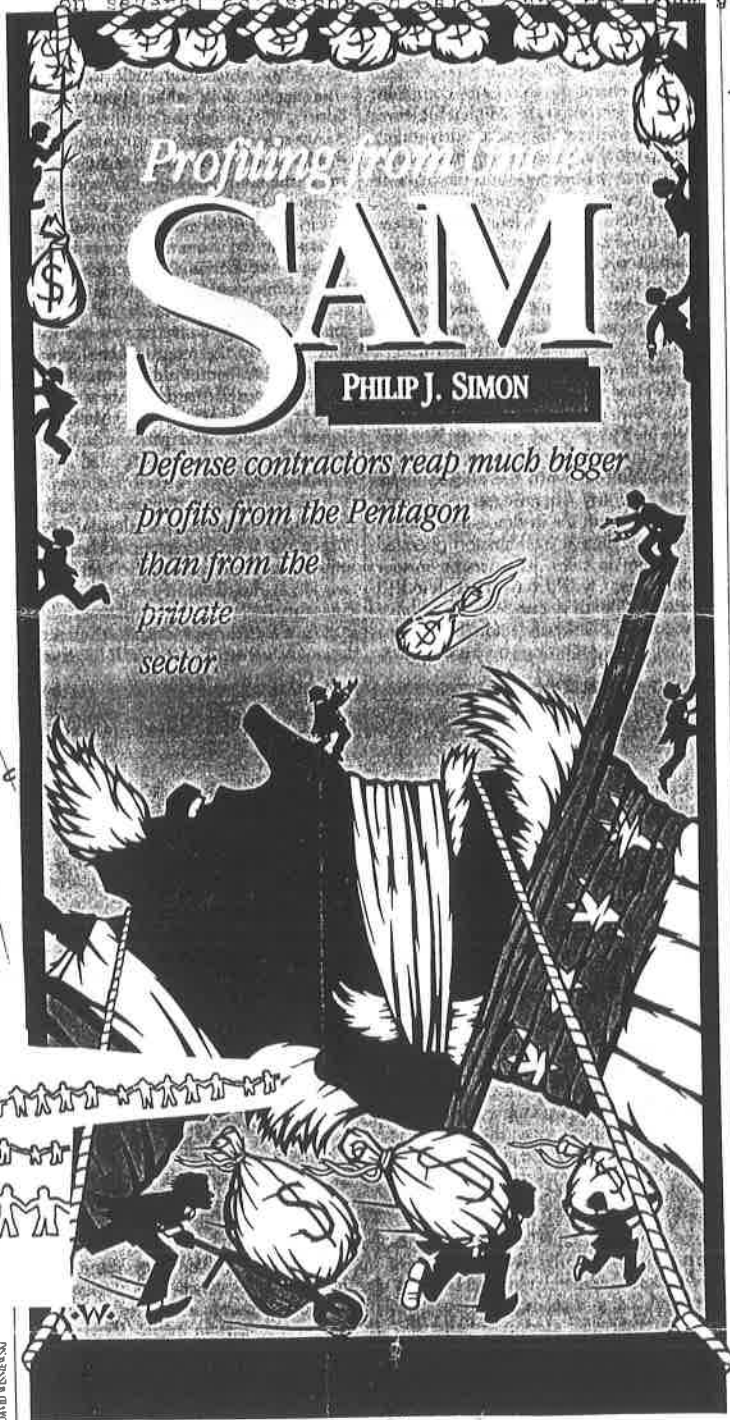


C. R. Gazette 6-10-87 "Iowa is one of the finalists for the location of a new electronics plant for Gen. Dynamics Gov. T. Branstad says... CR- 1.A. - D.M. and Ames most likely sites..." (Branstad met with them on several occasions to sell it and had them at Terrace Hill.

GWEN VIGIL
August 15



Protest the arms race.
Join us August 15
(& every 3rd sat.)
at the
Ground
Wave
Emergency
Network
(GWEN)
tower at noon,
two miles east
of Mechanicsville, IA
on Hwy 30.
Picnic lunch afterwards
at the park in
Mechanicsville.



David Lewis, former head of General Dynamics, once quipped that "for the stability of the company, you can't beat government business in hard times."

Lewis should know. As chief executive officer and chairman of the board of one of the nation's largest defense contracting conglomerates from 1970 to 1985, Lewis helped boost his company's share of lucrative Pentagon contracts until they crowded out almost all commercial sales.

Since 1982, nearly 90 percent of the company's sales and 100 percent of its profits have come from the government. And General Dynamics has reaped some hefty profits. During 1984 and 1985, profit margins for its government work alone averaged 35 percent, according to a study prepared for the Navy by a Washington, D.C., defense consultant and released to Common Cause in March under the Freedom of Information Act.

In contrast to General Dynamics' lucrative government work, the firm's commercial business has been so unprofitable that, since 1980, it has sold its telecommunications and asbestos divisions and is seeking a buyer for its commercial ship-building unit. According to the company's annual financial reports, remaining subsidiaries lost \$100,000 in 1984 and 1985 and a whopping \$477 million last year.

This heavy dependence on tax-supported funds to subsidize non-defense business is not unique. Rather, according to former Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, among the nation's leading defense contractors the situation "is not unusual but typical."

