in favor of increased military spending. For them, the federal trickle-down is drying up as the Pentagon's pump overflows.

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1950, THE U.S. government announced that it would acquire 312 square miles of land in southwestern South Carolina for a new H-bomb plant to produce plutonium and tritium for America's nuclear weapons program. Columbia's *The State* bragged on November 29: "South Carolina moved to the front in the fight against the communist menace yesterday with the announcement that a \$260,000,000 Atomic Energy Commission project would be built on the Savannah River in Barnwell and Aiken counties."

Citizens of Ellenton and four other communities to be swallowed by the plant heard about it on the news. The feverish anti-communist sentiment heated up by the press made the bitter pill of relocating easier for the 1,500 families to swallow. One lifetime Ellenton resident said: "We're heartsick at being displaced; but if it's for the good of the country, we'll cooperate 100 percent." The government paid \$18,975,000 to move about 6,000 people and 6,100 graves. Farmers in particular took heavy losses; they couldn't buy land in nearby counties for what the government paid them for their farms.

The Savannah River Plant (SRP), known locally as "The Bomb Plant," is currently the only facility in the U.S. churning out plutonium for the Department of Defense, making it the birthplace of every one of our nuclear weapons. The plant consists of five nuclear reactors (three operating, one being renovated, one inoperative), two reprocessing plants for recovering plutonium and tritium, a fuel and target fabrication plant and America's most active nuclear waste storage area. Over 26 million gallons of



U.S. Marine Corps photo by Major Barris

CHARLESTON NAVAL BASE

high-level radioactive waste are stored in 39 on-site tanks. Trucks regularly ship in uranium from sites around the country, including from Union Carbide in

Oak Ridge, Tennessee. This uranium drives SRP's reactors.

SRP is owned by the U.S. Department of Energy, but is operated on a cost-plus contract by E.I. duPont de Nemours. It employs about 9,000 people, including 4,900 directly involved with producing nuclear warheads and a permanent construction crew of 2,000. The plant's 1982 budget is \$673 million, and the proposed '83 budget is \$835 million.

As well as producing a number of jobs, the plant has totally changed the economic base of the region. Before 1950, the land was dotted with single-family farms; today with the plant having driven out numerous farmers and with the textile industry having expanded in Anderson, the population of the Third Congressional District is only two percent farmers and 56 percent blue-collar workers.

Located near SRP is the Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Plant, a partially completed facility for reprocessing spent fuel rods from commercial nuclear reactors. The plant has remained idle since President Jimmy Carter banned commercial reprocessing in 1977, but now President Reagan, Senator Thurmond, Department

Resources

SOUTH CAROLINA

Atomic Workers Health and Safety Project
P.O. Box 50544
Columbia, SC 29250

Carolina Peace Research Center
P.O. Box 50426
Columbia, SC 29250
(803) 779-0410

Grass Roots Organizing Workshop
18 Bluff Rd.
Columbia, SC 29201

Palmetto Alliance
2135½ Devine St.
Columbia, SC 29205
(803) 254-8132

South Carolina Committee Against Hunger
1726 Hampton St.
Columbia, SC 29201
(803) 254-0183

of Energy head (and former South Carolina governor) James Edwards and others are working to get the facility opened to reprocess fuel rods for military uses.

The Barnwell facility has been a source of endless controversy and the site of frequent demonstrations for several years now; recently, the demonstrators have added SRP as one of their targets. But their protests have largely been ignored by local residents, who seem to enjoy the economic benefits brought by the plant.

However, investigative reporters from the Atlanta *Constitution* have uncovered some alarming statistics that could lead area folks to think twice about SRP. Mark Bradley and Robert Lamb found that in Jasper County, southeast of the plant, infant deaths climbed from 22.9 per 1,000 live births in 1950 to 29.2 in 1980, while the state average was dropping from 38.9 to 15.6. Heart disease in Screven County, Georgia, also southeast of the plant, has risen nearly five times the statewide increase. In Burke County, Georgia, the cancer rate increased five-fold between 1950 and 1980, while the statewide rate rose only two-fold.

The *Constitution* reporters also discovered 25 cases of polycythemia vera, a blood disease that can develop into leukemia and heart disease. The rate of incidence of the disease locally was

significantly higher than the national average.

Polycythemia sufferer George Couch, a maintenance mechanic at SRP for 22 years, says, "I was discharged from my job in June of 1975 because I was no longer physically able to carry out my duties — I had developed polycythemia [vera], which is caused only by living at high altitudes or by exposure to radiation. I have never lived outside Aiken County, altitude 550, except for three years in the service."

Couch has sought compensation for the illness he believes was caused by his work, but there's one hitch: there has never been a comprehensive study of the plant's health effects. As a defense facility, SRP is self-regulating and self-monitoring. Documents relating to radioactive releases have always been classified, in the interests of "national security."

Couch and other members of the Atomic Workers Health and Safety Project have called on the South Carolina Department of Health and Environmental Control (DHEC) to carry out an epidemiological study of SRP's health effects. However, despite the potential dangers posed by any major nuclear installation, DHEC's Dr. Richard Parker admits, "Frankly, we have no data." (DHEC and Atlanta's Center for Disease Control have announced they will investigate the causes of the polycythemia vera cases.)

Dr. Carl Johnson, known for his

authoritative studies on the health effects of Denver's Rocky Flats nuclear weapons facility, recently examined declassified documents from SRP. He found that large amounts "of plutonium have been released in exhaust plumes from the plant during routine operations, nearly four orders of magnitude greater than acknowledged in reports prepared for the public." He and other prominent scientists have joined the atomic workers' call for a thorough health study around the plant.

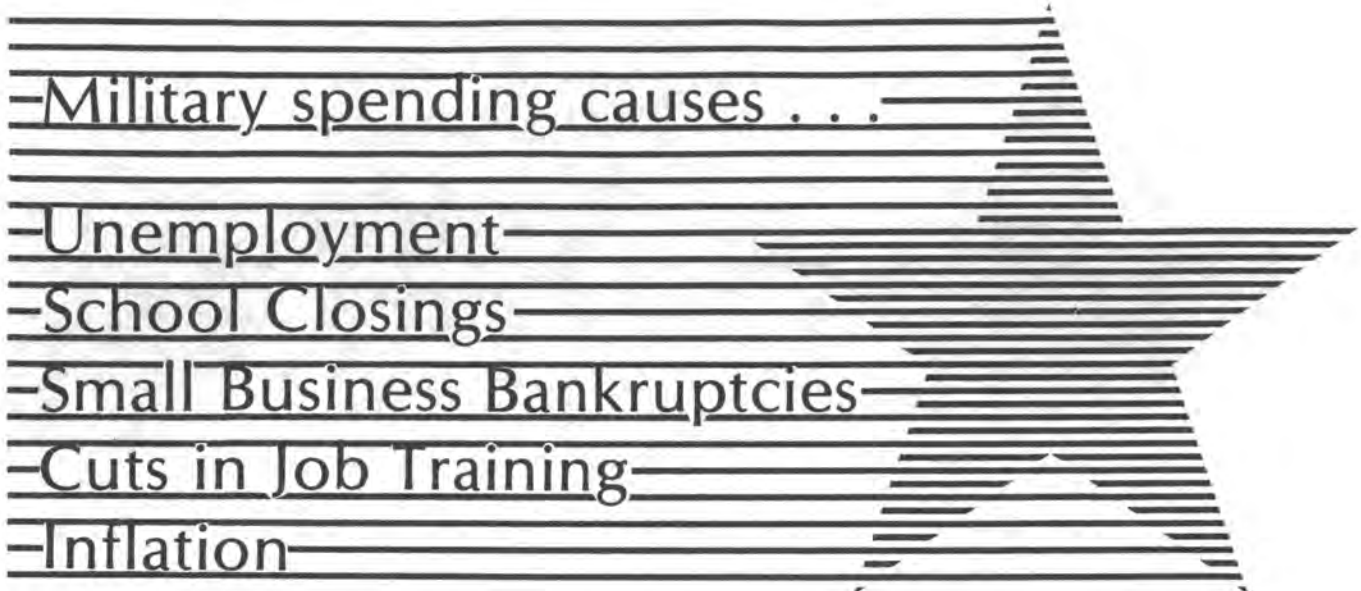
Now both local residents and people from outside the area want to know what's going on at The Bomb Plant. Several people from around SRP joined a thousand demonstrators at a Peace Sabbath Rally protesting the existence of the plant on May 30, 1982. Steve McMillan, an Allendale farmer, explained how difficult it was for him to talk to his neighbors about the dangers posed by a plant where most of them make their living.

In fact, for a state like South Carolina, where a substantial portion of the military pie comes in the form of nuclear production, the tradeoff between jobs and health becomes a crucial one. But as more reports on SRP emerge, more folks are likely to question just how much they want The Bomb Plant in their backyard.

AERIAL PHOTO OF WASTE TANKS UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT THE SAVANNAH RIVER PLANT. BACKGROUND SHOWS CHEMICAL SEPARATION FACILITIES WHERE IRRADIATED FUEL IS REPROCESSED.



Department of Energy photo



-Military spending causes . . .

-Unemployment

-School Closings

-Small Business Bankruptcies

-Cuts in Job Training

-Inflation

Women, minorities and youths are the hardest hit by the government policies that put the Pentagon before people's needs. Women and minorities are the first to go in plant layoffs; young people suffer from cuts in education; and most families struggle as inflation eats away at their income.

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- ★ halt the deployment of all medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe;
- ★ reach bilateral agreements on substantial reductions of intercontinental missiles (SALT or START);
- ★ agree to US-USSR nuclear weapons freeze including the Nuclear Test Ban;
- ★ cut military expenditures and restore funds to human services;
- ★ support United Nations initiatives on disarmament

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Send To: **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107

TENNESSEE by Verna Fausey

**"WARNING: DEFENSE SPENDING MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH."
THE ABOVE SLOGAN WOULD MAKE A GOOD ADDITION TO THE CITY** limits sign of Erwin, Tennessee, a town of 5,000 people in Unicoi County, situated in the mountainous eastern region of the state. Erwin has enjoyed the short-term benefits and is now enduring the long-term agony of defense dollars in the form of Nuclear Fuel Services (NFS).

NFS produces uranium pellets used to propel the navy's nuclear submarines. Opened in 1957, the plant employs 420 people, making it the second largest employer in Erwin.

Though the community relishes the wages from these jobs, recent events have soured many residents on NFS. In 1979, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) announced that over 48 pounds of highly enriched uranium — enough to produce six nuclear bombs — were missing from the plant. Though the NRC and FBI finally located most of it, 11 pounds are still missing.

NFS has routinely released into the atmosphere as much as four to five times the amount of radiation it is licensed to emit. The plant has also spewed substantial quantities of radiation into the Nolichucky River. Finally, many local residents suspect that NFS wastes caused the serious health hazards that forced the shutdown of a landfill in nearby Bumpass Cove.

Though no one is sure what effects such shoddy operations have had, a 1978 study by Atlanta's Center for Disease Control revealed that Unicoi County was suffering from an "unexpected" increase in rates of cancer, particularly leukemia. The center refuses to link the county's cancer deaths with NFS radiation, but has begun studying the issue again following a massive radiation release in October, 1981.

All these occurrences have provoked considerable controversy in Erwin. "There is a danger here, no question about it," says one former NFS employee. Yet others, intent on keeping the jobs at the plant, adamantly maintain it is safe. "Everybody's worrying about our health up here except the people who live here," says Erwin's city manager. "There's no health problem that we are aware of."

Still, the questions persist. And, as people on a local level have started questioning the merits of plants like NFS, people across the state are now raising issues like preventing nuclear escalation and working to prevent the military buildup that creates plants like NFS.



Militarism and hawkish patriotism are deeply ingrained in Tennessee's heritage. It is known as the "Volunteer State" because of its nineteenth-century tradition of supplying troops for American expansionist moves. Two of its most revered citizens are Indian hunter Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk, the Manifest Destiny addict who plunged the U.S. into the Mexican War.

Tennessee has played an important role in supplying goods for the American military since the early 1900s. For instance, E.I. duPont's Old Hickory munitions factory was the nation's largest ordnance plant during World War I. Following the "war to end all wars," three different entities worked diligently to boost Tennessee as a center for the defense industry.

First was the Army Corps of Engineers. Starting in the 1920s, the Corps mapped plans to develop the hydropower resources of the Tennessee River and make the Tennessee Valley an inland center of military production.

The railroads also played an important role. In the late '20s, the North Carolina and St. Louis Railroad donated 1,000 acres for military development in Coffee County. In 1948, the company persuaded General Hap Arnold to bring his Arnold Engineering Development Center to the county. Illinois Central played a similar role in persuading the army to locate an arsenal in Milan in 1940.

But far and away, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) played the most crucial role in militarizing Tennessee. From its beginnings in the 1930s, TVA

tied its development to the flourishing of chemical companies and related munitions facilities. Former TVA board chairman David Lilienthal, who once declared, "Electric power is the lifeblood of modern warfare," urged Congress to let TVA expand its electrical generating capacity to respond to German rearmament. TVA was then ready to power the war machine; the agency played a pivotal role in bringing three major ammunition plants to the state.

But by far TVA's biggest coup was snagging the Manhattan Project's bomb plant. While General Leslie Groves was looking for a site to produce nuclear weapons, TVA set a world's record by completing its massive Douglas Dam in twelve-and-a-half months. Groves soon authorized the construction of what is now the city of Oak Ridge, site of one of the nation's key nuclear weapon fabrication plants. Lilienthal later claimed that TVA's hydroelectric facilities like the Douglas Dam were "a decisive element" in the army's decision to bring its "insatiable eater of electric power" to Tennessee.

After World War II, TVA consistently linked its need for expansion to the needs of national defense, in the process shielding itself from the attacks of right-wing politicians who regarded the agency as a form of creeping socialism. The agency now supplies the massive amounts of electrical power needed for uranium enrichment plants in Oak Ridge and Paducah, Kentucky. It has also helped the state attract a number of industries that produce military-related products.

The state government has now enthusiastically joined the campaign to solicit defense-related dollars and jobs. "We're beginning to track [military] contracts so that we can be in a position to let [the contractors] know that Tennessee is interested," said Jim Cotham, commissioner of the state's Department of Community and Economic Development.

