We also protest the University's decision to ban students from campus, to charge students for the expenses of their own arrests and to call in off-campus police to arrest them.

Although Chancellor Duffey subsequently rescinded the student suspensions, he placed these students on one year's disciplinary suspension, continued the banning policy for all non-UMass students and community activists and prevented two activists, Frank Bowry and Joe Rubin, from graduating.

"THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING"

As of this writing, a committed group including students from UMass, Hampshire College and a handful of community backers remains undeterred in its quest to see military-funded research converted to civilian-based research.

The spring offensive engulfed the campus with a turbulence unseen since the anti-Vietnam war era. There is considerable potential for continued mobilization in September when the new academic year begins. With student actions erupting at campuses from Stanford to Rutgers and throughout the New York system this spring, it appears the dark night of campus quietude may finally be lifting. As Henry David Thoreau asserted over one hundred years ago, "All recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable." For many UMass students and local citizens, university involvement in the "tyranny and inefficiency" of military research is cause for revolt today as well.
If the world were a global village of 100 people, 70 of them would be unable to read and only one would have a college education. Over 50 would be suffering from malnutrition, and over 80 would live in what we call substandard housing. If the world were a global village of 100 residents, 6 of them would be Americans. These six would have half the village's entire income, and the other 94 would exist on the other half. How would the wealthy 6 live "in peace" with their neighbors? Surely they would be driven to arm themselves against the other 94...perhaps even to spend, as we do more per person on military defense than the total per person income of the others.

NEW FROM SOUTH END PRESS

UNIVERSITIES IN THE BUSINESS OF REPRESSION
The Academic-Industrial-Military Complex and Central America
by Jonathan Feldman

For the first time ever, crucial information about U.S. government, university, and corporate responsibility for the militarization and repression in most Central American countries is available. Analyzing the intricate links between U.S. universities and the corporations and military agencies which contribute to the war waged by Washington, D.C. and its client states against the Central American people, Feldman shows the connections between the academy and intervention abroad. In depth research and thoughtful analysis has led Feldman to analyze many of the following questions:

- What corporations are responsible for pesticide poisoning in Central America? How are such corporations linked to creating environmental problems in the U.S.?
- What companies have supplied weapons to the Central American military states of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? How can solidarity activists pressure such companies to join forces with trade union workers to provide secure and stable jobs in the civilian conversion of such firms?
- How can anti-intervention activists confront the problem of economic conscription, where poor whites and people of color are forced into military service for economic reasons?
- How can peace groups on campus work with those faculty concerned about increasing defense research on campus, to provide curriculum and civilian research options for their university?
- How can pressure be applied on Israel to initiate an arms embargo on weapons shipments to the Central American dictatorships?

This book is must reading for activists in the solidarity, environmental, anti-apartheid, church, corporate responsibility, and peace and justice movements throughout the United States. It is a unique and powerful tool for students and faculty working to challenge increasing corporate-military influence on campus. The appendix, which offers a wealth of detailed information on the "academic-military-industrial complex" (including where universities invest their money, and the relationship between various corporate board members and university trustees), makes this book an invaluable resource.

Jonathan Feldman has worked as a community organizer in Omaha, Nebraska; a clerical worker for the rank-and-file labor movement in Detroit; and a housing advocate in Boston's South End. He was trained as a regional planner at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and was a Corinna Lanoux Fellow at Economic Convenion at Columbia University. He is currently Program Director at the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament.

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Both racist and sexist violence prevail in our own country and throughout the world because they seem like safe things to perpetuate. They are traditional forms of "safe" violence.

The traditional victims of racism and sexism do not retaliate, do not avenge their violation, do not rise up and destroy those who despise and rape them.

Equally important, the traditional victims of racism and sexism do not have anywhere to turn for demonstrations of outrage against their violation.

Those of us chosen as the victim-targets for racist and sexist violence must assume that we are the only ones who love and respect ourselves. We are the only ones who will grieve for our mortification and murder, the only ones who will rage at their exploitation and debasement, the only ones who will mobilize and devise the means to our liberation from sexist and racist violence.