The fall 1986 Navy study, which profiled 33 major defense contractors, including most of the leading arms makers, supports the conclusion that in recent years military work has been more profitable than commercial business ventures — in good economic times and in bad. According to the 324-page report, "Financial Analysis of Major Defense Contractors," 1985 earnings at corporate divisions with U.S. government work were more than double those earned by the same firms' commercial manufacturing divisions that same year. The Navy study used return on assets, or profit as a proportion of company capital, to measure earnings.

This data comes at a time when some members of Congress are engaged in a fierce battle with the Pentagon and arms makers about whether defense contractors have received too much profit in recent years. Some Wall Street financial experts and industry officials contend that when profits are figured in proportion to sales, the returns are modest. "The defense in-

C.P. Gazette: 6-19-87 Wash. (AT) - The Ames Municipal Airport has been awarded a \$337,450 airport improvement grant from the Federal Aviation Administration. Is there a connection to above?

PENTAGON AGENCY CALLS FOR 'STAR WARS' RESEARCH INSTITUTE...

Star Wars institute:
director to be paid
\$225,000

staff to only get
\$110,000

The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization doesn't do any research on its own, but it aims to change that. The agency that operates the "Star Wars" program wants to form a research institute to provide it with independent advice on the best way to manage SDI programs. It has apparently invited prominent scientific and technical figures—whose identities have not been disclosed—to submit proposals to operate the institute. Many of those invited are members of the SDI Advisory Committee, a nonprofit consultative group. One reason given for setting up the institute is to avoid unnecessary overlap or duplication of efforts and to facilitate the passing of information between research projects, mainly by establishing a common data base for SDI. Proposals under review by the Pentagon call for paying the director of the institute \$225,000 annually and other senior staff members an average of \$110,000 a year. The proposal won immediate support from the Senate Armed Services Committee, but others in Congress question whether the institute will be able to offer unbiased advice. □

Electronics June 25, 1987

dustry is not making profits which are out of line with other industries serving the public interest," says Jean A. Ciffiaux, senior vice president of the Electronic Industries Association.

But even when using return on sales as a yardstick, the Navy study calculated that government business has been more profitable than commercial business since 1981. In 1985, for example, the return on sales for companies with government business was about one-third higher than the return on sales for companies in commercial business with similar manufacturing activity.

Regardless of how profits are measured, the Navy study clearly documents that most of the nation's top weapons makers depend on the Pentagon for a good chunk of their revenue. For example, in 1985, 16 of the 33 companies profiled in the study sold 44 percent or more of their wares to the U.S. government; and eight companies sold more than 80 percent of their products to the government. Moreover, in 1985, 13 of the 25 companies for which data was available relied on the U.S. government for 50 percent or more of their operating profits; eight contractors received 88 percent or more of their profits from the government.

Case in point: In 1986, Lehman wrote to Sanford McDonnell, chairman and chief executive officer of McDonnell Douglas, that essentially all of the defense contractor's profits from 1982 to 1985 had come from military contracts, while the firm's "commercial segments combined suffered losses in all four years. It appears," wrote Lehman, "that profits from defense business funded McDonnell Douglas's commercial operations."

During the Reagan administration's military buildup, in fact, many defense contractors have prospered as their share of Pentagon business increased. Procurement spending has nearly doubled from \$77 billion in fiscal year 1980 to \$146 billion in 1987.

Record sales were reported at five of the top 10 defense contractors in 1985, according to annual corporate reports. In addition, the backlog of unfilled orders for military contractors, a widely recognized measure of financial health, climbed to \$133 billion at the beginning of 1986 from the 1980 backlog of \$50 billion, according to an analysis by the defense magazine *Military Logistics Forum*.

Pentagon and defense industry officials dispute the contention that contractors are raking in excessive profits. A controversial 1985 report by the Pentagon concluded that profit rates in the military contracting industries were historically "very similar" to those of commercial manufacturers. The

study found that an exception came during the recession of the early 1980s, when arms makers were able to maintain their profitability while private sector businesses went into a slump.

But a 1986 General Accounting Office (GAO) analysis accused the Pentagon of underestimating the profitability of military work. In its study, the GAO criticized the research and said the Defense Department could have reached such a conclusion only by using "flawed," "unique" and "arbitrary" accounting methods.

In sharp contrast to the Pentagon's study, the GAO report concluded: "Defense contractors were 35 percent more profitable than commercial manufacturers during 1970-79, and 120 percent more profitable during the 1980-83 period."

Arguing about research findings among these agencies is only a recent episode in a long and stormy debate over the profits earned by defense contractors. The dispute is not based on whether the contractors deserve to earn a profit. "The defense industry needs profits to pay reasonable dividends and to invest in plant and equipment," as Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Texas), chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, puts it. Rather the concern is focused on how much money they make. Part of the con-

fusion, according to the GAO, is that the Pentagon still lacks a standard method to track defense industry profits.

In April, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, introduced legislation that would require the Office of Management and Budget to gauge defense industry profits. This information, in turn, would be made available to the Pentagon, Congress and the public.

But the defense industry is fighting the proposal. "It adds another layer of bureaucracy and creates another way to apply micromanagement to the industry," says David Schillerstrom, a spokesman for the Aerospace Industries Association, a major trade organization that represents nearly 50 defense contractors. And some military contractors, such as McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed, reportedly are forming a special lobbying team to oppose the idea.