Tennessee's elected officials have done their share to promote and protect the state's military industry. The administration of Governor Lamar Alexander initiated the campaign to solicit Pentagon contracts. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, a member of the influential Foreign Relations Committee, has enthusiastically backed the military-heavy Reagan budget. As a member of the Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on military construction, Senator James Sasser has voted regularly for defense spending increases and new weapons systems. Representative Robin

Beard, known as one of Washington's foremost hawks, has consistently promoted more for the Pentagon and less for human needs. Representative James Quillen protected the NFS plant (located in his district) from several shutdowns related to its safety woes and also led an effort to deny funds to set up a competitive fuel plant at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

There have been modest defections from the ranks. Representatives Bill Boner and Albert Gore have backed limited nuclear freeze proposals. Representative Harold Ford of Memphis has generally supported human-needs spending and opposed increased defense spending, weapons systems and the draft. But in general the operating ethic remains: the more military spending the better, especially if it's spent in Tennessee.

AS A RESULT OF THESE CONCERTED efforts, Tennessee has three major army installations, three naval installations and six air force installations. Kingston's Holston Army Ammunition Plant (AAP), Milan's Milan AAP and Chattanooga's Volunteer AAP are among the major employers in their communities. Other facilities are also major job providers in their parts of the state. For instance, the Arnold Air Force Station and Arnold Engineering Development Center bolster the economy of Tullahoma. AVCO Aerostructures of Nashville employs 3,200 to make parts for various aircraft, including the B-1 bomber.

In the eastern part of the state, nuclear-related facilities have played a major role, particularly the bomb plant so diligently courted by TVA. Oak Ridge, a rural agricultural area in 1943, has expanded into a modern city of 29,500. The facilities there include a gaseous diffusion plant, which enriches uranium for both nuclear weapons and commercial nuclear reactors; the Oak Ridge National Laboratories, which perform extensive research and testing on nuclear-related issues like potential waste disposal methods; and the Y-12 plant, which produces nuclear warheads, including those for the MX missile. Union Carbide, which operates the plants under contract to the U.S. Department of Energy, is the largest private employer in the state. More than 6,000 people work at Y-12 alone, and the three facilities employ a total of 17,000.

Union Carbide is now threatening to terminate its contract to run the facilities



AFRIKAN DREAMLAND, A NASHVILLE-BASED REGGAE GROUP WHICH IS ACTIVE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT, AT THE JUNE 12 DISARMAMENT RALLY IN NEW YORK.

because it claims they do not generate enough profits. Nevertheless, there are no federal plans to cut down on the scope or activities of the Oak Ridge facilities.

Two other plants employ fewer people but are still important to the economy of east Tennessee. As mentioned above, Nuclear Fuel Services is the second largest employer in Erwin. Downstream from NFS is Tennessee Nuclear Services, Inc. (TNS), which produces anti-tank bullets out of uranium and magnesium.

Since it has such a diversified and widespread military presence, Tennessee would seem to be profiting handsomely from Pentagon largesse. But the figures belie that interpretation. In fact, the military is draining Tennessee's economy. In Fiscal Year 1982, Tennesseans will pay some \$1.3 billion more in Pentagon-bound taxes than they will receive in military expenditures. Also, the fluctuating levels of employment in military-related facilities have created great burdens on many communities. For instance, both the Milan and Holston arsenals now employ only half as many workers as they did in the early '70s.

Furthermore, some military plants have created other economic burdens in their communities. Until recently, citizens of Oak Ridge paid the highest rate of taxes in the state because the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) paid so little in in-lieu-of-tax payments. DOE now pays more, but taxes remain high for

Oak Ridge property owners.

Coupled with these economic woes are the very real threats to worker and community health and safety at the state's nuclear installations. Nuclear Fuel Services remains a major health hazard for Unicoi County. The Oak Ridge facilities have experienced radioactive waste storage problems and released high levels of radioactivity. Safety condi-

Resources

TENNESSEE

Bread for the World
c/o Sam H. Franklin, Jr.
513 Court St.
Maryville, TN 37801

Chattanooga Center for Peace
703 Mississippi Ave.
Chattanooga, TN 37405
(615) 267-5530

Clergy & Laity Concerned/Nashville
c/o Joceline Lemaire
Box 90557
Nashville, TN 37209
(615) 292-7607

Mid-South Peace and Justice Center
P.O. Box 41645
Memphis, TN 38104

Tennessee Hunger Coalition
1502 Edgemoor Ave.
Nashville, TN 37212
(615) 242-6307

tions at the TNS plant were so bad that the workers engaged in a lengthy strike to seek relief from their routine exposure to radioactivity. When one worker registered uranium levels of 1,950 micrograms per liter of urine — 15 times the level doctors think can cause permanent damage — the company's only advice was that he "drink lots of beer" to flush out his kidneys.

Now local residents are strongly questioning the desirability of these unsafe facilities. As one Erwin resident mused, "It's strange how this little town ended up with this important job. It makes some of us proud, and as far as the money goes, it's been a blessing. What we don't know, and what we're waiting to find out, is whether the blessing is turning out to be a curse."

Protesting these curses can be hard in a company-town environment. One member of the Y-12 Nuclear Conversion Group in Oak Ridge, who drove a delivery truck at the facility, was fired after he became active in the group. Fearing that others would suffer a similar fate, the group has added related issues to its "conversion" concern to build a wider base of support from which to challenge Y-12 operations.

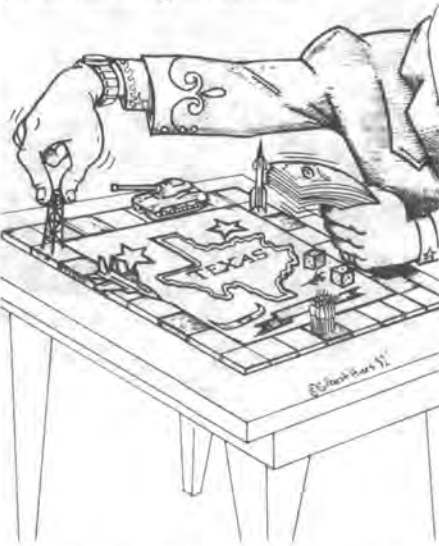
Others across the state are joining this call for a broad re-examination of our priorities. Much of this effort has gone into nuclear freeze campaigns like that of Nashvillians for a Nuclear Freeze, who recently presented 6,000 pro-freeze petitions to Representative Bill Boner. Also, Knoxvilleians convinced their city council to pass a pro-freeze resolution. (For more on Tennessee freeze campaigns, see page 36.)

Memphians have linked the freeze and human-needs concerns into a multi-issue, multi-racial effort. Spearheaded by the Southeast Project on Human Needs and Peace, a new coalition — the Concerned Tenants of Public Housing and Concerned Citizens of Memphis — combines tenant activists with university students and peace organizations like Clergy and Laity Concerned and the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. "Our survival depends on stopping the budget cuts at home and nuclear war in the world," declares long-time tenant activist Catherine Howell. "We are now at the stage of knocking on doors, talking to people about the issues, organizing people for a long and steady struggle. What we have done so far is only a beginning, but it's a strong beginning. We are trying to rally those who have been silent — the poor people."

TEXAS by Richard Croxdale

IF YOU ARE LOOKING FOR A MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, LOOK IN TEXAS.

With 5.5 percent of the nation's people, Texas is home to 8.8 percent of Department of Defense (DOD) personnel and 8.9 percent of the nation's military retirees. It pulled in \$8 billion in DOD contract money in 1981, 8.6 percent of the nation's total and second-highest level of any state in the nation. Texans received 8.2 percent of the DOD payroll, including pay to military employees, civilian employees, members of the reserves and retired personnel living in the state.



To maintain this favored position and to further promote Texas's military industries, Governor Bill Clements created the Texas Aerospace and National Defense Technology Council in 1981 and appointed 50 members to the non-profit organization composed of industrialists, educators and "prominent community leaders." Texans thereby hope to snare an increasing share of the ever-enlarging military budget.

The list of members reads like a Who's Who of the Texas military-industrial complex. Dallas industrialist Paul Thayer, board chair of LTV (Ling-Temco-Vought), chairs the lobbying group. LTV, Texas's fourth-ranking recipient of DOD dollars in 1981 — \$403,249,000 — is also the proud possessor of a multi-year \$4 billion contract to produce the Multiple Launch Rocket System, a track-mounted package of 12 rockets which burst on target, each throwing out 600 grenade-like bombs.

Another member of the Texas Aerospace Council — the name was shortened because it was a "mouthful" — is Herbert Roberts of General Dynamics, Texas's second-largest and DOD's third-largest contractor, with over \$1.5 billion worth of Texas-based business. General Dynam-

ics holds the contract for the F-16 fighter plane. The F-16 has experienced a series of crashes and encountered withering criticism, but production continues unabated.

Other corporate stalwarts on the lobbying group include James Atkins of Bell Helicopter, part of Textron, which is number one in Texas with \$1.8 billion in contracts; John Dixon of E-Systems, an LTV subsidiary (rank on its own: number 10 with \$195 million); and Frank McBee of Tracor (number 20: \$44 million). Helping along with the huckstering are Frank Vandiver, president of Texas A&M (\$2.5 million in DOD research contracts in 1980); Peter Flawn, president of the University of Texas at Austin (UT statewide got \$15.8 million in DOD research money in 1980); and a few generals from the military establishment that dominates San Antonio.

The Texas Aerospace Council points out that every congressional district is affected by one or more contracts, and that the big urban areas are not the only beneficiaries of the huge military appetite. Down in the Rio Grande valley, the Right Away Food Corporation, a subsidiary of Warnick, manufactures lightweight field rations from Texas farm produce. In Lockhart, near Austin, the Condon egg farm sold \$30,000 worth of eggs to the army in 1980.

Every district may have its contract, but some have more than others, and the pattern of big winners follows the clout of the Texas congressional delegation. At the top are John Tower, the chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Jim Wright, the House Majority Leader. Tower's pork gets spread throughout the state, but it is no coincidence that Wright's district rakes in the South's biggest profits in DOD contracting, averaging a net gain of \$10,300 per family when comparing money coming in and taxes going out. Tower's brother-in-law, Sam Cummings, happens to be one of the world's largest independent arms dealers. His headquarters are in Monaco — for tax purposes.

The state's military-industrial complex has other elected arms in Washington. Ray Roberts, chair of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee until he retired in 1980, doesn't seem to have

photo © John Spragens, Jr.



CHRISTMAS PARADE, ATHENS, TX, 1977

done as well for his constituents as Wright or Tower: his district lost \$300 per family. On the other hand, the 112,799 military retirees living in Texas didn't complain about the way he represented their interests, and they are a potent force in Texas politics. When Roberts retired, his seat — although not the chair, of course — on the Veterans' Affairs Committee went to Sam Hall (whose district loses \$500 per family).

Three Texans currently sit on the House Armed Services Committee: Richard White (from a district profiting to the tune of \$1,500 per family); Abraham Kazen, Jr. (plus \$1,800); and Marvin Leath (plus \$3,700). The House Veterans' Affairs Committee has two Texans besides Hall: Leath, again, and Phil Gramm (plus \$1,800). The benefits of getting choice congressional appointments are clear: of 24 congressional districts, only eight show a net gain in these comparisons of military dollars going in and tax dollars going out to the DOD.

The military-industrial complex has one more practically omnipresent arm in Texas: its 46 military bases. In all, 589,220 Texas acres are owned by the Department of Defense. Fort Hood, with 208,291 acres, tops the list, and Fort Bliss, with 67,909 acres, comes in second. (Said one young major during 1981 war games at desert-like Fort Bliss, "Used to be when I'd goof, I'd say, 'What are they gonna do, ship my butt to Fort Polk [in Louisiana]?' Now I know what they can do: they can cut my orders for Bliss.") Other large installations in Texas: Camp Bullis (27,880 acres), Red River Army Depot (19,081 acres), Lone Star Army Ammo Plant (15,546 acres) and at least a dozen air force bases.

Texas has never pursued the federal social program dollar with the same vigor with which it has chased after the mili-

tary buck. Although Texas gets about a fourth of its revenue from the federal government, it ranked last among the 50 states in federal aid per person in 1980: \$279 compared to \$396 nationwide. Hence, Texas appears to suffer comparatively less from the national social service cuts, since the programs were already at a low level. But the recipients may suffer proportionately more, because the level of support was originally so low. For example, 1980 public welfare allotments averaged only \$105 per family in 1980, about half the national average and fifth lowest in the U.S.

Texas has always restricted use of Medicaid and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Medicaid in Texas is available only to people qualifying for AFDC or Social Security Insurance benefits, although national guidelines permit any "medically indigent" working poor to receive medical benefits. Also, AFDC in Texas is restricted to single-parent families, while other states offer aid to two-parent families in which the wage-earner is unemployed. At \$109 per family in 1980, Texas AFDC payments were third lowest in the nation, about a third the national average.

Texas itself pays between 40 and 50 percent of the cost of the AFDC program. The federal government pays the

rest. To get more federal money, Texas as a state would have to pay more, but there is a constitutional ceiling on welfare spending. To expand more, and to get more federal money, would require the acquiescence of two-thirds of the state legislature to raise or abolish that ceiling.

Likewise, Texas did not accept its Community Services Agency money. Governor Clements didn't like the program, so he trumped up a constitutional issue and told the federal government that Texas could not accept the money under the guidelines the feds requested.

This refusal to accept the money typifies Texas's approach to federal funds. Military freebies are accepted graciously, but social service money is sneered at. This is true despite studies that indicate that the same dollar amount spent on social services instead of military services would result in almost three times the employment.

From Houston to Hereford, from Austin to Amarillo, Texans are protesting this set of priorities, although as yet the protests have been isolated, and with a few exceptions the better-attended events have focused on a single issue. Organizers complain of having no clear target, but this is changing: when Reagan came to Houston for a \$1,000-a-plate fundraiser for Governor Clements, a 500-person contingent taunted the ultrarich, tuxedo-clad Republicans as they filed into the banquet hall.

