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# RESIST

December 1981 — 38 Union Square, Somerville, Mass. 02143 — Newsletter #144

*a call to resist illegitimate authority*

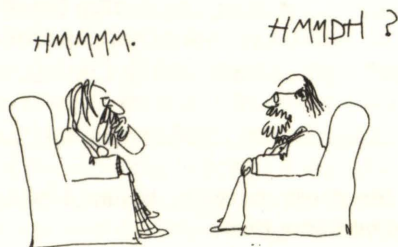
## First, The Good News

While the newest comedy team of Stockman and Allen makes headlines, resistance to the policies of the Hollywood Cabinet is growing daily, and Resist is growing with it. This year we will give out more money than ever before, and that money will be going to many different parts of the country. Many of you had written to us rightly suggesting that more grants should go to regions other than the Northeast. Well, we are listening. Thanks to the efforts of the Resist staff and Resist supporters, we've recently funded a draft information center in Morgantown, an El Salvador solidarity group in Tuscon, a disarmament project in Baton Rouge, and an anti-racist organization in Mississippi. Not to mention a draft-counseling center in Anchorage!

The bad news? Resistance has been growing so fast that our fundraising efforts haven't been able to keep up. Whereas a year ago the Resist board considered 15 proposals at an average meeting making 5 to 10 grants totalling around \$2000, this past October we considered *twice* that number of proposals, but had only about the same amount of money with which to work.

What to do. Since we've already swiped the "United Way" concept we might as well take their slogan while we're at it: "We don't just need you to give more, we need more of you to give." With no more staff time and only a little more money, Resist could happily handle twice the number of supporters. Subscriptions is the name of the game here and we need your help. We're talking gift subs. We're betting that once people start receiving the newsletter and learn about the work of Resist, they too will want to contribute.

We've been working hard this past year to improve the quality of the newsletter, and from the comments you've been enclosing with your pledges and contributions we gather we've been succeeding. We're betting that you can't think of a more useful, inexpensive and politically correct gift than a subscription to Resist. Even if you can, send one anyway. Please to page 2 and fill out the coupon you'll find there. Please don't delay. Let's keep Resist growing.



## WHAT ABOUT THE DRAFT?

KATHY GILBERD

*"Your name has been referred to the Department of Justice by the Selective Service regarding failure to register with the Selective Service, which is a violation of the Military Selective Service Act (50 USC 462 (a)). Failure to register is a felony and carries a possible penalty of up to five years in jail and a fine not to exceed \$10,000."*

— excerpt from US Attorney's  
letter to suspected draft resister

There has been little in the news recently about the draft. But behind the scenes, the Selective Service System and the Justice Department are moving ahead with plans for the first prosecutions of draft resisters. A growing number of young men have been informed that they face criminal prosecution in the near future.

Over the summer, Selective Service sent "warning letters" to over 200 suspected non-registrants. These letters said that, if the recipients did not register or show that they were not required to do so, their names would be sent to the Justice Department for investigation and possible prosecution.

Early in the fall, SSS sent 105 names to the Justice Department, and on October 21, another 49 names were forwarded to them. The Justice Department, in turn, has sent the names to local US Attorneys around the country and to the FBI. A number of "suspects" have now received letters from local US Attorneys. The letters offer a second chance to register, and warn that failure to do so within a limited time (ranging from 10 days to about three weeks) will result in prosecution. FBI visits have also taken place in several parts of the country, and more are expected.

No one can predict the timing or location of the first draft prosecutions. We do know that US Attorneys have been given a green light and that, barring some significant policy change, we can expect the first cases in the very near future. It is essential — perhaps more than at any other point in the current move towards the draft — that the anti-draft movement meet these cases with a strong and sustained national protest.

*continued on page 2*



The defendants in these first cases face the possibility of conviction and harsh prison sentences. It is critical that we come to their support, demonstrating that they do not stand alone against the draft. It must be clear to the government, and to the individual judges and US Attorneys handling the cases, that each defendant is backed by a strong movement and by public support. We know the courts are swayed by such considerations, and that widespread protest over the first prosecutions will help to determine how they are handled: the seriousness with which defense issues are considered, the willingness of US Attorneys to seek harsh sentences, and the willingness of judges to impose them. Our actions may make a very real difference in the lives of these young men.

But the prosecutions will not be simply the trials of a few draft resisters. They will also be a trial of the registration program itself, and of the willingness of the American people to accept the draft and the policies it represents. In many ways, the future of the draft is tied to the first prosecutions.

Selective Service has made it clear that they consider the threats of prosecution, and prosecutions themselves, an important way to increase registration. Recent revelations about low registration rates (the official figures now say that at least 25% are failing or refusing to sign up) are a serious embarrassment to SSS, and they must act quickly to salvage the program. SSS spokespeople have admitted that prosecutions are a key part of their answer to this problem, that is, that only brute force will make people register. If the first prosecutions are successful, and those prosecuted appear to be isolated, SSS will have won an important victory.