Congress, however, is left in a "blind position" if the Pentagon doesn't collect profit data, said Richard Kaufman, general counsel of the Senate's Joint Economic Committee. "Companies already gather cost data," he said. "So it's logical that the government have access to profit information" — enabling Congress to make contractors more accountable to taxpayers. ◀

FINANCIAL DATA FOR TEN TOP MILITARY CONTRACTORS

Fiscal Year 1985¹

(Source: Department of the Navy)

Company	FY 1985 DoD Rank by Sales	% of Sales to U.S. Govt.	% of Total Profits from U.S. Govt.	ROA for U.S. Govt. Segments ²
General Dynamics	2	88	99	34
Lockheed	6	88	100	19
Martin-Marietta	11	86	69	28
Grunman	10	84	78	11
McDonnell Douglas	1	67	101	22
Rockwell	3	62	42	33
Raytheon	9	52	88	36
Boeing	5	35	50	20
United Technologies	7	28	23	16
General Electric	4	20+	NA ³	NA
Composite ROA for sales by the 33 companies in the study to the U.S. government.				22.4
Composite ROA for sales by the 33 companies in the study in commercial markets.				9.8
Composite ROA for the 33 companies selling commercial products similar to U.S. government products.				10.1

¹ Complete profit data for Hughes Aircraft, the eighth largest military contractor in FY 1985, is not publicly available. The company noted, however, that it sold more than 50 percent of its products to the U.S. government.

² Return on Assets (ROA) is computed by dividing after-tax or operating profits by identifiable assets.

³ Unable to obtain separate profit or asset figures for government business as distinct from commercial business.

May/June 1987 Common Cause Magazine 21

AIR FORCE LAUNCHES DEVELOPMENT OF A SURVIVABLE NETWORK

beyond GWEN --
new ways to spend \$\$\$,
prepare for WWII

The Air Force has begun development of a survivable communications network under its Project Forecast II Advanced Technologies program. The service's Rome Air Development Center is now looking at tying multiple technologies—including fiber optics, public data networks, and cellular radio—into a real-time network-management system. RADC has initiated basic research projects with several universities to look at problems related to routing calls and messages and the handling of priority structures in an integrated voice-and-data network. An effort is also under way to develop multimedia radio gear. □

REFLECTIONS

OUR BACKS AGAINST THE BOMB, OUR EYES ON THE STARS

BY RUSTY SCHWEICKART

An astronaut suspended between earth and moon, Archibald MacLeish wrote, sees the earth "as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats." Closer to home, there's another revelation that comes from circling this planet. As you pass from sunlight into darkness and back again every hour and a half, you become startlingly aware how artificial are the thousands of boundaries we've created to separate and define. And for the first time in your life you feel in your gut the precious unity of the earth and all the living things it supports. The dissonance between this unity you see and the separateness of human groupings that you know exists is starkly apparent.

During my space flight, I came to appreciate my profound connection to the home planet and the process of life evolving in our special corner of the universe, and I grasped that I was part of a vast and mysterious dance whose outcome will be determined largely by human values and actions.

As I floated outside Apollo 9 with sunlight streaming past me, streaking over the Pacific at 17,000 miles an hour, I realized I was there on behalf of all humanity, that it was my responsibility to communicate this experience to my fellow beings, perhaps give them a glimmering of what I saw, what impressed itself upon me.

It's more than a metaphor to say we're children of the stars. The elements that form our bodies were forged in stellar explosions eons ago, and have been combined and sculptured locally into DNA templates by the warm glow of our own docile star. We're amazing beings, who wonder about our origins and purpose, our past and future. Above all, we can think and do. We can wrestle with ethical dilemma, ambiguity, and paradox. By any measure, we're a marvelous experiment.

Russell (Rusty) Schweickart, a former astronaut and Air Force officer, orbited the earth for ten days in 1969. These remarks are based on an address to philosophers and theologians in Kyoto.

But we're now also capable of terminating this cosmic experiment. The decision to unleash the devastation of the atom appears to depend on the whims of only two men, but in fact many others are involved: other heads of state, generals, faceless terrorists, even an errant computer. Any one could trigger events that would lead to hundreds of millions of deaths, if not planetary extinction.

Is anybody actually in charge? Or have we lost the handle on our technology? It sometimes seems as if our machines have developed a life of their own.

But like it or not, we're married to our tools. And while we must wrestle with ourselves over how to control them, we have no choice but to make them. By nature, we're toolmakers, tool users. We see limitless possibilities for organizing and concentrating material and energy to extend our capabilities and to ease the burdens of life. Our tools also include weapons, which are sometimes used for protection, at other times to coerce and kill.

This marriage of human and machine has created the ultimate predicament. Our technology has progressed to where we can now manipulate energy and material to free ourselves from our earthly womb, or to destroy all life on it. Which will it be? I believe the right choice can only be made if we overcome our fears, our distrust of each other, our assumption of separateness.

Our future—indeed, our survival—is closely tied to the idea of our common destiny, and we must act, individually and together, out of an appreciation of that grand vision.

The extent of popular support for going into space always amazes me. Rich or poor, educated or illiterate, male or female, young or old, all over the world people are intrigued by and dedicated to the exploration of space. We've always been fascinated by the stars, planets, and celestial phenomena. Who among us isn't awed by the heavenly display on a starry night? Who hasn't pondered his or her place in the universe beneath clear skies in a mountain valley or on the high desert?