While that event harkens back to '60s-style protests, Houston is also the scene of a more up-to-date form of resistance. Houston is one of several cities nationwide to reject so-called Crisis Relocation Planning (CRP) for evacuation in the event of nuclear war. Houston civil defense official John Caswell rejected the plan on the grounds that it would lull people into a false sense of security. Furthermore, he says crisis relocation would be a disaster itself, if carried

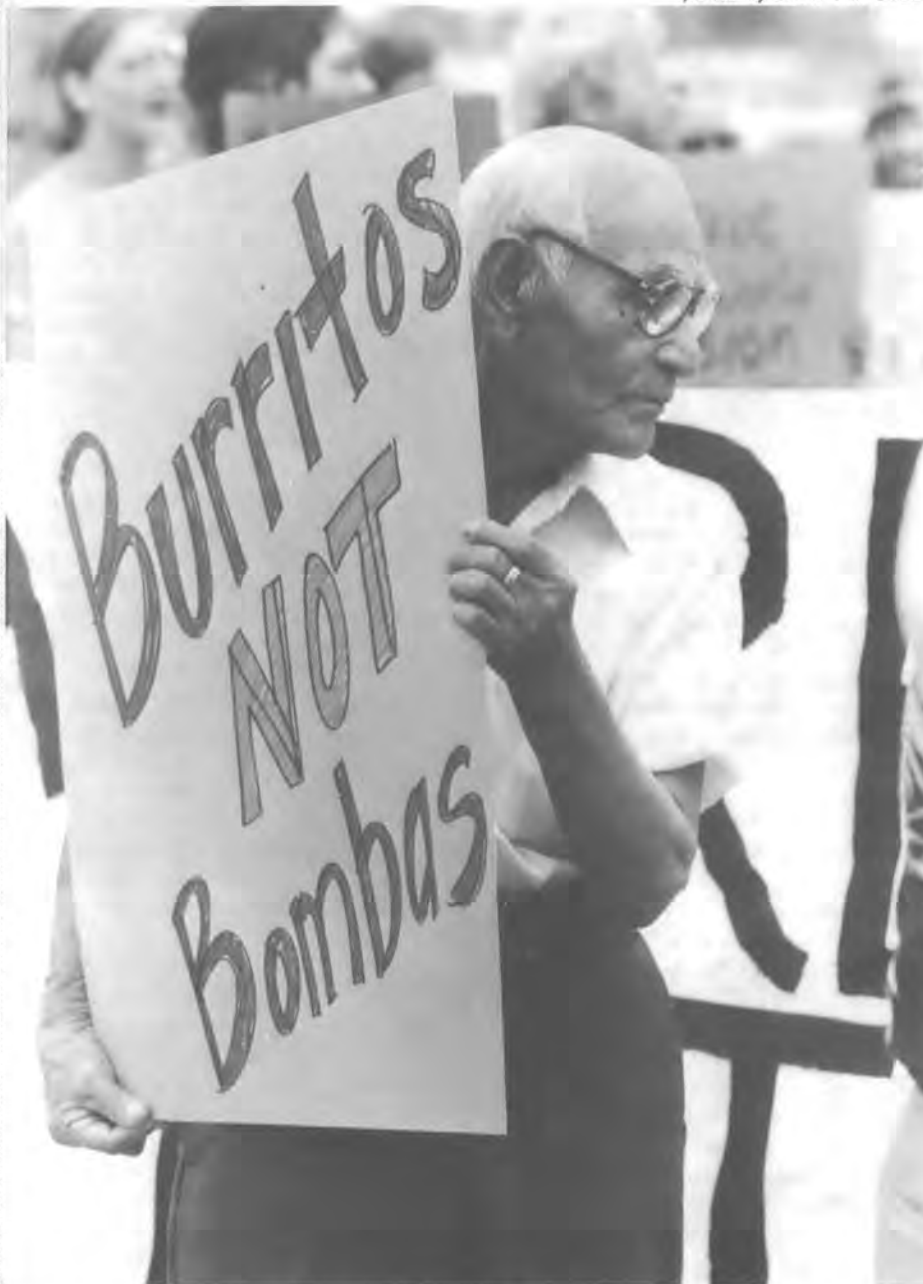
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DISARMAMENT RALLY, AUSTIN, 1982

out, with people blasting each other with shotguns on crowded expressways. (Another Texas city, San Antonio, was the government's prototype for the CRP program.)

On July 17, 1981, in the small west Texas town of Hereford, several hundred people — mostly farmworkers — marched to protest the entire Reagan budget. Held at a migrant labor camp, the demonstration called attention to the negative impact of military spending. One speech noted that the U.S. is spending \$17 million to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, yet can't find money for social services for farmworkers. In particular, the participants complained about

the special treatment accorded the large farmers in the area. A series of hailstorms recently devastated the west Texas cotton crop, destroying 90 percent of the crop according to some estimates. These large-scale farmers demanded federal relief and got it. In view of the slashes in the social services for farmworkers, this was seen as unconscionable.

The Hereford demonstration was organized by the Texas Farm Workers Union and the northwest Texas chapter of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). CALC has been lending its support to another field of resistance in the area, which is not generally seen as a hotbed of activism. Located in Amarillo is Pantex, the only nuclear weapons assembly plant in the U.S. In 1981, the local

Catholic bishop, Leroy T. Matthiesen, stirred up a blue norther of a controversy with a series of moral diatribes against Pantex. Aroused by plans to build neutron bombs at Pantex, he called upon Catholic workers to consider quitting their jobs. Says Matthiesen, a native of Texas, "Nuclear weapons are immoral; and if that's true, then it's immoral for us to build, assemble, deploy and threaten to use them."

Pantex dominates Amarillo economically, with an annual payroll of \$100 million and 2,600 employees. Estimates of the average pay at Pantex range from \$21,000 to \$30,000, compared to \$11,800 for Amarillo as a whole. Despite that presence, until recently the plant attracted little attention — and almost no criticism — especially from the local

Resources

TEXAS

ACORN

503 West Mary
Austin, TX 78704
(512) 442-8321

Anti-Hunger Coalition of Texas (ACT)

3128 Manor Rd.
Austin, TX 78723
(512) 474-9921

Black United Front

3815 Live Oak St.
Houston, TX 77004
(713) 521-0629

Clergy and Laity Concerned of NW Texas

3500 S. Bowie
Amarillo, TX 79109
(806) 373-8668

Grandparents for Nuclear Disarmament Action

2640 West 45th St.
Austin, TX 78731
(512) 453-1727

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

P.O. Box 4413
Austin, TX 78765
(512) 476-3294

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

4600 Main St., Suite 213
Houston, TX 77002
(713) 336-3943

Texas Mobilization for Survival

1022 W. 6th St.
Austin, TX 78703
(512) 474-2399

War Resisters League/Dallas

2701 Woodmere
Dallas, TX 75233
(214) 337-5885

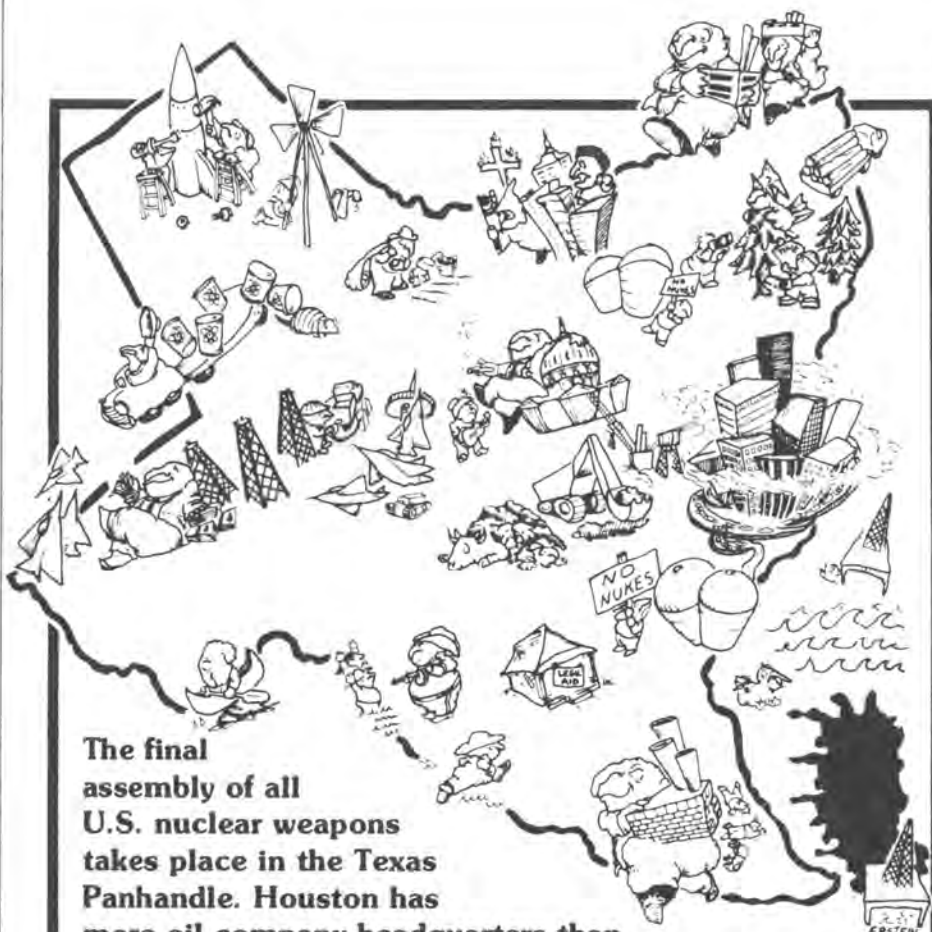
media. At one point, a Pantex plant manager graduated to become mayor of Amarillo.

Attention began to focus on Pantex in 1981 when the Panhandle Environmental Awareness Committee (PEAC) sued the Department of Energy (DOE) to produce an environmental impact statement for a proposed plant expansion. The local congressperson, Jack Hightower (no relation to Jim Hightower, the well-known Texas populist) came to Pantex's defense: "We want to build these nuclear weapons." PEAC and the DOE reached an out-of-court settlement, and the impact statement should be ready in late 1982.

When Bishop Matthiesen issued his statement, the sparks really began to fly. CALC, through Catholic Family Services (CFS), set up a counseling and placement service for people who considered following Matthiesen's advice. Then the United Way, apparently at the request of Pantex workers, withdrew its funding from CFS. CFS has since raised money elsewhere, and expects no more help from the United Way. Slowly, a few people are taking advantage of the counseling services. CALC has also experienced a "steady and insistent growth of the peace movement in the area," says member Steve Schroeder. From four founding members in June, 1981, CALC has grown to 75, "which is 71 more than we expected knowing how conservative the area is."

While no one has yet resigned from Pantex as a result of Matthiesen's statement, one worker came to the same conclusion on his own. Eloy Ramos, who had worked loading weapons and as a mechanic at Pantex, resigned "because I feel that it was wrong, a waste of money and, of course, it was not what God wanted." Ramos was led to leave Pantex by reading the Bible, books about what the weapons can do and books about the earth. Says Ramos, "One of these days, we will destroy ourselves with these weapons." He still talks with friends at Pantex, and thinks, "Many others feel like I do," although few can afford to give up their livelihood. Ramos, who had no job awaiting him when he resigned, has since brought his income back to about the level he earned at Pantex by working as an independent building contractor.

In general, protest against military spending is increasingly popular throughout Texas. In April, 1981, in the capital city of Austin, 5,000 marched to the theme of "Bread Not Bombs." Included



The final assembly of all U.S. nuclear weapons takes place in the Texas Panhandle. Houston has more oil company headquarters than any other city in the world. The state reeks of Sunbelt boosters, strident anti-unionists, political hucksters, and new industry and money.

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were black, chicano, religious, anti-imperialist and socialist activists; the largest contingent was clearly concerned about peace issues.

The coalition that came together that Saturday has, in the past, been quite a tenuous one. For example, the black and environmentalist/peace activists locked

horns earlier in the year over the question of a Lockheed plant locating in Austin. Black people and most of organized labor saw it primarily as a source of better-paying and unionized jobs. (Lockheed workers nationally are represented by the International Association of Machinists, which under the leadership of

William Winpisinger has actually been among the harshest critics of the Reagan military expansion.)

Peace activists in Austin, on the other hand, opposed the plant because it would be building components for the cruise missile. Said one activist, "It's just like the nuclear plants. Each city has to tell the military that it is not welcome here." This argument failed to persuade the city council, which approved the plant location.

The Austin-based Poverty Education and Research Council (PERC) is attempting to overcome such divisions. Members are pulling together a statewide alliance to lobby the Texas legislature when it reconvenes in January of '83. The alliance's stated goals are "human needs, human rights and economic justice." PERC's aims are stated in broad and idealistic terms; for example, PERC's Karen Langley insists, "All levels of government have a responsibility to provide for human needs." Langley figures Texas is in a better position than most states to fulfill that ideal. Oil-rich Texas is one of the few states to operate on a surplus — \$1.3 billion in 1981.

The jockeying for that surplus will become intense. H. Ross Perot, a Dallas computer magnate and dabbler in right-wing politics, has already launched Texas's traditional lobbying campaign to use the surplus for highways. In the last legislative session, Perot orchestrated a "War on Drugs" campaign effort that successfully passed a wiretap bill, along with outlawing drug paraphernalia such as rolling papers.

Whether Perot and his cohorts achieve the same success this term will depend on the strength of the alliance PERC and others are striving to build. Initial meetings have been promising, with representatives attending from the large cities of Fort Worth, Dallas, San Antonio and Austin, as well as smaller rural areas such as Weslaco, Edinburg, Laredo and Lufkin. They will ask the Texas legislature to use the surplus to maintain the same level of social services that the state offered before Reagan's cuts.

VIRGINIA by Jeri Cabot and William Olejniczak

IN 1972, *SOUTHERN EXPOSURE* REFERRED TO VIRGINIA AS THE "HEARTLAND OF AMERICAN MILITARISM." THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO REVISE that judgment. Virginia ranked third in the nation in defense spending in 1972; it ranks third, behind California and Texas, today. In Fiscal Year (FY) 1980, over \$3.3 billion was spent on military contracts, of which \$2.4 billion was accorded to the navy. Almost 20 percent of the total Defense Department (DOD) funds for shipbuilding were spent in Virginia.

The state's tobacco, textile and mining industries are all overshadowed by the military. The Norfolk-Newport News region continues to depend heavily on defense dollars. The state's fourth-ranking recipient of Pentagon contracts, Norfolk Shipbuilding and Drydock, is greatly outdistanced by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, a subsidiary of Tenneco, Inc., which receives almost half of the entire DOD



funds allocated to contractors. Number two, IBM, is located in 17 different cities, but the overwhelming bulk of the spending occurs in Manassas. Of the remaining top 10, three are repeaters from the 1972 list: Sperry Corporation, Computer Sciences Corporation and Hercules, Inc., which operates the Radford Army Ammunition Plant, the only major contractor outside eastern Virginia.