In general, the society that surrounds us will not give a damn how or if we live or die. Indeed, the society that surrounds us engenders and at least tacitly supports the violence that we must constantly seek in order to survive.

U.S. Foreign Policy is based upon the principles of safe violence. Ongoing traditional victims of U.S. foreign policy are the countries of the first world — the majority peoples of the world — who remain weak compared to the military and economic power of the USA.

The USA will not dare to directly intervene in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. Although the Russians are conjured up as the number one enemy of American security, the fact is that this other white male super power can be sure that America will not ever attempt a Grenada episode via a Miss Moscow. America will not openly declare its determination to overthrow the Kremlin. Where the Soviet Union is concerned, America will not ever send in the Marines.

And why? Because such American violence, such heinous aggression against the sovereign rights of the Soviet people would be a little bit risky, not a safe thing to do. As a matter of fact, the U.S. invasion of the USSR is any real sense might well mean the retaliatory smashing of the USA to smithereens.

Therefore, racist violence, sexist violence, and U.S. foreign policy intersect. They are indivisible faces of the same phenomenon: a bulky violence that assumes you can hit on some country or somebody, anyway you feel like it, with impunity.

And in the world community at large, the traditional victims of U.S. foreign policy must assume that they will be the only ones to grieve their mortification and murder, the only ones to rage at their exploitation, the only ones who will mobilize and devise the means to their liberation from the inherent racist and sexist violence of North American foreign policy.

If I am wrong, then show me the adequate boycotts of the South African economy. Show me the mass American movement to arm the African National Congress. Show me the international rescue and solidarity movement on behalf of the Palestinian people. Show me the invisible popular outcry in the face of continuing United States aggression against the sovereign state of Nicaragua.

I have said that bully violence, that racist and sexist violence and U.S. foreign policy depend, in part, upon the safety that derives from inequalities of power.

This is true. And I want to suggest some means of eliminating those inequalities.

June Jordan — Violence continued from p. 4

And taking this further, what if Tawana Brawley was a white teenager? What would be whose response if she’d been raped by her white father or her white boyfriend?

What would be whose response if she’d been raped by a Black man?

I’m saying that we who share the Jeopardy must join together to make ourselves powerful and free.

I’m saying that the women of America and all the women of the world — we have the most to gain from our unified self-mobilization for our safety from racist and sexist and U.S. foreign policy violence.

Because on every level: from the bedrooms to the streets to the borders of Nicaragua... we are the ones who remain the most despised/the most endangered/the most deliberately impoverished.

But I do not say any this from a point of despair because I am here on the happy occasion of the First National Gathering of MADRE, an exemplary, multiracial, international, and hugely successful activist women’s agency for positive and radical self-defense and self-empowerment.

The existence and verifiable consequences of MADRE here and in Nicaragua prove our Tito-racial/multi-class capability as women in the world to liberate ourselves from the concepts and the realities of impotence that have been — for so long, and everywhere — imposed upon us by the bullies who stumble all over the globe in search of a “safe hit.”

By coming together in our female jeopardy, we are making it more and more dangerous for anyone anywhere to batter our bodies, our minds, or our rightful prospects for self-determined happiness and dignity.
Lawyer and educator Sherry Deane is the church liaison for the Children’s Defense Fund, where she assists religious organizations in developing and implementing educational and recreational programs for children and teenagers. She has been project director of the Church/Civic Mobilization Project of the Hartford Action Plan on Infant Health, and has served as chairwoman of Connecticut Clergy and Laity Concerned. She recently received the YWCA’s Women in Leadership Award for Humanitarian and Community Service.

Today is Saturday, May 21, 1988. If this Saturday is a typical day, then:

- 2,753 teenagers will get pregnant
- 1,099 teenagers will have abortions
- 367 teenagers miscarry
- 2,753 teenagers give birth
- 666 babies are born to women who have had inadequate prenatal care
- 695 babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs. 5 oz.)
- 44 babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 5 oz.)
- 72 babies die before one month of life
- 110 babies die before their first birthday
- 27 children die because of poverty
- 9 children die from guns; homicide is the fifteenth leading cause of infant deaths
- 5 teens commit suicide
- 849 teens become sexually active
- 699 teenagers get syphilis or gonorrhea
- 1,808 teenagers drop out of high school
- 988 children are abused
- 3,286 children run away from home
- 1,736 children are in adult jails
- 2,989 children see their parents divorced
- 35,057 people lose their jobs
- 18,298 children are in adult jails
- 1.736 children are in adult jails
- 1.868 teenagers drop out of high school
- 849 children are abused
- 35 babies die before one month of life
- 27 children die because of poverty
- 9 children die from guns; homicide is the fifteenth leading cause of infant deaths
- 5 teens commit suicide
- 849 teens become sexually active
- 699 teenagers get syphilis or gonorrhea
- 1,808 teenagers drop out of high school
- 988 children are abused
- 3,286 children run away from home
- 1,736 children are in adult jails
- 2,989 children see their parents divorced
- 35,057 people lose their jobs
- 18,298 children are in adult jails

In rich America, poverty kills 27 children a day. In the world, poverty kills 30,000 children a day. Stated another way, poverty kills an American child every 23 minutes; in the world, poverty kills one child every two seconds.

At the Children’s Defense Fund, we are deeply concerned about child and family poverty. We have spent 20 years researching and collecting data, working in the field of policy development and advocacy on behalf of America’s children and in particular, its poor children. And we are convinced that critical to the resolution of child and family poverty in America is a change in the balance of power changes in the policies and institutions of our society, on both domestic and international levels.

Sherry Deane — Children of the U.S. continued from p. 18.

The national investment priorities of this decade, which have placed missiles and bombs ahead of mothers and babies, have also bequeathed us the highest child poverty rate in 15 years, rising infant and maternal mortality rates among people of color, increasing low birthweight rates and eroding access to prenatal care, six million more poor people, and 35 million uninsured Americans whose only shield against sickness is prayer.

Seven million Americans are without the work that gives meaning to life. Unemployment coupled with an eroding family wage base and disappearing house supply for low- and moderate-income families leaves hundreds of thousands of defenseless children hungry and homeless.

Young families struggling to get off the ground face a future mortgaged to foreign investors. A generation of

continued on p. 40
American children are not safe from preventable childhood diseases. At a time when UNICEF is mounting a worldwide immunization campaign, American leadership on immunizing our own children has faltered. The incidence of infectious childhood disease among American children is rising in the opposite direction for five years.

More than 35 million Americans - a third of whom are children - lack any type of health insurance, public or private. Among industrialized nations only the United States and South Africa fail to provide all children and families basic health protection against illness and disease. In 1986, Medicaid, the largest public health program for poor children, served 200,000 fewer children than in 1978 when there were nearly one third fewer poor children.

American children are not safe from hunger and malnutrition. Although child hunger was virtually eliminated in the 1970s with the expansion of federal food programs, the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America reports that hunger affects an estimated 20 million Americans each month. Nearly half a million children are malnourished, yet the number of food stamp recipients, one-half of whom are children, dropped from sixty-eight to sixty for every 100 poor people between 1980 and 1986.

American children are not safe from increasing homelessness. Hundreds of thousands of children literally have no place of their own to lay their heads as family homelessness escalates, as family housing supply shrinks, as wages drop and rents soar. Eight-month old Shana, born in New York City of poverty, that is, of low birthweight, poor nutrition, homelessness, and viral infection. During his short life he had never slept in an apartment or house. He had been in shelters with strangers, in hospitals, in "welfare hotels," in the welfare office, and in the subways which he and his mother rode late at night when there was no place else to go. Shana was only one small victim of our nation's failure to respond to the pervasive child poverty that kills an American child every fifty-three minutes in our nation of boastful affluence. We lose more children...continued on p. 42.

Encourage every unregistered adult you meet to register and vote. Children don't vote or lobby, but you can.

To assist you in holding all candidates and public officials accountable for doing their part in fostering health, education, and fair employment policies, CDF has prepared for your use in 1988, a candidates questionnaire: What every American should be asking political leaders in 1988, a briefing book on the status of American children in 1988, with state-by-state data on a number of areas affecting children; and a voting record so that you can see how well your congressional leaders are supporting families and children.