I don't know why this feeling is so common, but I suspect it's embedded within our nature. It seems to me that as we approach

Yuk yuk

A German anthropologist says he has developed a scientific method to differentiate genuine laughter from forced jocularity. No joke. Carsten Niemitz of the Free University of Berlin says a laugh seems sincere only when a person widens the angle of his mouth quickly and the climax of the laugh is followed by briefly closing the eyes.

Niemitz rated laughter based on the reaction of volunteer viewers to videotapes of laughing people. Their reactions also suggested that a person's blink is critical to conveying cordial laughter. The anthropologist says his findings could be used for developing "ideal" laughter for television commercials.—G.B.

STONEGRAM: Navigation Warning



Washington. A military clash with Iran in the Persian Gulf would have the happy effect—for the White House—of "shredding" the whole Iran/contrainvestigation just as its findings lap at the Oval Office door. The Ayatollah may thus yet beflag and rescue Reagan's leaky vessel, but at the risk of putting a torch to oil supplies and peace. One of history's familiar lessons is how often regimes in trouble are tempted to slip into war as a way out. This is the peril it's not polite to mention on Capitol Hill.
—I.F. STONE

FROM: EDGES 1.26.87

FROM: The NATION : 7.25.87

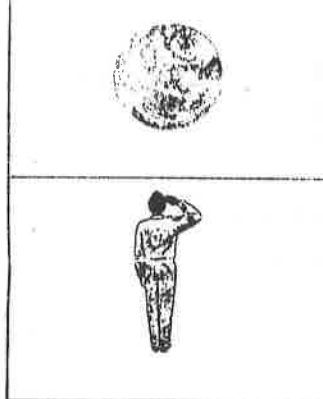
(continued from previous page)

* the day when life moves outward from the earth, realizing our ancient dreams, this yearning becomes a collective act, an extension of the will of all life to grow beyond our planetary womb. It's almost as if we're groping toward the stars.

I call this cosmic birth. Like human birth, it's a consequence of the nature of life, and extends the evolutionary path into the cosmic arena. I also believe that, like the human model, it moves us from a one-way relationship of dependency to a two-way relationship of love and responsibility.

It's in this context that I think we must act in order to ensure the continuation of the life experiment. But how? Will our cosmic birth buy bread for the Third World? Settle disputes in the Middle East?

Action, for good or ill, comes out of vision. What I've been talking about is envisioning our role in life, in the cosmos. When I understand you and me to be one, I think and act differently from when I see us as separate. Yet while we may see ourselves as members of a community, there's no escaping individual responsibility. History emerges from a succession of individual, apparently independent, actions.



I've often thought of an experience I had as being symbolic of the human dilemma. Many years ago I was a 24-year-old fighter pilot stationed in the Philippines. I was assigned to an F-100 squadron, and every fourth week or so it would be my turn to stand nuclear alert at an airbase on Taiwan. We had four planes there, parked at the end of the runway, fully fueled, a nuclear weapon slung underneath each, prepared to go at a moment's notice.

We pilots would lounge inside the alert shack, playing cards or reading or sleeping, waiting for the red phone to ring—and hoping it never would. The phone sat there, ready to spring to life at any second, and we sat there, prepared to leap into the air with our weapons. That wasn't something you thought about constantly; you spent too many hours doing nothing except getting used to your situation. But the reality was always lurking just below the surface.

About once a week each of the planes would have to be exchanged for a fresh one. The bombs were very patient, as it were, but the planes would begin leaking hydraulic fluid after a week or so if they weren't exercised. Whenever this happened, the pilot who was assigned to that

plane would be notified and he would strap on his sidearm and go out to the ramp to monitor the operation. The ground crews would roll a cradle under the nuclear weapon; it would be lowered from the plane, wheeled off to the side, and the flight crew would tow away the old leaker, move in a fresh plane, and reload the weapon. The whole operation took twenty or thirty minutes, and while the planes were being shuttled in and out, the bomb would just sit there off to the side waiting patiently. This process was always done at night—in order, I suppose, to minimize the number of unwanted eyes watching it.

The pilot had nothing particular to do during the procedure. He was there just to watch, since it would be his plane to fly if the red phone rang. The crews knew what they were doing, and so whenever it was my turn to go through this drill, I would watch until they moved the bomb off to the side, and then I would climb on top of it and lie there, looking up at the stars.



Hyder Quits Fast; Runs for President

At a press conference in Peace Park on April 18, Dr. Charles Hyder announced his candidacy for President of the United States. Hyder, who has been fasting for disarmament in the park across the street from the White House in Washington, D.C., since last September, broke his fast on April 28 so he would be able to continue his campaign. Relay fasts are continuing among his supporters, keeping attention on his demands for nuclear disarmament by the year 2000; an end to the use of U.S. offensive military force; and the elimination of war as an option in international relations by the United States together with a good-faith effort to get all other nations to join in these policies.

Petition signatures supporting a constitutional amendment incorporating these demands are still being collected by Peace Park vigilers and presented to Congress every week. For copies of the petition and more information, contact the Peace Park Anti-nuclear Vigil, P.O. Box 27217, Washington, D.C. 20038.

Dr. Hyder is currently recuperating in his home state of New Mexico before embarking on his campaign. If you wish to help with this campaign by sponsoring a stop in your community, please write to Dr. Charles Hyder, 508 Niagara, NE, Albuquerque, NM 87113.