The state is covered with military installations. Norfolk alone has eight major facilities including a staff college, naval and air stations, a shipyard, a supply center and the tactical air command headquarters. At Norfolk naval station there are Polaris submarines, ballistic missiles and nuclear-capable surface ships. Nearby Yorktown and Virginia

Beach host naval weapons storage areas. Further north, in the Washington, DC-Alexandria-Arlington area sit Fort Belvoir, the Cameron Army station, Fort Meyer and the Pentagon itself. The marine presence is felt in Quantico at the Marine Corps Air Station and Development and Education Command.

Virginia is, indisputably, the navy's Southern home. Throughout the Tidewater area — Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News and Virginia Beach — the impact of naval occupation is felt in every aspect of economic and social life. The area is the sophisticated modern-day equivalent of a mill town. While the mining industry employs a substantial number of people, the threat of closing down the navy yard, which was openly discussed in the 1970s, threw the local population into a panic. The only other major area of employment — retail sales — is naturally dependent on the continued presence of the naval installations.

The Tidewater area's failure to develop alternative industry translates to more than 36,000 unemployed in the region, or a rate of 6.9 percent. In this precarious economic environment, poor families are forced to accept substandard housing abandoned by the navy and to live among canisters of the toxic residues of navy production piled up in open spaces, regardless of the danger to their health.

The navy's insensitivity to the health and safety of its employees and the civilians who happen to reside in its domain has a long and tragic history. The most dramatic event was the explosion in Port Chicago, California, on July 17, 1944, which killed 320 enlisted men, including more than 200 black ammunition loaders in the then-segregated navy.

The Naval Court of Inquiry rendered an opinion, that "the colored enlisted personnel are neither temperamentally or [sic] intellectually capable of handling high explosives. . . . These men . . . could not understand the orders which were given to them. . . ." Less than a month later, the navy ordered the surviving "colored enlisted" who were "not capable" of loading ammunition to do just that. They refused. Their grievances about working conditions had never been heard. Fifty of those 258 men, selected



THE ATTACK AIRCRAFT CARRIER U.S.S. JOHN F. KENNEDY AT THE NORFOLK NAVAL SHIPYARD

randomly according to an investigative report by Robert Allen in the August, 1982 issue of *Black Scholar*, were tried for mutiny and convicted; some were imprisoned and all were dishonorably discharged.

The current-day counterparts to these victims of naval negligence are the shipbuilders and sailors suffering from the ravages of asbestos dust inhalation. Until 1975, all insulation, gaskets and air conditioning units on navy ships were composed of asbestos. In July, 1982, the suit against five major asbestos manufacturers by four former pipe coverers at the Newport News drydocks came to court again. After a lengthy 1979 proceeding, a jury had granted James Oman, Fred Walker, Willie Gibbons and Hugh Reynolds a \$1.6 million award. Judge J. Calvitt Clarke, Jr., however, found the award excessive and voided the verdict. The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered a new trial, the outcome of which is likely to lay the foundation for the thousands of asbestos injury suits awaiting trial. Three hundred and seventy-five such claims are pending in southeastern Virginia alone.

The pipefitters' claim is straightforward: the manufacturers knew of the hazards associated with working with asbestos and failed to warn workers or to

compensate for the dangers. Johns-Manville, Raybestos-Manhattan, Pittsburgh-Corning Corporation and other companies assert that the Newport News Shipbuilders and Drydock Company and the navy are equally culpable of any negligence, if not more so. The navy demanded the use of asbestos products for its ships even *after* medical reports in the 1960s documented the substance's deadly side effects. While the navy and the manufacturers point fingers at each other and trot out their doctored safety manuals from the 1950s, thousands of dock workers and sailors suffer. In an effort to escape responsibility for lawsuits connected with asbestos, Johns-Manville, with billions in assets, declared bankruptcy in August, 1982. The question of who will pay for the agony inflicted on workers and their families remains unanswered.

In spite of these historical and current abuses, the navy enjoys a favorable image in the area. A well-established mutual admiration and hand-washing society exists between the military and Virginia's 10 elected representatives. Representative G. W. Whitehurst represents the Norfolk area by sitting on the Armed Services subcommittee that deals with funding military installations. Paul Tribble, also a member of the House Armed Services

Committee, sits on the Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials Subcommittee. R. W. Daniel, a former CIA agent, represents his "constituency" through his seat on the Armed Services Committee's Investigations Subcommittee. J. Kenneth Robinson, a wealthy landowner who strongly supported the Vietnam War, is known for never voting "no" on any defense bills. The lone Democratic representative, textile executive Dan Daniel, has voted against his party 70 percent of the time since he was elected in 1968.

Things are much the same with senators Harry Byrd and John Warner. Both are members of the Armed Services Committee, with Byrd "specializing" in manpower and personnel, sea power and force projection and tactical warfare, and Warner making his voice heard on military construction and strategic and theater nuclear forces and tactical warfare.

As a result of cultivating such influential friends, the navy has the necessary money to continue its domination of the area's economy. In 1981 the outlay of this "armed service" in the Tidewater area hit \$4.27 billion, a 226 percent increase since 1971. Numbers like these have led many economists to claim that areas like the Tidewater are recession-proof, that the navy's presence blunts the extremes

of the business cycle. The argument goes that, with the influx of more troops, business increases for local retailers, demand jumps for local housing and services and so forth. In 1981 the navy spent \$1.47 billion on Tidewater goods and services (down from \$1.56 billion in 1979) and paid out \$2.8 billion for salaries and wages. The military represents 22 percent of the Tidewater's labor force; in other words, 140,000 military personnel and civilians receive navy paychecks.

The retailers, the elected officials and the contractors are not the navy's only boosters, however. Some of its staunchest supporters are in the black and poor communities, despite the well-known racist practices in the military. Traditional patterns of segregation have not died in Virginia, and discriminatory hiring practices limit opportunities to earn a decent wage for black people who choose to remain in the area.

The navy, as well as the entire defense industry, was forced to come to grips with discriminatory practices in hiring and work assignments during the '40s and '50s. A. Philip Randolph was able to "blackmail" President Roosevelt, by threatening a march on Washington, into signing an executive order forcing the defense industry to hire blacks. A long campaign ensued in the black community to break down further discriminatory practices within the armed services themselves. Thurgood Marshall, who was outraged by the things he saw and heard as he monitored the trial of the 50 men accused of mutiny after the Port Chicago disaster, along with the NAACP, was instrumental in keeping this particular issue before the black community.

While discriminatory practices still exist in the military and defense industries, the wages and benefits available often surpass those subsistence-level wages available to members of the black community who are relegated to the fringes of a segregated economy.

Although the military is touted as the area's economic mainstay, its disadvantages are becoming more apparent. One of Virginia's "recession-proof" cities, Quantico, or Q-town as the locals call it, provides a good example. The city is composed of 5,800 marines, with 7,200 dependents and 700 civilians. The town exists for the marines. Housing, as in many military towns, is at a premium. According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 44 percent of the housing is substandard and, of course, renter-occupied. In spite of a \$185,000

federal grant in 1979 to rehabilitate low- and moderate-income housing and to demolish deteriorated buildings, the civilian housing shortage remains severe; added demands are coming from the marine base, which is itself suffering from a housing shortage. The town's 34 acres are surrounded by the 60,415 acres of the military base; the only way to enter Q-town is through tightly guarded sentry gates.

The inability to meet the demands and needs of the military populations in areas where there are bases is a problem which will increase as federal funds are shifted from housing, health care and education to sponsor increased weapons production. In the Tidewater area, the

number of military personnel on active duty increased from 89,632 in 1980 to 97,961 in 1981. This population gain has put a strain on the navy's medical care facilities and personnel. The response has been to start sending sailors and their family members with chronic illnesses, like asbestosis, to civilian internists. Of course, the navy cannot afford to pick up the entire tab now; it pays 75 percent at the most. Naval authorities assert they can't hire more internists due to a ceiling on civilian hiring set by the Reagan administration. Meanwhile, the 18,659 retirees and their 149,000 dependents in the Tidewater find that expected benefits are missing.

Military personnel also discover that the security of "the service" is illusory as their earnings are being eaten away by inflation. Since their salaries are subject to review and debate in Congress before adjustments are made, the wait for raises is often a long one. Meanwhile, rents in military towns are higher and the chance to own one's own home is limited.

The additional boost of a working wife's paycheck is often lost for military families, too. Female employment in the state of Virginia, as in the rest of the nation, tends to be concentrated in the low-paying industries, such as textile mill production, retail trades and services and the electronics industry. Competition for these jobs is increasing as more women join the work force. The wives of servicemen find it doubly hard to compete due to frequent transfers, their subsequent inability to accumulate seniority and the reluctance of employers to hire women whom they consider short-term workers.

Civilian employment is also likely to suffer in the near future as the introduction of robotics and computers for shipbuilding this year by Tenneco, owner of Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, signals increasing layoffs and threatens higher unemployment in the Tidewater area.

The military presence is not restricted to base cities but is spread throughout the state of Virginia, representing a \$4.7 billion outlay for military paychecks. Prime contract dollars totaling \$3.98 billion are scattered throughout the state. Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company receives \$1.5 billion. IBM in Manassas, receives funds from all three branches of the military, but the navy donates the most public money for IBM's expertise — \$165 million in 1980 alone. The Radford Ammunition Plant, owned by the army but operated

Resources

VIRGINIA

Central VA Freeze Campaign
c/o James Ford
1504 Monticello Rd.
Charlottesville, VA 22901
(804) 296-7243

Creekside Corporation — A Virginia Hunger Project
P.O. Box 1181
Abingdon, VA 24210
(703) 628-2433

Nuclear Task Force Committee
P.O. Box 339
Emory, VA 24327

Nuclear Weapons Freeze
c/o Nan Rodney
6718 Rulling Rd.
Springfield, VA 22162
(703) 451-5657

Peace Education Center
c/o Steve Hodges
14 North Laurel St.
Richmond, VA 23220
(804) 358-1958

The Peace Group
2508 Draper's Meadow West
Blacksburg, VA 24060

Plowshares Peace Center
P.O. Box 1623
Roanoke, VA 24008
(703) 985-0808

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
c/o Marii Hasegawa
2002 Southcliff Ave.
Richmond, VA 23225
(804) 231-2904

Black Vanguard Resource Center
Milan Station, P.O. Box 6289
Norfolk, VA 23508
(804) 625-2330

under contract by Hercules, Inc., is the third largest recipient of public funds. In June of 1982, this 7,000-acre plant was shaken by a nitroglycerine explosion which left workers with lasting headaches, clogged ears and nervousness — and raised again the questions of safety and health that continue to plague weapons production and handling.

While these contractors receive the lion's share of public funds, Virginia's social services cannot boast of the same enthusiastic federal support. According to preliminary estimates of the impact of the federal Fiscal Year 1983 budget, the state expects to lose \$148 million allotted for social services. The Department of Health expects to lose \$10.3 million, the Department of Rehabilitative Services will lose \$3.5 million, which will result in more than 6,000 clients not being served. The Department of Welfare estimates that their reduction of \$14.5 million will mean a loss of social services to 64,986 people and will drop 4,000 from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. The Employment Commission expects to serve 217,000 fewer clients in FY 1982. In the Norfolk area alone, CETA funding dropped from \$7 million to \$3.3 million in 1982. Students enrolled in a basic nurses' education training program were unable to complete their studies due to the cuts. The school lunch program, aging and nutrition programs, physical rehabilitation facilities, adult education and drug and alcohol abuse prevention centers have all lost revenue.

In spite of the good press that the military receives in Virginia, the right of this elite group to control public life and funding has not gone unchallenged. Enten Eller, a pacifist member of the Church of the Brethren refused to register for the draft and was convicted of that offense in Roanoke this August. Eller was placed on two years' probation, no doubt owing to the established and respected reputation of the pacifist denomination to which he belongs. (The *Norfolk Dispatch* editorial regretted that the U.S. Justice Department had chosen Eller, thinking that a stiffer penalty would have been likely if a person with a different background had been tried.)

Joining with this individual protest against the military is a network of individuals, neighborhood groups and churches attempting to promote world peace by educating Virginians about the arms race and calling for a nuclear freeze. The Plowshares Peace Center in Roanoke

publishes an educational newsletter and serves as a hub for local peace-directed and anti-military organizing.

Promoting anti-militarism in a different style is the Black Vanguard Resource Center (BVRC) in Norfolk, Virginia. The BVRC claims to be "one of the oldest, continuously operating black community-based organizations in eastern Virginia." The organization was formed by navy enlisted personnel in 1972 to combat racism, oppose the Vietnam War and to bring active military personnel to support local community campaigns. During the 1970s, while the center continued to organize GIs, it expanded its work to include solidarity efforts with liberation movements in southern Africa and to work with community based programs. Members succeeded in gaining support from the International Longshoremen's Association for a total boycott of Rhodesian imports.

By encouraging blacks and others to identify with the plight of the victims of U.S. military activities and arms sales abroad, the group has successfully brought to the forefront the economic issues which underlie this country's militaristic ventures overseas. Fundraising and cultural activities are designed to

give material support to liberation movements in Africa fighting racist and exploitative governments and to strengthen a sense of awareness among black Americans of their potential role in promoting an end to colonialistic ventures in Africa. Through education and activism, the BVRC has linked the issues of major concern for black Americans: racism, community economic development and a sense of self-challenge in an area where even the elementary schools have adopted the sailor's anthem "Anchors Aweigh" as their own.

A number of nuclear freeze campaigns scattered throughout the state are also beginning to challenge the right of the military to hog public monies: and of course groups like WILPF and the Physicians for Social Responsibility are doing their share to bring the inequities and the dangers of war into the forefront of people's minds.

Even in Arlington, the home of the Pentagon and one of the more affluent sections of Virginia, an admittedly conservative coalition for a nuclear weapons freeze was successful in getting 30,000 signatures from folks supporting the mutual freeze proposal. There's hope for Virginia yet.



"*Against the Current*, by Florence Reece, is an exciting story Americans should be proud to read. Like the song she composed fifty years ago, "Which Side are You On?", this book is the *real thing*."
—Pete Seeger

"Florence Reece is one of the unsung heroines of our time. Her life is as much of a song as "Which Side Are You On?" It is natural that the anthem she wrote and the life she's lived are an organic whole."
—Studs Terkel

Order a book for \$8 from Florence Reece
410 Ocala Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee 37918.