But they will only win if the first defendants are defeated, both legally and politically. If they are defiant and (to some extent) successful resisters, with strong public support, the prosecutions may well backfire and provide encouragement to other non-registrants. Instead of increasing registration, the cases may increase resistance — if it is clear that the movement and a good many people support those who refuse to register.

Recent press comments show that the Reagan administration faces strong pressure now from both supporters and opponents of the draft. Despite Reagan's refusal to comment on the issue, he has given a great deal of tacit support to Selective Service. We must not forget that he has allowed registration to continue, permitted SSS to develop regulations and plans for the draft, that he has watched SSS establish a national draft board structure or that he has recently appointed an old ally to head Selective Service. Nevertheless, the high level of pressure on the administration and the low level of compliance with the program make this a valuable time for the opposition. Strong support for draft resisters and a clear showing of opposition to the registration program can make a great difference in Reagan's support for registration and, in the long run, his willingness to revive the draft.

It is not just the draft which is at issue, however. Support for the draft has been linked, by both sides, with the growing rightward trend in military policy. The

draft is universally equated with a more aggressive military policy, a willingness to commit US resources and troops to Reagan's questionable allies in Latin America, the Middle East or elsewhere. The success of the registration program has become in some ways, a test of the government's ability to convince people its military policies are sound. A strong protest against registration and the draft is, in everyone's understanding, a protest against future Vietnams.

And so we have an invaluable opportunity to demonstrate our support for draft resistance, in a critical period. Our failure to utilize this opportunity will be a real victory for Reagan, and our success a victory for all those concerned with the draft and American foreign policy.

Two national calls have gone out for demonstrations when the first cases begin. The national Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) has called for demonstrations at federal Courthouses on the first day (or the first working day) following the first announcement of prosecution. Mass Open Resistance, a group of draft resisters in Boston, has called for massive attendance of the first hearing in the first case, with simultaneous demonstrations at courthouses around the country. These two days of national action must be massive, and they must be used to organize on-going support for the first trials. Several statements of resistance (including language which violates the Selective Service Act) are being circulated for publication during the first trial. These statements give those of us who are not "eligible" for registration an opportunity to demonstrate that many thousands of Americans are willing to risk prosecution along with the first defendants.

All of these protests (and the less glamorous work of community organizing and education) will be an important test of our strength in the coming months. They will affect not just the outcome of the first prosecutions, but the future of registration and the draft as well.

I am enclosing \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ subscriptions. (Each sub is \$5.00/year.)

Please send the subscription to: (Please use another sheet for additional names.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Message\* \_\_\_\_\_

\*Your friend will receive a beautiful peace card designed by Corita Kent.



# EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

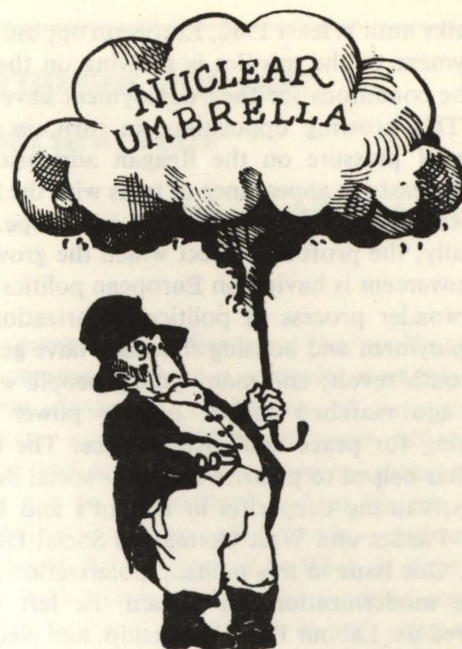
FRANK BRODHEAD

Movements for nuclear disarmament are gaining substantial power in Europe. Beginning in northern Europe, this peace movement has now assumed enormous proportions, spreading to southern Europe and threatening the stability of several governments. Though considered a tool of Soviet propaganda by the Reagan Administration, the movement for European Nuclear Disarmament in fact attacks Soviet — as well as US — plans to deploy a new generation of “theater nuclear weapons” in Europe. Under the slogan — “No cruise missiles! No SS-20s!” — European movements for disarmament have suddenly changed the face of European politics, and have contributed to the revival of the peace movement in the United States. Because these movements are so vital to the possibilities of peace, opening up political space where none seemed to exist just a year ago, it is important that we understand, and support the movement for European Nuclear Disarmament.

The movement for nuclear disarmament in Europe had its catalyst in the decision by eleven NATO defense ministers in December, 1979, to “modernize” NATO’s nuclear weapons. At the instigation of the Carter Administration the NATO countries agreed to accept two new missiles — 108 Pershing II missile systems and 464 cruise missiles. West Germany would receive 108 Pershing IIs and 112 cruise missiles, while cruise missiles would be placed in England (160), Italy (96), Belgium (48), and the Netherlands (48).