From: NUCLEAR RESISTER
P.O. Box 43383
TUCSON, ARIZONA
85733
(subscriptions: \$5.00 for 10 issues)

Our future—our survival—depends on our shared vision

(cont'd)

As I did, I would imagine, step by step, the role I might be called on to play. I did this with as much realism as I could because I knew that if the phone rang I wouldn't have time to think about it. I would imagine hearing the phone ring, listening to the voice on the other end reading the code words, verifying them with those in the envelope I carried, throwing on my G suit and flight jacket, and running out the door to my plane. If I visualized this well, my heart would begin to race, as it would no doubt have done in reality. I would then imagine myself starting the engine, taking off, and turning onto the course that would take me toward my target on the mainland. Each of the checkpoints on the way were fixed in my mind and I would visualize passing over each of the towns and villages I had never seen, adjusting my speed and course slightly, until I was approaching my destination. Throttling up to maximum thrust I would imagine pulling up over the target until I was at that exact point where I would release the bomb.

Would I do it? That was the question I wanted to face; that was the purpose of the terrifying ritual I would go through, trying to face the reality of why I was there, and what my responsibility might be. Up until that moment in the mission, everything was more or less automatic. I was a good pilot and I had no doubt I would end up over the target with my finger on the button, facing that ultimate decision. I would hang there in my mind's eye, stopping time, wrestling with the question "On what basis do I decide whether or not to release this nuclear weapon, knowing that hundreds of thousands of people would die as a result?" (The military targets were often close to population centers.)

My back pressed against the bomb, I would look at the stars and search my soul (and the heavens as well) for the moral basis on which I might decide. I was aware of the individual moral burden of an action that would kill people I would never see. And I was also aware of the complex system of which I was a part, a system whose purpose of preventing war through deterrence would be corrupted (and the world therefore endangered) should the possibility of my electing not to release the weapon be known. I knew I'd have very little knowledge, if any, of what was going on in the rest of the world. Was half of it already gone? What about my family? My hometown? I wouldn't know their fate.

Even so, did these questions have any relevance to the decision I had to make? How can societies function if, in the most critical situations, individuals claim for themselves the right to decide that which has already been decided by society as a whole? I knew personally the people two levels up the line leading to the red phone. They were good, responsible people. And I was sure this was true all the way up to the President. My responsibility as an officer was to execute orders passed down by those above me, who, I felt, were as morally sensitive as I was.

Each time I'd go through the ritual I would force myself to decide anew what my decision would be. Each time I concluded I would drop the bomb.

Years later I found myself in positions of power within government, where my decisions dramatically affected the lives of many people. These weren't decisions of war and peace, but they often required a rapid response and, moreover, were often

irrevocable. As I watched myself at this upper end of the decision-making process, I realized with horror the poor quality and incompleteness of the information on which I had to base such decisions. I even sensed an inverse correlation between the decisions that were most ethically challenging and/or time-critical and the quality of the information upon which I had to act. I began to understand how much human frailty and subjectivity were woven into the most critical decision making.

And after much agony I came to realize, knowing what I know now, that if I had to decide again, lying there under the stars, my back pressed against the bomb, I wouldn't drop it. My specific decision isn't the point—it's rather that as a young man I was unwilling to trust my own sense of rightness when facing a momentous moral dilemma. I now understand that we can't pass along such decisions to higher authority, for there is no higher authority than that which exists in each of us, individually, as we face our complicated and ambiguous world. In my view, it's these personal moral choices, when repeated and aggregated in the behavior of families, of communities, of nations, that are the very essence of our survival.

So here we are, approaching the twenty-first century, our backs pressed against the bomb and our eyes on the stars. Our dilemma becomes increasingly daunting. Will our vision of the human future be large and clear enough to lift us beyond the uncertainties and fears of our cosmic birth? Will we have the wisdom and courage to accept the individual moral authority within each of us? Or will we defer to experts and impersonal systems of authority in the false belief that in them reside greater wisdom and morality? In how we answer these questions may lie the outcome of the great experiment of life. □

COPRED Peace Chronicle

April/June 1987

Did You Know...?

In both a Gallup and Harris poll, U.S. citizens indicated that the institution they most trusted was the military, beating out the Supreme Court, religious, educational, and medical institutions, and approximately a dozen other institutions. (The Nonviolent Activist, Apr/May 1987)

Effective 1 Jan 1987, Finland banned the manufacture, importation, and sale of war toys. (Windows East and West, Mar-Apr 1987)



STRATEGIC HOMEPORTING

by Bonita Porter, special to the Copy Exchange

Galveston, TX

Strategic Homeporting is the Navy's name for the many small ports planned to house the newly expanded 600 ship fleet. It is claimed that these ports are needed to disperse the Navy in order to prevent another Pearl Harbor type attack on our forces. This however, is a specious argument, only valid if we were planning to fight another WWII type war with bombers as the first line of attack. Unfortunately this is not the kind of war we are planning to fight these days.

The United States is planning defensive wars of two main types. 1) against the Soviets and 2) against terrorists.

If war broke out between us and the Soviets, it would not matter how many bases we had because their Multiple Independently-targeted Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) missiles would knock them all out in 20-30 minutes from the start of that war. MIRV's are single missiles with many warheads, each with a separate target. These can hit twenty targets as easily as one. Since it would take a Soviet programmer only about an hour to add these new bases to the list of targets, their price hardly seems worth it.

As for terrorists, they're totally for the Homeport idea because there will be more defense perimeters. The longer the perimeter, the greater the number of places where those defenses can be breached. By putting these new bases near large cities, it makes escape for the terrorist easier too.