WEST VIRGINIA by Jordan Churchill

NO STATE BETTER ILLUSTRATES THAT ABUNDANT RESOURCES AND BOOMING BUSINESS DON'T NECESSARILY BENEFIT MOST CITIZENS THAN does West Virginia. Fourth among states in the value of its mineral resources, it leads the nation in bituminous coal production and leads all states east of the Mississippi in natural gas production. Yet these resources have largely gone to enrich absentee entrepreneurs who, seeing West Virginia as a site of profitable investment, bought up the land and disposed of the natural wealth outside the state with little concern for what happened to West Virginia in the process. This pattern continues today: Huntington journalist Tom Miller found that people and corporations outside West Virginia "own or control at least two-thirds of the privately held land in West Virginia, including most of the resource-bearing land."

This pattern alone would put West Virginians out of the running in the race to benefit from the nation's current military expansion, but there are other reasons why the Pentagon is not a citadel of hope for the state. To an unusual extent, West Virginia is outside the military-industrial web. Only one company, Hercules, is among the top 500 Department of Defense (DOD) contractors. Even Hercules's West Virginia contracts, at \$21 million, are down 50 percent in 1981 from the previous year.

Even more unusual, West Virginia has no major military installations and only 2,000 DOD personnel, of whom three-fourths are civilians. Only the coal industry would appear to be in a position to benefit from the military appetite, but those benefits have not been forthcoming: trouble in the industry is at the root of West Virginia's persistently high unemployment, at 12 percent the third highest in the U.S. in 1982.

The nationwide recession has hit one industry especially hard, and it signals death to West Virginia's largest employer, largest taxpayer and largest steel producer, the Weirton Steel Division of the Pittsburgh-based National Steel Corporation. Weirton, in the northern panhandle, was founded as a steel town in 1909 and remained a company-owned burg of 25,000 people until it was incorporated in 1947. According to the *New York Times*, National Steel, observing that the U.S. steel industry is running at only 43 percent of capacity, decided not to modernize its Weirton plant and instead to move its assets to "where greater profits can be made." The 8,800 employees are trying to purchase the plant, but even with the 32 percent reduction in income they plan for them-

selves, the hopes of the workers depend on improvement in the picture for the whole industry.

Steel plays no part in the nation's military buildup, and the state of the industry shows how little that buildup can be relied on to solve the problem of the unemployed. Only a tiny part of U.S. steel production in 1982 went to military contracts. Says Frank Lump-ton, an unemployed Chicago steel worker, "The huge sums being spent for the military have not helped workers looking



for jobs. We've gone to Washington and petitioned to get our mill reopened, but as of yet nobody is listening. I think any cut in the military will help the jobless worker. I bet they could open our mill back up for what they spend on one bomber airplane."

What the military buildup *does* mean is that West Virginia is going to lose big from the domestic budget cuts. For the continuing colonial patterns of ownership and the persistently high unemployment rates, Reaganomics promises a cure worse than the disease. According to estimates by Charleston's Appalachian Research and Development Fund (Appal-red), West Virginia will lose 24 percent of its federal primary health care money and 48 percent of its job training funding; 20 percent fewer children will be eating school lunches. In all, Appalred estimates that West Virginia received \$220 million

less in federal block grant money in Fiscal Year 1982 than in 1981.

Politicians in West Virginia have responded to this state of affairs with a resounding, "Huh?"

Representative Mick Staton stands out for the depth of his position on nuclear war: "I believe the earth will be destroyed when the good Lord in heaven decides it should happen."

Other politicians are less glib, and some, responding to the cries of their constituents — and in the absence of any large pro-military lobbies — are actually taking a positive stance. West Virginia's most powerful politician, Senate minority leader Robert Byrd — once a staunch conservative — has become more liberal of late and has fought against cutting some social programs. Representative Nick Rahall was an original sponsor of the freeze resolution in the House of Representatives. The other senator, Jennings Randolph, has come out in support of a national Peace Academy. Says Randolph, "Peace is everybody's business. It's time it became somebody's job." If approved, the Peace Academy will perform and assist research in international peacemaking, educate and train specialists in conflict management skills and establish broad information services.

Any broad-based progressive movement in West Virginia must stem from its relatively strong — but threatened — labor movement. Unfortunately, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), the state's major union, has not been vocal on peace and justice issues. Without the UMWA, organizing around these issues suffers greatly. Nonetheless, a wide variety of groups is springing up.

One new group is West Virginians for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, founded at a conference in Charleston on May 1, 1982. That conference, attended by 150 people, was called by the Charleston Peace Fellowship, People Against War Preparation, Tri-State Peace Fellowship, New Abolitionist Covenant and Allies Waged Against Radioactive Emissions. There are now eight active freeze groups throughout the state. A rally is planned for January 22, 1983, when the freeze resolution will be introduced in the state legislature.

Besides the freeze, peace and justice issues are being taken on by a wide assortment of groups, ranging from the West Virginia Anti-Hunger Coalition — which fights to see that the state's block grants are used as effectively as possible to meet people's needs — to the Committee Against Reagan Economics (CARE) —

Committee Against Reagan Economics

LOCAL RESIDENTS
OPPOSE REAGAN



WHO WE ARE

The Committee Against Reagan Economics (CARE) is a non-profit organization dedicated to opposing the economic policies of the Reagan administration. We are composed of local residents who are concerned about the effects of the cutbacks in social programs, the loss of jobs, and the impact on the environment and the poor. Our goal is to educate the public and to influence government policy through various means, including town meetings, petitions, and protests.

WEST VIRGINIA'S PEACE MOVEMENT . . .

founded in 1981 by people concerned about the effects of the cutbacks in social programs. CARE's first major effort was to sponsor a town meeting in Morgantown, attended by about 100 citizens, to educate people on how the cutbacks hurt senior citizens, the poor, women, labor, minorities and the environment.

That event was followed with a funeral for Americans' economic rights and a speakout forum for victims of the cutbacks. "There is a direct link between the military budget and spending for social programs," says CARE activist Anne Pittman. "Programs which have been cut have been those programs which particularly affect women and minorities, such as job training and enforcement of affirmative action."

Centered in Montgomery and aided

by the West Virginia Joint Council of Labor and Religion is a fledgling Jobs with Peace campaign. The campaign, based on a West Virginia variant of a national resolution (see page 39) is exploring various routes to promote citizen participation, including city referenda; urging legislative action; passing resolutions in unions, churches and community groups; petition drives, and protest demonstrations.

While the peace movement in West Virginia lacks a unified leadership, the varied groups are tied together to some extent through the "West Virginia Peace News" (circulation 200). Edited by Mike Kelly in Charleston, the "Peace News" reports on the activities of West Virginia

Resources WEST VIRGINIA

Committee Against Reagan Economics
436 Clark St.
Morgantown, WV 26505

Jobs with Peace
P.O. Box 541
Montgomery, WV 25136

People Against War Preparation
P.O. Box 1933
Charleston, WV 25327

West Virginia Peace News
P.O. Box 246
Charleston, WV 25321

West Virginians for a Bilateral Nuclear
Weapons Freeze
P.O. Box 246
Charleston, WV 25321

WEST VIRGINIA

PEACE NEWS

V.O. BOX 246 CHARLESTON, WV 25321 OCT. 1981 VOL. 1, NO. 7

PROPOSAL TO WEST VIRGINIA SENATE
MILITARY SPENDING BILL DURING 1981-1982, BY SENATOR JIM
ON THE 1981-82 budget, we reported that West Virginia lost \$284 million in the military
in 1977 via the "Reagan tax". The Reagan tax is the difference between the
amount of Federal taxes collected in a state which goes to the Department of
Defense and the amount of money that the Pentagon returns to the state in the
form of Defense Related Jobs and Services. In short, the Reagan tax measures
the drain of dollars coming out of West Virginia and going into the military's
pocket to fund its wars.

Will the latest figures we've seen hold on to your best? According to the
Research Associates, in their study, "Reagan's Impact on the Military Budget: The
Last Five Years", West Virginia lost \$1.13 billion to the Pentagon for the
entire year 1981 and will drop a cumulative total of \$7.11 billion
to the military for the years 1981-1985. The West Virginia Peace News for 1981
also:

- Shows the entire West Virginia state budget
- Is over 100% of the national average
- Is nearly six times the \$700 million which Reagan
has from the state's social service programs.

If the \$1.13 billion was spent in West Virginia instead of shipped to the Pentagon
it would reduce our unemployment rate to nearly 6%, create more than 30,000
jobs for one of our West Virginians, as well as completely remove all social
services which do not impact these groups. The money could be used for road
repairs, making the road land abundant, necessary.

The five year West Virginia Pentagon Tax of \$7.11 billion is about 6% of all
of the Federal money requested by the Administration National Commission on all
of the 11 Appalachian states in the 18 years of its existence.

WEST'S DREDE
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. . . IS GROWING ON SEVERAL FRONTS.

organizations and provides state activists with news and information from national sources. It is especially sensitive to the "transfers" in the federal budget from human needs to military spending. For example, the second issue in October, 1981, informed West Virginians that they lost \$1.13 billion to the Pentagon in 1981 taxes, more than the entire state budget. The newsletter is also peppered with quotable quotes ranging from the outrageous to the inspiring and keeps close tabs on the activities — outrageous and at times mildly inspiring — of the state's politicians.

"Peace News" asks what might be the crucial question for the nation in the coming years: "How can we make PEACE an issue in West Virginia's congressional races?"

Put your community on record for jobs and peace. . . .

Order our kit for local organizers on the issue of military spending and human needs. It contains a careful selection of literature and facts; suggestions for local action; how-to-do-it sheets; a tape of Helen Caldicott; and a very large button bearing the symbol at right. We ask a contribution of \$10 to cover costs and postage.

SOC is a Southwide multi-racial, multi-issue network of activists working in our communities to join the issues of war, racism, and economic injustice. We invite you to join us.

Southern Organizing Committee for Economic & Social Justice (SOC)

P.O. Box 811, Birmingham, AL 35201; P.O. Box 11308, Louisville, KY 40211

Rev. Ben Chavis and Anne Braden, co-chairpersons



Large buttons with this emblem, \$2

soc graphic
by Peggy Lipschutz

General Resources

ORGANIZATIONS

"Adopt-A-Peacemaker"

Aquarial Research Foundation
5620 Morton St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 849-1259

This new movement hopes to link up people who would like to work full-time for peace and those who have limited time but would like to support social change by providing room and board to someone working for a peace organization.

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102

The AFSC is one of the largest peace organizations in the country, with a variety of projects currently in several states as well as in Third World countries. The Philadelphia headquarters houses a huge library of peace resources and materials on a variety of issues.

The Arms Control Association
11 Dupont Circle
Washington, DC 20036

The ACA works to promote public understanding of and a constituency for arms limitation. It also publishes *Arms Control Today*, full of up-to-date information on the world arms control arena.

Business Alert to Nuclear War
P.O. Box 7
Belmont, MA 02178
(617) 253-1578

The Business Alert is a group of concerned businesspeople working on the freeze and spreading the concept of socially responsible business.

The Center for Defense Information
303 Capitol Gallery West
600 Maryland Ave. SW
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 484-9490

CDI provides information and analyses of the U.S. military complex. It publishes a "Nuclear War Prevention Kit," a practically oriented guide for action which includes suggestions for writing letters, a film use kit and lists of key resources and suggestions on how to use them.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy

120 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-8400

The coalition is an umbrella organization which unites many religious, peace, labor, professional and social organizations wishing to mobilize public opinion and generate citizen action. The coalition publishes a number of resources, including a "Disarmament Action Guide," periodic "Budget Bulletins" and a 64-page booklet on "The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup."

Federation of American Scientists
307 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-3300

FAS is a lobbying group of concerned scientists. Its main project is a Nuclear War Education Project, which seeks to link individuals and groups doing peace education on college campuses. The group publishes a newsletter called *Countdown*.

Friends Committee on National Legislation

245 Second St. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-6000

FCNL is the lobbying branch of the American Friends Service Committee. It publishes a newsletter featuring updates on recent military-related action in Congress.

Friends of the Earth
530 7th St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 543-4312

Committed to the preservation, restoration and rational use of the ecosphere, FOE has joined peace and church groups in Washington to lobby on issues of military spending and the nuclear arms race.

Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Q St. NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-9832

The country's foremost liberal think-

tank, IPS publishes several insightful and influential books each year on various issues of foreign and domestic policy.

Mobilization for Survival
48 St. Marks Place
New York, NY 10003
(212) 533-0008

Mobilization for Survival is a coalition of peace, environmental, religious, labor, women's and community groups working to ban nuclear weapons and nuclear power, reverse the arms race and meet human needs. They are also active in anti-draft work.

National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7175

A project of the American Friends Service Committee, NARMIC provides organizations and individuals with resources and data on the defense industry and the government. Listings of specific Department of Defense contracts can be obtained for a small charge, and the group also maintains a literature and media library.

National Black United Front
P.O. Box 154, Adelphi Station
Brooklyn, NY 11238

NBUF is a mass-based progressive movement working on conditions facing the national and international black community. Local chapters sponsor actions to oppose war, racist violence and economic injustice.

National Gray Panthers
3636 Chestnut St.
Philadelphia, PA 19104
(215) 382-3300

The Gray Panthers, a senior citizens rights group, advocates the freeze and is involved in fighting cutbacks to Social Security.

Nuclear Information and Resource Service

1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, 4th Floor
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 296-7552
NIRS publishes an extensive literature

list with information on price and content of all items. Issues covered range from alternative energy and conservation to weapons and disarmament. Its newsletter, *Groundswell*, contains additional resources and up-to-date information on new groups.

Nuclear Weapons Facilities Project

1428 Lafayette St.
Denver, CO 80218

Provides information on projects to convert local nuclear weapons facilities to socially useful production. Also offers audiovisual material, an organizing packet and a publications list.

Nukewatch

315 W. Gorham St.
Madison, WI 53703
(608) 256-4146

A public education project of the Progressive Foundation, *Nukewatch* is published bimonthly and acts as a nationwide clearinghouse on nuclear issues.

Physicians for Social Responsibility

639 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 491-2754

The PSR has a number of audiovisual aids on the subject of the medical consequences of nuclear war for sale or rent. A brochure listing media and literature, "Educational Materials Available From Physicians for Social Responsibility," is available.