Politics respond when they are watched and when they hear from people back home. One or two hundred letters from every community about child care, or prenatal care, will scare them to death. That's because they consider every letter as representative of 25 people. That's how much power you have in your hands.

At every level of government there are spending choices to be made. We all support a secure nation with adequate defenses and carefully defined national security goals. And we all support economic incentives to maintain a strong economy. Yet, we must demand that military expenditures and corporate tax breaks meet the same test of need and effectiveness as social expenditures and that our priorities reflect a better balance between internal and external security needs and between the haves and have-nots in our society.

The decade of the eighties has left many of us tired and disillusioned — but not defeated. We must continue to work to reverse governmental spending priorities. We must end federal policies that favor weapons of death...
Women, wells ... wetlands, or weapons: the conversion to peaceful uses of military research

...from the viewpoint of basic human needs

Ben Wisner

Ben Wisner is the Henry R. Luce Professor of Food, Resources and International Policy, Hampshire College

What are the needs?

As the academic year 1988-1989 comes to an end, the world is still a long way from the goal set for the International Water and Sanitation Decade (1981-1991): safe water within 500 meters of every household on the planet. There have, however, been some impressive advances - in Malawi and Kenya, in Peru, India and even in the rural South of the U.S.A. In part these strides are due to research by engineers on cheap, durable hand pumps funded by the World Bank and UN Development Program. Meanwhile, still more than a quarter of food grains harvested are wasted due to storage pests, fungus and mildew. Millions cultivate their lands by hand or inefficiently with diseased and malnourished animals that pull plows of ancient design with yokes that further stress them. Women still struggle to make ends meet in Africa, where they are responsible for food, fuel, water, child care and the health of the family. Their lungs are filled with acrid smoke, and a 40 pound head load of woodfuel only lasts four days since simple, cheap wood stove designs have not been developed into affordable cooking stoves. The crops of most importance to these women - food crops pejoratively known as "women's crops" - have so far been of little interest to researchers. These crops are cassava, yams, cowpeas, indigenous varieties of rice, sorghum, millet and teff.

At the end of the academic year, students have been occupying military research facilities at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Despite massive and often brutal response by the police and severe academic sanctions by the university authorities, students have persisted. They are putting their bodies and academic careers at risk to tell us that universities should be centers where we put knowledge to work for life, not death. They give voice to the silence not only of the children in our community who might be at risk from anthrax and other biological weapons currently under study in the university's labs. The antimilitary protesters also give voice to the millions of hungry, homeless, isolated, sick and disabled on this planet.

One world

Indeed, the planet itself is sick. Wetlands, coral reefs, tropical and temperate forests are all being destroyed. Forty percent of U.S. rangelands are classified as "poor" by the Bureau of Land Management. We have our own "desertification" crisis to contend with, before we even begin to consider the destruction of rangelands in Africa, South Asia and the Middle East.

The title I use for this note, "wells, women ... and wetlands," identifies the problems on which I believe research is urgently needed. The task is enormous. The challenge is to balance resources and population in the coming century. Without such an effort, the world cannot be "secure." No country is isolated. Therefore no country will enjoy "national security" if these human and ecological needs are not met.

There are two arguments for conversion of weapons research to peaceful research. First, there is a straightforward moral imperative to help one's neighbor. Second, there is a prudential argument which enlarges the definition of "national security." According to the second argument, there is a necessity to shift human and financial resources in harmony with the broader security priority of meeting human needs within planetary limits. Development of weapons represents, by comparison, a much narrower kind of security (which might itself be misconstrued because it merely adds to the arms race and to international tensions).
Is it possible to convert?

What could one do with the approximately $13 million in research money presently dedicated to war at UMass? Let us consider examples grouped by discipline.

Biological sciences

One argument advanced by UMass researchers before the Amherst Board of Health in favor of continued research on anthrax was that an improved vaccine is needed in the third world. Anyone familiar with health in poor countries knows that this is not a priority. The challenges are to create a vaccine against malaria, a heat stable measles vaccine, to improve oral rehydration salts, and the like. Both animal and human trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) is a much higher priority for vaccine development as is river blindness and bilharzia, and of course AIDS.