Political Reasons

The only true reason for building these new ports is political. A list of locations for the homeports reads like a Who's Who of the most powerful people in the House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees: It is their plan to spread the fleet around as far as possible so that each ship has its own political constituency that is led to believe that its economic well-being is contingent on keeping that ship and that small base in their community.

It's also an attempt to spread around the cost of maintaining the bases. The U.S. Government not only is not giving economic impact funds to these host communities as they did during WWII, they have pitted one city against another in bidding for the "privilege" of playing host to them. A couple of those bids were as high as \$50 million. One of those high bids was from Mississippi, the poorest state in the union. This money is to be used to extend roads, water, sewage and garbage disposal services to the bases. Other city services such as police and fire protection, schooling for naval dependents, medical care, welfare and AFDC are in addition to any money previously bid.

There are other issues too, such as bringing nuclear weapons and nuclear powered ships into highly populated areas and the Navy's not so safe safety record for handling radioactive materials.

Environmental issues such as dredging up presently buried toxic wastes like PCB's and then dumping them in sensitive areas, for example Puget sound.

Ronald Dellums (D-Cal) and the House Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities has recommended cuts in the funding for Homeporting to delay any dredging until EPA can study further the Environmental Impact Statements and make recommendations. The Joint Appropriations Committee however, disagreed and fully funded the project, giving the go-ahead to possibly dangerous dredging projects that could damage aquifers near major cities such as San Francisco, New York City and Houston, TX.

Help Us

We do not need these new bases. There is room at present bases for the porting of these ships, especially considering that all those ships are supposed to be at sea six months of the year.

We, on the coasts need the help of those in the landlocked states to keep the homeports from being built. It's still not too late. The EPA, House and Senate all need to hear your concern. Only partial funding has been approved for the project. But a sap on spending has also been passed and there is no way the homeports could be built for so little. Barry Goldwater says that the approved amount could only pay for the Everett, WA, and New York ports and there are seven more to construct. Let your Representatives hear of your concern on this issue.

Stones Unturned

After Lieut. Col. Oliver North turned into a T-shirt icon and former national security adviser Rear Adm. John Poindexter took the rap for relocating the residuals, the Congressional select committees began winding down their investigation of the Iran/*contra* scandal. That only reinforced the misconception that the scandal is solely about whether President Reagan knew of the diversion. It is a pity the committees did not interpret their mandate more broadly and probe the implications of covert action for a free society. As Scott Armstrong, director of the National Security Archive, told the new journalistic watchdog *Extra!*, "They could have shown definitively that the executive branch—using private money raised from kings, sultans and potentates, as well as American citizens—implemented an elaborate foreign policy program that Congress would not approve." And the committees deliberately did not portray the breadth of North & Company's activities. There is plenty more to tell and explain. Here are a few examples, gathered by David Corn, *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

§ The committees have evidence indicating that North solicited and received assistance from Gen. Manuel Noriega, head of the Panamanian military, in conducting destabilizing operations within Nicaragua, according to a committee source. Though Noriega's offer to sponsor political assassinations was turned down, the Panamanian ruler did aid sabotage efforts within Nicaragua, the source said. This matter has not been addressed during the hearings. "It's too sensitive," said the committee source, adding that the issue will be left for the secret consideration of the House and Senate select committees on intelligence.

§ During nearly thirty-four hours of public questioning, North was never asked about the hand-drawn chart found in his safe, which depicted the private groups he used to provide various kinds of support for the *contras*. While much of the chart has been explained, one segment noting links between an "INTL YOUTH COMM" and "INST FOR DEMOC" and the *contras* remains a mystery. An aide to a member of the Iran/*contra* committees said this part of the chart refers to a second network of conservative foundations and tax-exempt groups North called on—a network distinct from the one organized by *contra* fund-raiser Carl (Spitz) Channell and publicist Richard Miller, both now under indictment for defrauding the government.

Two Washington-based journalists, Corky Johnson and William Montague, have suggested that North used the International Youth Year Commission and a series of Caribbean think tanks known collectively as the Institutes for Democracy, and that Roy Godson, director of the Washington office of the National Strategy Information Center and

a National Security Council consultant, was a key player in this *contra* aid scheme. (A cornerstone of the pro-intelligence community lobby, N.S.I.C. was founded by the late Director of Central Intelligence William Casey in 1962.) According to documents released by the Iran/*contra* committees, Godson arranged for a \$100,000 private contribution to the Heritage Foundation, which then passed the money to a nonprofit organization controlled by Miller. Part of these funds were then transferred to retired Maj. Gen. Richard Secord's Lake Resources account.

Under questioning by Representative Dante Fascell, North testified he met with Godson; Clyde H. (Terry) Slease 3d, an attorney connected to conservative philanthropist Richard Scaife; and former national security adviser Robert McFarlane to discuss "nonmilitary" operations in support of the *contras*. But he would not elaborate, citing an agreement he had with the committees not to discuss the subject in public. "'Nonmilitary activities' is a B.S. cover for this second network," the aide maintained. He said that committee investigators believe it included a number of prominent conservative groups, but the committees have not pursued this trail. Another staffer confirmed the committees "are not interested" in the private network and said he had a "hunch" that Democratic members feared they would look too partisan if they went after established conservative organizations. "There had to be some lines drawn," he said.