SANE

711 G St., SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 546-7100

SANE is a membership organization which was established in 1957. Its chapters throughout the U.S. are active in the disarmament and peace movements. SANE publishes a monthly newsletter, *Sane World*, which highlights organizing activities and current issues. They also publish a number of brochures which can be used for public education.

Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice

Projects Office
P.O. Box 811
Birmingham, AL 35201
(205) 252-7077

SOC has prepared a kit which is intended to help community organizers stimulate opposition to the arms race and stimulate interest in economic and social justice. The kit contains a broad variety of literature from a number of concerned organizations. Included are several pages of suggestions for local action. A \$10 contribution is requested for the kit. SOC also publishes *Southern Fight-Back*, a newsletter which covers issues ranging from the budget cuts to the nuclear freeze campaign and their effect on Southerners.

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War

1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 1101
Dupont Circle Bldg.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 223-6206

UCAM was organized as a branch of the

Union of Concerned Scientists to provide a network for campus peace activity across the nation. The group is heavily involved in work on the freeze.

War Resisters League

339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 228-0450

War Resisters League — Southeast

604 W. Chapel Hill St.
Durham, NC 27701
(919) 682-6374

Established in 1932, WRL is a national organization with branches in many states working towards disarmament and the development of economic conversion of military production. Write WRL—Southeast for a free literature list and the pamphlet "Disarm and Survive."

Wilmington College Peace Resource Center

Pyle Center, P.O. Box 1183
Wilmington, OH 45177
(513) 382-5338

LITERATURE

"Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race."

The original Call, written by Randall Forsberg, proposing a mutual U.S.-Soviet nuclear weapons freeze, \$7/100. To get copies of the Call to use as petitions, write: Disarmament Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

Disarmament Action Guide. A 16-page booklet including an overview of the dangers of the arms race and suggestions for local organizing work, plus a list of organizations and resources. 1-25: 25¢ each. Over 25, 12¢ each, plus 20 percent for postage. Write: Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

The Fate of the Earth, condensed version, by Jonathan Schell, condensed from the February 1, 8 and 15 issues of the *New Yorker* by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. A very well-written analysis of the nuclear weapons situation today. Write: WILPF, c/o Marii Hasegawa, 2002 Southcliff Ave., Richmond, VA 23225. Or call Peggy: (804) 348-1958.;

First There Was the Bomb.... Readings on Nuclear Weapons/Nuclear Power. A resource magazine produced by the Abalone Alliance and the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project. Available from local anti-nuke groups or from the main office: 944 Market St., Room 508, San Francisco, CA 94102.

How to Teach Peace to Children, by J. Lorne Peachey (Herald Press, 1981). \$1. Write: Wilmington College Peace Resource Center, Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, OH 45177.

"Is There a Nuclear War in Your Future?" A pamphlet including introductory readings and an annotated

The Peace Resource Center houses resources in media, literature and graphics, including extensive material on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1213 Race St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107
(215) 563-7110

WILPF has initiated a Stop the Arms Race campaign which will be active until March, 1983. The campaign will involve the collection of at least one million women's signatures for presentation at the White House. WILPF is also actively engaged in educational efforts concerning the federal budget military expenditures and in mobilizing against the draft registration. They publish a speakers bureau brochure, which lists 43 women and men who are willing to speak on issues which concern WILPF. Other anti-war literature is also available from the league.

bibliography on nuclear weapons, arms control and foreign policy. Write: The Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, 14 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108.

Military Budget Manual: How to Cut Arms Spending Without Harming National Security. A manual that analyzes specifically how the military budget could be cut. \$1.50. Write: SANE, 711 G St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

"Military Spending: All of Us Pay, Most of Us Lose." A seven-page booklet containing detailed data on Pentagon tax gains and articles on how to utilize these data. 1-25, 25¢ each. Over 25, 12¢ each, plus 20 percent for postage. Write: Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do, by Helen Caldicott. One of the original books on the dangers of nuclear war by one of the premier figures in the disarmament movement. \$3.95. Write: Autumn Press, 1318 Beacon St., Brookline, MA 02146.

Nuclear Reactions. A monthly publication which provides an international calendar of nuclear disarmament events and legislation and reports on anti-nuclear movement activities. Write: P.O. Box 1926, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163; (212) 557-7972.

Nuclear War Prevention Kit. \$1. Put out by the Center for Defense Information, available from: the Wilmington College Peace Resource Center, Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, OH 45177.

Research Guide to Current Military and Strategic Affairs, by W.A. Arkin. \$7.95. Available from: Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Stop Nuclear War: The Nuclear War Prevention Manual. A practical guide for mobilizing citizen action, this loose-leaf booklet contains suggestions for organizing popular support and lists many support organizations. It also includes bibliographies of books, audio-visual materials and study packets, as well as a list of organizations willing to provide speakers, \$5. Write: Fund For Peace, 122 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

War Resisters League Organizers' Manual, edited by Ed Hedemann. A basic handbook of organizing techniques including fundraising, identifying constituencies, producing literature, types of appropriate action to take and methods of working with the establishment. Contains addresses for state and local WRL groups. \$6. Write: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.

War Resisters League Disarmament Kit. A kit for organizers who wish to develop disarmament campaigns for their communities, with an action outline for a local campaign, specific campaign possibilities and a detailed resource list. Write: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.

WIN Magazine. Published bimonthly by the Workshop In Nonviolence Institute, Inc., with the support of the War Resisters League. WIN publishes a variety of articles on pacifist, feminist and other issues and includes resource listings and an event calendar. Subscriptions \$20 per year. Write: WIN, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

World Military and Social Expenditures, 1981, by Ruth Leger Sivard. This 44-page book, says George Kennan, is an "absolute must" in understanding nuclear proliferation. Very readable. \$4. Write: World Priorities, Inc., Box 1003, Leesburg, VA 22075.



"The Atomic Cafe." A 90-minute feature documentary available from: Libra Films, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016.

This film traces the history of the atomic bomb and its relationship to American culture.

Audio-Visual Guide. Available from: Mobilization for Survival, 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19104. \$3. Contains 350 entries.

"The Disarmament Video Survey: A Worldwide Public Opinion Poll." A one-hour broadcast-quality cassette for cable and local television. Available free to public stations and \$40 to all others (rental: \$15) from: Karen Ranucci, Downtown Community Television, 87 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10013.

This survey compiles the results of over 28 hours of tape and includes opinions on disarmament from all over the world.

Exhibit of 16 black-and-white posters on the effects and dangers of nuclear war and the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is available for \$30 from: John B. Massen, Director, Northern California Division UNA-USA, 152 St. Francis Blvd., Daly City, CA 94015, (415) 991-2080. The photos are also reproduced in a 16-page booklet for 50¢ each (minimum of 10) or \$22 per 100.

Guide to Disarmament Media. Available from: Media Network, 208 West 13th St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 620-0877.

The guide contains descriptions of 26 films, videotapes and slideshows useful for organizing and education for disarmament, lists of related resources and advice on how to plan a program.

"If You Love This Planet." Color film in 16mm or cassette. For rental or purchase, write to: National Film Board of Canada, 1251 Avenue of the Americas, 16th Floor, New York, NY 10020.

"The Last Epidemic: Medical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War." A 48-minute film available for

\$10 rental from: Disarmament Program, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

Eminent physicians, scientists and military experts make the case that the reversal of the arms race is necessary for survival. The film comes with a packet of organizing materials.

The Nuclear Film Guide. \$5.50 from: *Nuclear Film Guide*, 2114 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94118.

This guide lists more than 100 films on nuclear issues, including the nuclear power/weapons connection.

"The Race Nobody Wins." 15-minute slideshow/filmstrip. Rental: \$10; purchase: \$45. Available from: SANE, 514 C St. NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Tony Randall narrates a look at the arms race and economic conversion.

"Thinking Twice." 30-minute film. For rental or purchase prices, write to: Sky Pictures, 1460 Church St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

This film documents the struggle of one family to come to grips with the realities of the nuclear arms race and its implications for personal security.

War and Peace Film Guide. \$2 from: John Dowling, c/o Physics Dept., Mansfield State College, Mansfield, PA 16933.

Profiles 100 films.

"The War Game," 50-minute, 16mm black and white film. Rental: \$75. Order from: Films Incorporated, 1144 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, IL 60091.

This chillingly realistic enactment of nuclear holocaust in a British town was produced in 1965 for the BBC and was immediately banned. Deeply shocking, the film is a classic.

"Who's In Charge Here?" For information, contact: St. Louis Economic Conversion Project, 438 N. Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130.

Produced by the Institute for World Order, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, and the United Nations Association, this film examines the impact of military spending on the economy from the perspective of defense workers.

Prayer

by Barbara Deming

*Give us this day
Our Daily Breath
Deliver us from
Our daily death*

Amen

Money, politics keep breeder alive, maybe

After a dozen years of delays, land is being cleared near Oak Ridge, Tennessee, for the nation's first breeder reactor — but by the end of this year, the project could be killed. Back in 1970, Congress authorized a program to spend \$700 million in 10 years to construct a nuclear reactor that would generate more radioactive fuel than it consumed; hence the name breeder reactor.

In 1977, President Carter halted plans for the Clinch River Breeder Reactor because of its questionable economic benefits, the unresolved technological problems of reprocessing plutonium, and the fear of encouraging worldwide "proliferation" of weapons-grade radioactive material. Congress never let the breeder fully die, however, and the Reagan appointees on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission put it in the fast lane again by waiving various permitting requirements.

Twelve hours before the first trees on the 1,346-acre site were about to fall, Atlanta U.S. District Judge Marvin Shoob stopped the project again, this time in response to a request for a preliminary injunction from two resident groups, the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council. The challengers say the environmental impact statement for the breeder is incomplete. But two weeks later, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals overruled Judge Shoob, saying he had overstepped his authority.

When Percy Brewington, Jr., acting director for the project, heard news of the decision, he said he got so excited he rushed home, grabbed his chain saw, drove to the site and downed the first tree. The next morning, other project officials found pieces of the trunk on their desks. Clearing by commercial timber companies and excavation of the site will take over a year.

Opponents of the project have not

given up; in fact, a continuing resolution in Congress to keep funds flowing to the project through December, 1982, passed by only one vote in the Senate. The Department of Energy now admits the reactor's total cost will be \$3.6 billion, and the General Accounting Office (GAO) says that figure doesn't include many items, including interest on federal money borrowed for the project,



salaries of Department of Energy monitoring teams and the true cost of plutonium. The total bill, says GAO, will be about \$8 billion.

Fiscal conservatives, led by the National Taxpayers Union, have now joined anti-nuclear and environmental activists to demand that the project be stopped once and for all. "It makes no sense," editorialized the *Wall Street Journal*, "especially in light of current budgeting constraints to sink billions of federal dollars into a nuclear project that won't be economical for at least 50 years." Some pro-nuclear activists now even admit that present uranium supplies will serve the nation's needs well into the next century, thus making obsolete the original argument for a breeder.

So how does this project manage to squeak through each time it comes to a vote in Congress? One answer is Tennessee's Howard Baker, the Senate majority leader, who brokers many deals and openly trades votes to win friends for his pet project. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Reagan originally opposed the breeder, but "the

White House acquiesced to gain Senator Baker's support in the budget and tax fights on Capitol Hill last year."

Over in the House, the story is only slightly different. Public Citizen's Congress Watch discovered "a direct correlation" between House members' support for continued funding and campaign contributions to them from the five largest Clinch River contractors: General Electric, Westinghouse, Rockwell International, contractors Stone and Webster, and architectural engineers Burns and Roe.

Eleven of the 12 representatives (or 92 percent) who received \$3,000 or more from these firms' political action committees (PACs) voted for the project; seven of the 11 were Southerners. Of the 45 House members who received between \$1,500 and \$2,999 from the five PACs, 76 percent — 34 members — voted last year to continue funding. Only 29 percent of those representatives who received no money from the PACs voted for the breeder.

When Congress returns for a lame duck session in late November, 1982, the Clinch River project will again be debated, since its funding runs out December 22. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Atomic Industrial Forum and the federation of 753 electric utilities participating in the reactor program — but paying little of its bill — will be pushing for a continued subsidy. Howard Baker will be twisting arms again, but opponents hope their unusual coalition of conservatives and progressives can tip September's 49-48 Senate vote the other way.

Unusual route gets union major contract

Workers at what was General Motors' largest nonunion factory in the South finally won collective bargaining rights and the benefits of the United Auto

Workers (UAW) national contract. The victory came after the UAW lost three elections in 1981 at the Decatur, Alabama, three-plant complex that makes steering gear components.

The first two elections were set aside by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) because of unlawful company and anti-union interference; but the NLRB refused to set aside the third election, lost by 721-659, even though the union had evidence that the anti-union committee distributed a Ku Klux Klan membership card and letter bearing the forged signature of a union organizer.

In bargaining with General Motors over national concessions last spring, the UAW won the right to represent workers in the company's nonunion plants without going through the formal election process. Instead of contending with high-priced consultants and a well-organized anti-union campaign from the city fathers, as the UAW had faced in Decatur, the union only had to collect signatures from a majority of workers on cards saying they wanted UAW representation.

Under this authorization process, the union became the bargaining agent in April for the 415 workers at a GM Delco-Remy plant in Meridian, Mississippi; in August for the 300 workers at a Delco-Remy plant in Fitzgerald, Georgia; and in September for the 1,700 workers at the Saginaw Steering Gear facility in Decatur. That leaves only two small plants among GM's 141 in the United States that are not under UAW contract; one is in Laurel, Mississippi, and the other is in Anaheim, California.

Southern states rank last on SAT scores

Scores for the senior high students taking the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) rose in 1982 for the first time in 19 years. Non-white students, led by blacks, increased their scores more than whites; but the averages for students in minority groups still lagged as much as 220 points be-

hind the average score of 927 for white students.

Test results vary significantly from state to state and race to race. George H. Hanford, president of the College Board, said the racial disparity "illuminates the extent and nature of educational deficit this nation must overcome." The board's report also shows that as students' family incomes rise, so does the average SAT score; but the board did not issue a call for redistributing the nation's wealth.

In the 22 states where more than 30 percent of the seniors took the test, the scores range from New Hampshire's 925 to South Carolina's 790.