Many of the same bioscience research facilities could also be put to work on seed improvement. Drought and pest resistance as well as protein enrichment are required in many of the existing "green revolution" crops. At the same time there are many important food crops including sweet potatoes, cassava, yams, barley, teff, millets, sago, plantains and others that have never received attention from crop breeders. Difficult and challenging bioscience frontiers lie in both these public health and agricultural directions.

Engineering

What greater technical challenges could there be than emission control technologies? Acid rain has killed a third of the conifers in Southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria. New England and Eastern Canada have also suffered greatly. Bio-engineering is an unexplored interface where many solutions may lie. Until it is developed, the approach to acidified lakes is likely to remain that represented in an early 1989 "Pogo" cartoon strip: Owl and Possum tipping bicarb of soda into the swamp from the back of a rowing boat.

And whatever became of renewable energy technology? Are there not cost and efficiently breakthroughs to be made in direct solar energy conversion and storage? Such issues are as technically complex as those of "target acquisition radar," but they are infinitely more life affirming.

Although affordable housing, or low cost bridge and road design seem rather prosaic by comparison, they are needed and are, in fact, not so simple. Even when the parties to the conflict in Southern Sudan recently agreed to suspend use of food as a weapon, rains slowed relief convoys. Solving the transport issue was and is a matter of life and death in the Sudan. For that matter, our own roads and bridges are falling apart. Are there no Nobel prizes in engineering available for bridge rehabilitation solutions?

Computer science

The U.S. Congress is about to vote on a budget that would cut the Earth Resources Satellite program. No one who thinks about the broader meaning of national security could agree. We need to develop, not cut, the monitoring systems and data bases which allow us to understand what is happening on this planet. The United Nations' "Global Environmental Monitoring System" (GEMS) is still primitive. There are many difficult software and hardware problems to be solved if management systems for human ecosystems are to be expanded rather than contracted in the 1990s.

Rather than working on "smart" weapons systems, couldn't our computer science resources be better used in further developing our ability to transcend barriers of natural language in real time international computer networks?
Who would pay?

In the best of all possible worlds, the Department of Defense would pay for such research on the basis that it is leading toward a more stable, hence more secure world. In a better, though not best world, the U.S. Congress would shift the $13 million in Department of Defense funds presently being used for military research at UMass to such peaceful uses. In a good, but still somewhat less good world, the research administrators and professors involved would voluntarily terminate Department of Defense contracts and seek alternative funding for research on basic human needs.

Who would pay? First, there are many corporate sponsors for biotechnological research, engineering and computer science research. The argument often advanced by military researchers is relevant here: basic engineering research on solar energy or bridge rehabilitation is likely to have commercial spin-offs. The same point can be made with regard to plant and human health research.

Second, I imagine that the community would invest in such research. The citizens of Massachusetts are not hostile to their scientists at UMass. They understand that many forces lock them into military research - the contract and funding system, tenure and promotions pressures and the structure of career ladders. It is likely that a public trust could be established to raise money and to provide encouragement and support for scientists willing to convert their work to peaceful topics. An organizational example already exists in the form of the Community Loan Fund here in Western Massachusetts. Such a future "Research Conversion Trust" could possibly also function as a broker in attempts to interest corporate funding. Such a financial "trust" fund would embody society's moral "trust" in its scientists. None of us are as innocent as Fermi, Einstein and Heisenberg. We will never be innocent again. Yet trust is possible.

Social responsibility of researchers

In Tanzania, where I worked for years, a young person who was one of the one percent of nationals who attained a college education, was answerable to the community that had sacrificed so that he or she could study. In this country, this was also the case until a few decades ago. Even today, I wonder if the UMass teams working on nerve gas are proud to tell their aunts, uncles, parents, children and neighbors about their work. Wouldn't they rather be able to say that they were unravelling the cure for Parkinson's disease, for instance? Wouldn't our colleagues and neighbors working on Dengue Fever and Anthrax as weapons prefer to say they are helping to conquer malaria? And those working on automated tanks, wouldn't they be more proud of efforts to make public transportation safer and more efficient?

Conversion of military research to peaceful topics that address basic human and planetary needs is urgently necessary, possible, and feasible.