§ Throughout the hearings, there have been several vague mentions of joint U.S.-Israeli covert initiatives, including some for the *contras'* benefit. The committees have released documents regarding two such initiatives. One, a September 15, 1986, memorandum from North to Poindexter, heavily excised, refers to a U.S.-Israeli "joint initiative" without detailing it. The Tower commission report, however, published a more complete version of the memorandum, revealing that Yitzhak Rabin, then Defense Minister, "offered a significant quantity of captured Soviet bloc arms" for use by the *contras*. In a May 1986 note North told Poindexter that Israel was "willing to put 20-50 Spanish speaking military trainers/advisers into" Central America, presumably to help the *contras*. When asked recently why the committees have not probed the Israeli role more extensively, Senator William Cohen replied, "What more is there to say?"

The performances of North and Poindexter emboldened pro-Administration committee members to call for presidential pardons of both men and a premature conclusion of the hearings. If the committees' duty is only to determine what Reagan knew about the diversion, perhaps they are right to shut down the hearings. If their task is to draw a complete and clear picture of exactly what North and his associates were up to, much more remains to be told. □

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

In the course of his demented re-enactment of *Triumph of the Will*, Lieut. Col. Oliver North did perform one signal service for democracy. He told the cringing Congressmen to their faces that he recognizes no higher loyalty than the caste-bound fraternity of the paramilitary right. Men like North can be found at gun clubs, beer-belly reunions and charismatic tent meetings from sea to polluted sea. He is of the type that formed the *Freikorps* and took part in the march on Rome. He has the required kinship with the Phalange, the Somocistas and their modern-day mercenary equivalents. The only interesting question about such a classic, banal type is this: How did he become the special executioner for a nominally democratic government?

I have suggested here that the paramilitary wing of the Reagan team was in business before the 1980 election. The operation on which this team cut its teeth was known as the "October surprise," a coordinated effort to deny President Carter the political kudos that would have accrued from a negotiated or a military deliverance of the hostages in Iran. For this purpose, and according to their own testimony, the paramilitary Reaganites divided into two wings. One was headed by William Casey and the other by Richard Allen. Both campaign managers were to step into command of "national security" when Reagan was elected.

In testimony before a lenient and torpid Congress, North revealed that it was Casey who had summoned Maj. Gen. Richard Secord from the disgrace into which he had fallen after a procurement scandal at the Pentagon. And in a moist and loving profile of North in *The Washingtonian* for July 1987, two of the colonel's friends and fellow "terrorism experts" revealed that it was Allen who had talent-spotted him onto the National Security Council. It's of some interest, then, that both Secord and North were involved in the "Desert One" fiasco of April 1980. Secord, who had been in Iran from 1975 to 1978 as a dogged servant of the special relationship with the Shah, helped plan the Air Force's role in the absurdly named Eagle Claw operation that ended with smashed helicopters on the sand. North, for reasons nobody has been able to ascertain, was monitoring the disaster from the Turkish-Iranian border.

Moreover, and according to retired Lieut. Gen. Samuel Wilson, at least three leaders of the Desert One mission went on to wage Reagan's secret war in Nicaragua. Wilson was vice chair of the Pentagon review panel that conducted the literal and metaphorical post-mortem on Eagle Claw. The panel found evidence of negligence that surprised even those who are hardened to military incompetence. By Wilson's account, the three Desert One operators who were later mobilized into illegal warfare in Nicaragua were Secord, Lieut. Col. Richard Gadd and Col. Robert Dutton. Dutton is a business associate of Secord. Gadd's American National Management Corporation employs former Special Forces Master Sgt. John Cupp, who recruited three other, unnamed, Desert One veterans for the operation that gave us Eugene Hasenfus.

All this, of course, may mean nothing. The American *Freikorps* is quite small, and the same names do keep turning up. But consider the coincidences against the background of two other bits of evidence. First, it has been established by numerous journalistic and diplomatic authorities present in Teheran in April 1980 that the Khomeini leadership knew a rescue operation was impending. The mullahs attributed the failure of Carter's expedition to God, but they don't say it was God who tipped them off. Second, we have the hysterical lying of Edwin Meese 3d on November 25 last. At his now-famous press conference he said that earlier Israeli shipments of weapons to Iran had been made without prior U.S. authorization. When he said that, he knew it to be part of a false cover story hastily crafted by William Casey. From the very beginning of this affair, there has been a desperate effort to avoid the question, Why did arms go to Iran so early, when there were no hostages in Teheran or Beirut and no prospective "moderates" either? It is on an answer to that question that the result of any inquiry must depend. And it seems that the shipments began the month after the inauguration of Ronald Reagan.

The unwillingness on the part of the press and Congress to ask that question has been general but not universal. A recently released N.S.C. memorandum from North to Poin-dexter, dated June 3, 1985, speaks of the irritation caused to the secret government by Alfonso Chardy of *The Miami Herald*. North wrote: "For several weeks now there have been rumors of stories being prepared which allege an NSC connection to private funding and other support to the Nicaraguan resistance. The rumors originally surfaced with a reporter Alfonso Chardi [sic]. . . . At my request [deleted] went to Chardi . . . and told Chardi that if he (Chardi) printed any derogatory comments about the FDN or its funding sources that Chardi would never again be allowed to visit FDN bases or travel with their units."