1982 SAT AVERAGE SCORES

State	Verbal	Math	Total
New Hampshire	443	482	925
Alaska	446	477	923
Oregon	435	473	908
Vermont	433	471	904
California	425	474	899
Delaware	432	465	897
Connecticut	432	464	896
New York	429	467	896
Maine	427	463	890
Maryland	425	464	889
Florida	426	463	889
Virginia	426	462	888
Massachusetts	425	463	888
Pennsylvania	424	461	885
Rhode Island	420	457	877
New Jersey	416	453	869
Texas	415	453	868
Indiana	407	453	860
Hawaii	392	465	857
North Carolina	396	431	827
Georgia	394	429	823
South Carolina	378	412	790

Court punches hole through Blue Curtain

On September 27, 1982, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court ordered the reinstatement of New Orleans police officer Randolph Thomas, who was fired from the force in 1979 after he failed to back up the account his partner, Norman Caesar, gave of an arrest. Thomas claimed Caesar had no business clubbing a man during a domestic quarrel they were investigating; the man was knocked unconscious and subsequently spent

five days in the hospital with a fractured skull and punctured ear drum.

At the police station, Thomas was ordered by his superiors to sign Caesar's arrest report charging the man with resisting arrest, criminal trespassing and using "unlawful" language against a police officer. When Thomas refused, he was interrogated and harassed by other officers, then suspended and finally fired a month later.

The court order giving Thomas his job back — plus \$17,000 in actual damages, \$50,000 for the violation of his civil rights, and attorney fees — might go unnoticed were it not for the astonishing record of the city's police:

- FBI figures for 1980 show that more police brutality cases — 105 — have been filed in New Orleans than in any other U.S. metropolis.

- A code of silence, known as the "blue curtain," surrounds the police department and stifles criticism of its internal workings.

- The Police Association of New Orleans cultivates the image of the indispensable supercop who is justified in using whatever means are necessary to get the job done. The group's new quarterly magazine, called *The Force*, features one of the officers involved in the Algiers housing project killings in which two naked men and a woman who was crouched in a bath tub were riddled with bullets.

- Noted Judge Jerre S. Williams on the effectiveness of the blue curtain: Randolph Thomas was "the first officer in 10 years to lodge a complaint against a fellow officer for depriving a civilian of civil rights or for using unnecessary force in accomplishing an arrest."

The triumph of New Orleans attorneys Mary E. Howell and Pamela J. Bayer in winning court-ordered protection for a police officer who opposes the blue curtain adds further challenge to a system of police terrorism that especially targets the city's numerous poor neighborhoods. The two lawyers are also representing some of the relatives of victims of the Algiers slaying and other Algiers residents in a lawsuit that could set more precedents and cost the city millions of dollars.

The cost of successful police brutality suits against the city of New Orleans already totals in the millions of dollars, and the list of victims includes not

only poor blacks but tourists, college students, middle-income blacks, even a state representative. The blatant attack on the Algiers trio in November, 1980, triggered a series of protest marches, a sit-in at city hall and finally the creation by Mayor Ernest "Dutch" Morial of an Office of Municipal Investigation (OMI) to follow up citizen complaints against police. An out-of-control, expensive police force looked like a potent campaign issue for Morial's opponents, but the mayor was handily re-elected this year. New Orleans whites remain largely silent on the issue, and middle- and upper-income blacks are slow to protest for fear of embarrassing the city's first black mayor.

In a city and state where both petty and major corruption are taken for granted, the building of a sustained movement against police excesses needs all the help it can get. The Thomas decision opened a thin yet significant crack in the blue curtain and exposed more details about its willing and unwilling enforcers. For example, a former deputy superintendent of the police department's Internal Affairs Department (IAD) told the court he left his job after eight years because the department would not adequately investigate civilian complaints.

Another IAD head, who in 1980 said the chances of a citizen getting a case to stick against a cop were virtually nil, was this year convicted of pulling a gun and threatening his neighbor during a quarrel. In its 10-month life, OMI has received 420 complaints against police officers and investigated 125, including 12 that involved officers firing weapons and resulted in six deaths. In 22 cases, OMI has called for disciplinary action against police officers — including two prosecutions, 12 suspensions and seven dismissals.

New Orleans knows it has a police brutality problem; but local news coverage and promises from elected officials have yet to produce wholesale reforms. In late September, Mike Wallace and a crew from *60 Minutes* arrived to film a segment on the Algiers killings. The city was abuzz, but it remains to be seen what new action will follow the broadcast and the inevitable national embarrassment for a city now gearing up to host the 1984 World's Fair.

Dump opponents hit governor's toxic plan

Civil disobedience by scores of citizens in Warren County, North Carolina, did not stop the state's trucks from dumping 40,000 cubic yards of PCB-laced dirt into a specially prepared landfill. But the highly publicized protest jarred politically ambitious Governor Jim Hunt and could turn the four-year controversy into a rallying cry for opponents of his recently enacted Hazardous Waste Management Act. The 1981 law gives lip service to waste recycling, while setting up a procedure to sanction landfills and treatment facilities which includes a gubernatorial veto of local siting bans.

"The way the state brought PCBs in here creates a precedent for dumping other toxic wastes in other counties," says Ken Ferruccio, chairperson of the Warren County Citizens Concerned About PCBs. "A toxic chemical waste site attracts toxic chemical waste producers. This is just a foot in the door for the state to attract some of the industries it wants," he added, alluding to Governor Hunt's aggressive recruitment of the microelectronics industry.

The Warren County struggle dates back to June, 1978, when a New York trucking firm contracted with a Raleigh transformer company to dispose of 31,000 gallons of PCB-laced oil. Under cover of darkness, the trucking firm dumped the oil out of a tank truck alongside 210 miles of North Carolina highways. Once discovered, the dump-

ers were prosecuted and convicted; the state meanwhile rejected various plans to ship the PCB-laced soil to an existing Alabama landfill or a New Jersey incinerator (too dangerous and expensive, officials said) or to detoxify the PCBs in place (a then-unproven process).

In December, 1978, state officials chose a site near Afton, in Warren County, for the PCB landfill, although it was originally fifth on a list of six potential sites. Local residents and outside observers surmise that the county's rural, poor and largely black makeup propelled it to the top of the list despite its relatively porous soil and shallow water table. Warren County is the most nonwhite (63.7 percent) and second-poorest county in the state.

Huge public meetings prompted the county commissioners to file suit against the state, which steadfastly maintained that the Afton landfill was the only option available. The Concerned Citizens continued to organize public meetings, petition drives, research on alternatives to landfills and lobbying against the governor's waste management act. However, as the county's suit dragged on, local protest died down.

Then on May 26, 1982, the state government and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) announced that \$2.5 million from the federal Superfund was earmarked for cleaning up the PCBs; simultaneously, word leaked out that the county commissioners had dropped their lawsuit. A last-ditch court challenge by the Concerned Citizens — alleging that the state's action discriminated against blacks and that the state and EPA had violated their own laws and regulations in picking the Afton site — was thrown out.

When the state set an August date for bringing in truckloads of the PCB-infested dirt, county residents remobilized in even larger numbers and with remarkable black-white unity. Non-violent, massive civil disobedience became the tactic that brought the Concerned Citizens publicity and support from across the county. On September 15, 67 people were arrested for blocking the first trucks from entering the landfill. By mid-October, over 500 people had been arrested, including many school children who were excused from classes to attend the protest.

Southern Christian Leadership Con-



WARREN COUNTY ANTI-PCB MARCHERS

photo by Joe Pfister

ference and state civil-rights leaders rushed to give assistance; the Concerned Citizens welcomed them but maintained control of strategy decisions. Trucks kept rolling, but the daily arrests kept making national news. A puzzled Governor Hunt, with one eye on a vice-presidency bid and the other on a senate race against Jesse Helms, tried to ignore the demonstrators, then blamed outsiders for the trouble, then expressed sympathy for local residents, and finally agreed to meet with the group's leaders.

Although everyone would prefer that the dirt be removed from the landfill forever, the Concerned Citizens are now pushing the governor to sign a legally binding document guaranteeing his verbal promises: (1) detoxification of the PCBs when an acceptable technology is developed; (2) no further waste sites for Warren County; (3) industrial development funds for the county; (4) a state-financed environmental monitoring program at the site.

Other counties are also demanding that local citizens control the location of new landfills and treatment facilities. The Warren County Concerned Citizens and organizations from six other counties targeted for private waste facilities have banned together into N.C. CATCH (Citizen Action on Toxic and Chemical Hazards). They flatly oppose landfills, emphasize recycling and minimizing waste production, and are gearing up to demand legislative changes in the waste management act this spring.

Life-long dream will help group's treasury

Lots of folks like to head for the sunny South when the winds of November start to howl, and Charles L. "Boomer" Winfrey, who hails from Lake City, Tennessee, is no exception. Well, almost.

Boomer is canoeing from Norris Dam, northwest of Knoxville, to the southern tip of Florida. His journey, which began on September 15, 1982, will cover some 1,800 miles and 120-odd days, ending in mid- to late Janu-

ary in Everglades National Park.

This isn't just another one of those "I think I'll try for the Guinness record" deals, though. Boomer's paddling and portaging for two reasons: the Tennessee-to-Florida float is his lifelong dream, and he wants to share his dream — in dollars — with an organization that embodies his passion for the land and rivers. He has almost single-handedly secured pledges totaling over \$10,000 for Save Our Cumberland Mountains, better known as SOCM, a 10-year-old organization of east Tennesseans working to combat the domination of strip miners and out-of-state corporations on their lives, land and environment.



photo courtesy SOCM

BOOMER'S BON VOYAGE

Last spring Boomer, a geologist, announced that he would be leaving SOCM and that he had received numerous pledges for his canoe-a-thon, the largest being \$1 per mile.

By the time you read this issue of *Southern Exposure*, Boomer will probably be heading down Georgia's St. Marys River to the Okefenokee Swamp. From there he'll paddle the Suwanee, Withlacoochee and Peace Rivers to the Everglades Wilderness Waterway, where he'll make his final pullout at Flamingo.

So if you're down in that neck of the swamp, so to speak, keep a lookout for a kind of weary-looking guy who stands, when he can, about six-foot-five and probably weighs somewhat less than the 250 pounds he left Tennessee with. Offer him a shower and a meal and a place to wash his clothes, if you can. And be sure to tell him *Southern Exposure* says, "Hey!"

Boomer's goal is to raise \$20,000 for SOCM. If you want to make a

donation or a pledge, send it to SOCM, P.O. Box 457, Jacksboro, TN 37757.

Oil company hit with Alabama's record fine

Mobil Oil, known for its aggressive promotion of the benefits of unrestrained capitalism, agreed to pay the state of Alabama \$2 million in penalties and \$500,000 in cleanup fees for illegally releasing drilling fluids into Mobile Bay. The giant oil company has been drilling appraisal wells in the bay for about a year; it's been boasting far longer on TV and in newspaper ads the marvels of its pollution control program and the evils of excessive regulation.

The civil penalty is the largest ever awarded in Alabama and will largely go to the state's new environmental management office. But \$570,000 will go to the office of the state's reactionary but opportunistic attorney general, Charles A. Graddick. Known more for his rabid advocacy of "frying" death row inmates than for his love of nature, Graddick filed a civil complaint against Mobil soon after the company publicly admitted the truth of an anonymous tip about the illegal dumping.

Darryl Wiley of the Mobile Bay Audubon Society says the groups wants all \$2 million to be designated for monitoring environmental deterioration caused by the growing number of wells in the bay and now up into the river delta. "There's a danger the money will get lost in the bureaucracy and not get applied to the real problem," says Wiley.

"No one is taking into account the cumulative effect of each spill or each cut through the marsh," he points out. "We don't want another Louisiana here. We want an aggressive control program and we're talking with the attorney general now about our position."

What Graddick will do with the money is anyone's guess right now. Meanwhile, Mobil announced it is firing 15 employees and disciplining eight others involved in its Mobile Bay operations.

VOICES OF OUR NEIGHBORS

Chuck Davis

African Dance Is Alive and Well

Unlike many professional dance troupes which perform primarily in theatres, the Chuck Davis Dance Company — an American troupe specializing in African dance — also goes into communities to teach African dance and to educate people about African cultures. They give classes to children and adults at neighborhood centers and schools and perform in parks, street fairs, shopping centers and prisons.

While the troupe was in Durham recently, Africa News interviewed Chuck Davis. These excerpts are used with their permission.

DAVIS: My desire is for people to understand each other — and in their understanding naturally gain a deeper respect for each other. In studying the dance you study the culture and in studying the people you learn what makes that people be. And that's what I'm about.

I have been involved in traditional African-style dancing, and I make that distinction because we are not doing African dancing — we are doing movements that stem from concepts that have origins in Africa. Africa is my heritage. The continent is my heritage.

I think people should progress as much as they can. Africa should progress as much as she can, but I don't feel that Africa should negate the past or forget the past. I think through dance we are reminded of what those beginnings are. And through dance we also know where we are going. We take the ancient concepts, we take the ancient religions, we take the ancient movements — and we teach them so that people can be more aware of Africa today.

After you go into an African country to learn dance or ritual, do you present it here in the same way you learned it?

No, no, no, you cannot. Because



CHUCK DAVIS DANCE COMPANY, 1982

photo by Tom Caravaglia

people in the U.S. are not geared to time. They are geared to theatre, the excitement of the theatre. So we take aspects of the various rituals. And we maintain those concepts as best we can with the rhythm and with traditional costuming.

We don't always get the language because we speak it phonetically, but the songs that belong in certain places — we try to make sure that they are correct. We do not want to debase anybody's culture. That's why I go over to Africa: to study and learn. I might only learn two songs, but the songs that I learned will be learned well. When I teach them to others, I will be able to tell them *why* that song is sung, *when* it is sung, *who* sings it and everything that is associated with it.

This year we are returning to Senegal to the Casamance where we will study the dance and the music of the Diola, the Mandinka, Fula, Wolof and Peul. This will be my sixth trip to Africa, so consequently I have developed a way of greeting. You never go into any community, into any country or any place knowing everything. You go in humble. You go in as a sponge, wishing to soak up their knowledge. You go in respectful of the elders, and

you wait until you're recognized because the people have to see who you are. When you are asked a question, you have to be very honest in your answer.