This past July 5 in *The Miami Herald*, Chardy published three extraordinary disclosures about the career of Oliver North. The first was a "contingency plan," drawn up by North between 1982 and 1984, to suspend the Constitution and impose martial law. Among the "contingencies" that would license such a coup were mass opposition to a U.S. military operation overseas. The project drew alarmed protest even from a man as reactionary as Attorney General William French Smith, who minuted his opposition to such an "emergency czar" on August 2, 1984. Since the minute was addressed to Robert McFarlane, it fell on deaf ears.

The same article notes that while at the N.S.C., North was assigned for a time to carry the "football," which contains the codes for fighting a nuclear war and which follows the President, as North did, everywhere. This experience cannot have been good for North's sense of proportion.

Finally, according to Chardy's sources, "the secret governing arrangement traces its roots to the last weeks of Reagan's 1980 campaign. Officials say the genesis may have been an October 1980 decision by Casey . . . to create an October Surprise Group." I think so too.

A reading from BREAD FOR THE WORLD

Two Women

1. I AM A WOMAN. I am a woman.
2. I AM A WOMAN BORN OF A WOMAN WHOSE MAN OWNED A FACTORY. I am a woman born of a woman, whose man labored in a factory.
3. I AM A WOMAN WHOSE MAN WORE SILK SUITS, A MAN WHO CONSTANTLY WATCHED HIS WEIGHT. I am a woman whose man wore tattered clothing, whose heart was constantly strangled by hunger.
4. I AM A WOMAN WHO WATCHED TWO BABIES GROW INTO BEAUTIFUL CHILDREN. I am a woman who watched two babies die because there was no milk.
5. I AM A WOMAN WHO WATCHED TWO TWINS GROW INTO POPULAR COLLEGE STUDENTS WITH SUMMERS ABROAD. I am a woman who watched three children grow, but with bellies stretched from no food.
6. BUT THEN THERE WAS A MAN. But then there was a man.
7. AND HE TALKED ABOUT THE PEASANTS GETTING RICHER BY MY FAMILY GETTING POORER. And he told me of days that would be better, and he made the days better.
8. HE HAD TO EAT RICE! We had rice.
9. WE HAD TO EAT BEANS! We had beans.
10. MY CHILDREN WERE NO LONGER GIVEN SUMMER VISAS TO EUROPE. My children no longer cried themselves to sleep.
11. AND I FELT LIKE A PEASANT. And I felt like a woman.
12. A PEASANT WITH A DULL, HARD, UNEXCITING LIFE. Like a woman with a life that sometimes allowed a song.
13. AND I SAW A MAN. And I saw a man.
14. AND TOGETHER WE BEGAN TO PLOT-- HOPING FOR THE RETURN OF FREEDOM.
15. SOMEDAY, THE RETURN TO FREEDOM. Someday freedom.
16. AND THEN. But then,
17. ONE DAY. One day.
18. THERE WERE PLANES OVERHEAD AND GUNS FIRING CLOSE BY. There were planes overhead and guns firing in the distance.
19. I GATHERED MY CHILDREN AND WENT HOME. I gathered my children and ran.
20. AND THE GUNS MOVED FARTHER AND FARTHER AWAY. But the guns moved closer & closer.
21. AND THEN, THEY ANNOUNCED THAT FREEDOM HAD BEEN RESTORED! And then, they came, young boys really. . . .
22. THEY CAME INTO MY HOME, ALONG WITH MY MAN. They came and found my man.
23. THOSE MEN WHOSE MONEY WAS ALMOST GONE. . . They found all of the men whose lives were almost their own.
24. AND WE ALL HAD DRINKS TO CELEBRATE. And they shot them all.
25. THE MOST WONDERFUL MARTINIS. They shot my man.
26. AND THEY ASKED US TO DANCE. And they came for us.
27. ME. For me, the woman.
28. AND MY SISTERS. For my sisters.
29. AND THEY TOOK US. Then they took us.
30. THEY TOOK US TO DINNER AT A SMALL PRIVATE CLUB. They stripped from us the dignity we had gained.
31. AND THEY TREATED US TO BEEF. And they raped us.
32. WE NEARLY BURST WE WERE SO FULL. Lungs. . . sisters dying . . .
33. IT WAS MAGNIFICENT TO BE FREE AGAIN! It was hardly a relief to have survived.
34. AND THEN WE GATHERED THE CHILDREN TOGETHER AND GAVE THEM A PARTY. And then, they took our children and hurt them cruelly.
(PAUSE)
35. THE BEANS HAVE DISAPPEARED NOW. The beans have disappeared.
36. THE RICE: I'VE REPLACED IT WITH CHICKEN OR STEAK. The rice, I cannot find it.
37. AND THE PARTIES CONTINUE, NIGHT AFTER NIGHT TO MAKE UP FOR ALL THE WASTED TIME. And my silent tears are joined once more by the midnight cries of my children.
38. AND I FEEL LIKE A WOMAN AGAIN. They say, I am a woman.

The Copy Exchange circulation: 220
August 1987

GWEN Vigil
Sat. Aug. 15, noon
Mechanicsville

this month:

Editor -- John Tinker

Layout -- Patricia Fisher

Printing -- Patricia, John, Frank's machine

Contributions of material -- Bev Hannon, Bobby Lee Shook, John Tinker.

Special thanks to people who contributed for postage, paper & ink. We need
\$\$\$.

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Erratum: The article "Reflections" was from Discover, July, 1987

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Aug 1987