When we were studying in the rural areas of the Gambia, I recall, you would be sitting there talking, leaning against a tree, and all of a sudden you hear [sings] — and then you look, and here comes a troupe. And they play, sing, and then break into a lingen. The lingen is a rhythm to which you do not sit still. And you dance. And that is still happening. People just come. And then when we were with the Bambara, they would pull out the Djemba drum. . . . Yes, dance is alive and well in the traditional villages.

I have run into only one [negative response] and that was with one of the directors at the Doniel Sorano National Theater. He was afraid that what we were learning would take away from the people here [in the U.S.] wanting to see the Senegalese ballet when they came. But our target is to do just the opposite — to build an awareness, so that when people see that here's an authentic troupe coming they will flock to the theater. That's what we want. □

Teaching Behind Bars

COLUMBIA, SC — Crime and its costs — to the victims, to society in general and to the criminals themselves — are a major source of fear and worry for the citizens of this country today. What points certain people towards a deadly cycle of destructive behavior, degrading jail terms and more crime? The theories vary as widely as the background of the experts; but James Cantrell — an inmate at the Watkins Pre-Release Center in Columbia — believes that for himself, at least, one answer is lack of education. And as developer of adult literacy programs at Watkins and at South Carolina's Central Corrections prison, he's been acting on this belief to help himself and other prisoners.

Cantrell dropped out of school in the ninth grade, and after a successful stint in the navy was in and out of prison for several years, never able to keep a job for long. Then his downward spiral bottomed out: he was sentenced to life imprisonment for killing a man in a barroom brawl.

Angry and bitter, Cantrell entered South Carolina's Central Corrections Institute in 1975. Soon afterwards, he began reshaping his life. From inside the prison walls, he fought for and won a high school equivalency diploma in 1976 and went on to take a bachelors degree from the University of South Carolina.

"There came a point in my life," Cantrell says, "that I realized my lack of suitable employment was connected directly to my lack of education. I decided I had better turn things around."

Cantrell blossomed in his newly discovered academic environment. He became president of the prison's USC student body; he published articles, attended workshops and was elected inmate of the year. But he was shocked by the huge numbers of other prison-

ers who had never learned to read or write. He began to see them as being imprisoned as much by their lack of communications skills as by the prison walls. Many, he said, needed help simply to write a letter home to their families.

Becoming more and more concerned with adult basic education, Cantrell helped organize Central Correction's first classroom for illiterates. "It made sense," he says, "that I was being given help, and that I should pass this on." The classes met in a basement tunnel where, Cantrell recalls, "We had to work around guys who were sweeping and mopping and turning over buckets of water on our feet. But we managed and we survived."

Soon prisoners interested in improving their language skills lined both sides of the tunnel. Cantrell's group trained more tutors and eventually gained access to better facilities. The prison authorities began to recognize the program's value and slated it to become part of a modern educational complex which was just being built when Cantrell was transferred to the Watkins Pre-Release Center in 1980. (The complex is now complete.)

Because of his background, Cantrell was assigned as assistant administrator to the Watkins education department. Yet he was allowed to teach only four hours a week. "This was very frustrating," he says. He negotiated with the authorities to improve and expand the program and began offering classes five days and four nights a week. He recruited tutors and students and developed contacts with agencies outside the prison — including a volunteer literacy organization which now helps train about 18 prisoner-tutors each year at Watkins.

Thanks largely to Cantrell's leadership, the Watkins program now teaches basic literacy skills to up to 45 prisoners at a time. In addition, staff and inmates hold Adult Basic Education classes geared towards high school equivalency diplomas, and a college

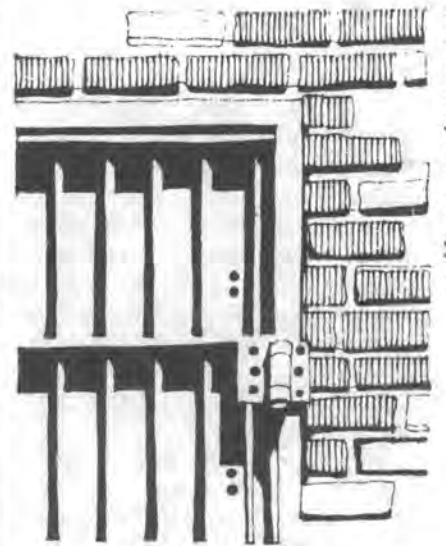


Illustration by Frank Holyfield

extension program is also available. Cantrell and the other inmates — as well as the prison authorities — feel that the literacy program at the pre-probation institution increases the odds for a successful life outside the prison walls.

Cantrell is proud of the programs he helped develop at Central Corrections and Watkins and hopes he can help make further improvements. Already, the idea of prisoners tutoring prisoners is spreading to other South Carolina prisons.

Cantrell plans to continue teaching and developing educational programs even after his release. He is currently completing work towards a master's degree in adult and community education and has already begun teaching college courses outside the prison in a work-release program.

"This is what I want to do the rest of my life," says James Cantrell. "With some help, this is what I will do." □

— C. EDWARD PERKINS
writer and editor
Clinton, NY

"Facing South" is published each week by the Institute for Southern Studies. It appears as a syndicated column in more than 80 Southern newspapers, magazines and newsletters.

FROM OUR READERS

While each of your issues, in one way or another, deals with poverty in the South, it would be useful if some time in the near future one issue was devoted to this topic. So few people believe poverty and hunger are real, and even those who acknowledge its existence often blame the victims instead of looking at the cause. This whole "New Federalism" and "Economic Recovery Plan" make it imperative that someone who has research capabilities, credibility and sensitivity publish such an issue. I know that several people who work with you have experience which might make this a feasible project and hope that it can be pursued.

— Janet Wolf
Pegram, TN

I have been a subscriber since the beginning and would like to give you my two cents on the recent change in the magazine. I like your politics so I have no quibble with that; however, recent issues like "Working Women" and "Who Owns Appalachia?" were not up to par. The articles were too short and scrappy to be really helpful — not analytical enough yet not practical enough either.

"Working Women" gave a lot of information but no inspiration — no ideas for organizing and using it as a powerful organizing weapon. "Who Owns Appalachia?" described more how this study was done than what was learned from it or suggestions of what could be done with it (or enough articles, interviews, etc., with people who live there on how land ownership affects them). I have liked your issues in the past where you took an idea or topic and really developed it.

It seems that you are trying to come out of the closet so to speak — to become more overtly political and newsy (for example, your new special features — "Voices From the Past,"

"Voices of Our Neighbors" and "Southern News Roundup"). I don't object to these columns; in fact, I find them interesting. But I can find this information (or most of it) in other publications.

What I can't find in other publications is a study of the KKK in the South, the Civil Rights Movement, Prisons, Folklife, etc. These kinds of analyses and information are far more useful and powerful (and readable) than the last three issues, though I did think "Stepping Stones" was better than the two before it.

In short, I liked you better the way you were before. Being political doesn't have to mean a loss of quality writing and a step toward brief summations or scraps of facts. I like *SE* obviously — I want to continue reading it, knowing it is doing something no one else in the South is.

— Kate Black
Denver, CO

I enjoyed John Beam's "Southern Connections" (*SE*, March/April, 1982) and found his perceptions very accurate in regards to connections between New Orleans and Latin American struggles. However, I wonder when somebody will ever hit the nail right on the head and admit that the struggle of the oppressed both in New Orleans and other parts of Louisiana is an intimate aspect of the struggle of Latin Americans in general. The way I see it, those who can claim to support the struggle in Cuba, Nicaragua and points south, while ignoring (to put it charitably) the struggle of the Creole-Cajun community right there in Louisiana has not quite got the point yet. Which is not to imply that any of those connected with Mr. Beam's article hold such ideas. But I know plenty of people who do.

— Debbie Clifton
Kingstree, SC

I've been an avid *SE* reader for about four years now. Your publication is consistently high-caliber stuff: layout, writing, graphics, etc.

So I was really surprised to find myself suffering through Margaret Rigg's effusive and naive interpretations of some really fine artwork. For *SE* to print stuff like "The U.S. Navy itself does not realize the quality of wholeness that is *being violated*" — I'm quite sure that most of your readers are fully aware that the U.S. Navy really doesn't give a shit what it violates!

I would hope that future criticism of "political art" would be undertaken by someone with more of a handle on the politics at hand.

The rest of the July/August issue is, as usual, really fine.

— Paul Gottlieb
Austin, TX

Damnedest thing I've ever seen. Three different people have come into my shop in the past two months carrying a copy of *Southern Exposure* magazine. One issue had a man on the cover, I think.

Two out of three bought very expensive clocks. This sounds silly, but maybe your readers are turned on by redwood clocks from northern California. Could you send me a copy of your magazine and ad rates?

— Donna Dennis
Eureka, CA

I've really enjoyed *SE* for several years now! I like to keep informed about different regions of the country.

I would suggest you do a feature on current and historical developments around citizen action organizations. Seems like I've seen some coverage of such organizations before (e.g., Carolina Action, ACORN, etc.). But what's the current situation?

Keep up the good work!

— Ed Meek
Pittsburgh, PA

Shall we fight with chains upon our limbs?

The Liberator, 1842

In 1842, the participation of blacks in the military came under serious question when the United States threatened to go to war against England to force the return of 134 slaves who the year before had seized a ship taking them from Louisiana to Virginia. During the mutiny, led by Madison Washington, one of the crew was killed. The ship put in at the British port of Nassau in the Bahamas. England, which had abolished slavery in 1834, refused to return the people to America. As talk of war escalated, a black newspaper, The Liberator, published the following editorial on April 1, 1842.

Whilst we look forward with some degree of curiosity to learn in what manner our Secretary of State [Daniel Webster] will sneak out of the bullying position into which his late dispatch has placed him, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the decision of the British Parliament, neither to indemnify, nor to deliver up the self-liberated slaves of the *Creole*,

may lead to war. And as it is well "in time of peace to prepare for war," let us seriously and solemnly ask our brethren to make up their minds *now*, as to the position they may assume in such a catastrophe.

If war be declared, shall we fight with the chains upon our limbs? Will we fight in defence of a government which denies us the most precious right of citizenship? Shall we shed our blood in defence of the American slave trade? Shall we make our bodies a rampart in defence of American slavery?

We ask these questions, because there is no law in existence which can compel us to fight, and any fighting on our part must be a VOLUNTARY ACT. The States in which we dwell have twice availed themselves of our *voluntary services*, and have repaid us with chains and slavery. Shall we a third time kiss the foot that crushes us? If so, we deserve our chains. No! Let us maintain an organized neutrality, until the laws of the Union and of all the States have made us free and equal citizens. □

At Southern Exposure we listen to the voices of many people for guidance and inspiration. We want to recapture in Voices From the Past the indomitable spirit of those who have spoken for human dignity, for egalitarianism and for collective social action. We want to celebrate those ideals, for which many have lived and died. We invite you to listen, to join with these voices which harmonize with our own.

We welcome submissions from our readers for this feature. Send ideas to: Voices From the Past, Southern Exposure, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.



THIS MURAL BY HALE WOODRUFF DEPICTS A REVOLT THAT TOOK PLACE IN 1839 ABOARD THE SLAVE SHIP *AMISTAD*. THE SHIP WAS RECAPTURED AT LONG ISLAND,

AND AFTER A FAMOUS TRIAL, THE CASE WAS REVIEWED BY THE SUPREME COURT, WHICH DECIDED FOR THE AFRICANS.



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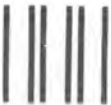
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THERE'S NOTHING ELSE LIKE IT IN THE COUNTRY!

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"As the daughter of a Southern sharecropper, I feel a special kinship and a special pride in what you do."

*Marilyn Clement
Center for Constitutional Rights*

"It's a marvelous piece of work."

*John Merrow
"Options in Education"
National Public Radio*

"Terrific! I appreciate, specifically, your feminism."

*Bobby Ortiz
Monthly Review*

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

JUNE 1983

2ND DECADE

Southern Exposure

Cotton Dust Kills, And It's Killing Me
By Mimi Conway. Photographs by Earl Dotter

When a hand truck filled with yarn smashed Jesse Hawkins' ribs last year, his employer, J.P. Stevens & Co., did not even send him to the doctor. The fifty-five-year-old black man had to go on his own. Hawkins' personal physician, Dr. R. F. Frasier, was also designated by J.P. Stevens to examine any of its Roanoke Rapids workers hurt on the job.

Raising Cane
by Carolyn Porter
Louisiana farmworkers are working together to break the shackles of a modern plantation system.

HALTING THE HEARD COUNTY LANDFILL

"BUDDY, WE'RE HOME"
by Gary Thomas and Bill Brooks



Heard County, Georgia, seems an unlikely spot for gun-toting confrontations between the forces of state authority and the general population. It is a rural county of about 8,000 people lying midway along the state's border with Alabama, far from any major traffic arteries. Most of its land is owned by private timber companies; there is little large-scale agriculture and no mass industry.

Stayed On Freedom



We invite all of our subscribers, readers, supporters and friends to share in the creation of our Tenth Anniversary issue of *Southern Exposure*, to be released in May/June, 1983.

We'll publish lots of letters — reflective, critical, humorous — along with your essays, poetry, artwork and photography. Together we'll explore the South of yesterday, today and tomorrow. We'll look at the good and the bad, and we'll take a good hard look at ourselves and our work for progressive change.

Now's your chance to express your thoughts and feelings about *Southern Exposure*, about the region we call home,

in your own words and images.

Send your contribution to *Southern Exposure*
The Second Decade
P.O. Box 531
Durham, NC 27702

THE CELEBRATION BEGINS

INSTITUTE SPECIAL REPORT:

THE THIRD OF NOVEMBER

On November 3, 1979, television cameras from four stations recorded in awesome detail the killing of five communist demonstrators by members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party. Six men charged with first-degree murder were tried by an all-white jury. Their acquittal one year later did not erase the videotapes which show them calmly unloading their weapons from a car trunk, running after victims and firing in some cases, at point-blank range. Some people choose to believe the jury learned things about that day which the rest of us don't know. Some evidence that established the innocence of those charged. Others would like to forget the incident altogether.

ENDLESS WAR

SPECIAL REPORT: FOOD, FUEL, &

THE THIRD OF NOVEMBER

Photograph by Bill Fromm, Gary Frasier, and Chip Hughes

The Geneva Convention, December 9, 1948, codified the international definition of the crime of genocide.

ARTICLE I

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent or punish.

ARTICLE II

... Genocide means ... acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such ...

ARTICLE IV

Persons committing genocidal acts ... are punishable whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