Why has the latest round of NATO missile modernization raised such opposition in Europe? There are several reasons, the first being the nature of the missiles themselves. The US maintains that such a modernization was necessary to redress the advantage achieved by the Soviet Union in deploying its new SS-20 missile. Critics of NATO modernization have pointed out that, while the SS-20 is life threatening and should be opposed, it does not significantly alter the nuclear balance in Europe. The new NATO missiles, on the other hand, do. From the Soviet point of view they are forward-based strategic missiles, “counter-force” weapons with a “first strike” capability. In short, this is the Soviet Union’s Cuban missile crisis.

The Pershing II missile is in fact not really a “modernization,” but a completely new missile system. Development of the Pershing II began in the late 1960s. It has been described as the most accurate ballistic missile system in the world, with a range of up to 2000 miles. Based in Europe, it will be capable of striking deep into



the Soviet Union with pinpoint accuracy, reaching its target only four or five minutes after launch. Thus the Soviets fear that the Pershing II would be used to strike its command and control centers, “beheading” Soviet defenses well before strategic missiles launched from the US would be noticed by the Soviet’s radar or satellites.

Cruise missiles are similarly threatening from the Soviet point of view. Extremely small, very cheap and highly accurate, the cruise missile reaches its target by flying very low and following a computer map of the terrain etched in its computer memory. Cruise missiles have a range of up to 1500 miles, and can be launched from the air, land, or sea. Because they are so small cruise missiles are easily concealed, and ordinary satellite surveillance methods would not enable the Soviets to know how many missiles NATO had, nor their range and whether or not they were nuclear tipped. Thus the deployment of the cruise missile would substantially increase the difficulties of verifying any future arms limitation agreement.

The highly destabilizing nature of the new NATO missiles is closely related to the second reason for the widespread opposition to their deployment in Europe — the fear of a war between the superpowers fought on European soil. Europeans are increasingly conscious that current NATO contingency plans allow for a massively destructive war which would be confined to Europe. There are now 11,000 tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, of which 7000 belong to NATO. The *Marine Corps Gazette* reports that the 335 such weapons needed to stop a Soviet attack on the NATO forces would cause five million casualties; while the Department of Defense estimates that a tactical nuclear war in Europe would cause up to 100 million deaths.

The NATO meeting which agreed to deploy the new missiles also called for negotiations between the US and the USSR to reduce theater nuclear weapons in Europe, and assumed that the SALT II treaty would be ratified by the US Senate. Now that SALT II has been scrapped and the US has apparently postponed any arms limita-



tion talks until at least 1982, European opposition to the deployment of the missiles is growing on the grounds that the conditions for their deployment have not been met. This growing opposition, in turn, is the main source of pressure on the Reagan administration to begin at least the appearance of talks with the Soviets in order to defuse anti-war sentiment in Europe.

Finally, the profound effect which the growing anti-war movement is having on European politics is rooted in a broader process of political polarization. Rising unemployment and housing shortages have generated a new youth revolt; and many young people who a few years ago marched against nuclear power are now marching for peace and social justice. The economic crisis has helped to polarize Europe's social democratic parties, causing deep rifts in Britain's and Holland's Labor Parties and West Germany's Social Democratic Party. One issue in this political polarization is that of missile modernization. In Britain the left wing has captured the Labour Party leadership, and pledges itself to unilateral nuclear disarmament if returned to office in the next election. In Germany, on the other hand, SPD leader Helmut Schmidt has followed the rightward drift of US politics, defending missile modernization against the opposition of a substantial minority of his own party, his party's youth organization, and the country's Protestant clergy.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the anti-war movements to the growth of political polarization in Europe has been the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of people into grass roots organizations. These movements are loosely knit together by the European Nuclear Disarmament movement (END), spearheaded by Edward Thompson and Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). In October, 1980, 70,000 people marched against nuclear weapons in Britain, and CND's membership has grown from 3500 members to more than 70,000 since the NATO decision was made. A recent poll showed that 56% of Britons were opposed to deployment of the cruise missile in their country, with strongest opposition in the relatively

rural areas where the missiles are to be based. Similarly, 65% of the Dutch were opposed to cruise missiles in their country, and more than 5000 draftees into the Dutch army have signed a petition defending soldiers who refused to guard nuclear weapons. Along with Belgium, the Netherlands has postponed a final decision on cruise missile deployment until the end of 1981, and the results of the recent Dutch elections make it uncertain whether there is a parliamentary majority for deploying the missiles. Meanwhile the Scandinavian countries are moving towards a Nordic or Scandinavian nuclear free zone.

The month of October saw a new surge of opposition to nuclear war in Europe. Under slogans opposing both the US's cruise missile and the Soviet's SS-20, more than 250,000 people rallied in West Germany, the largest rally in that country's history. Vast numbers also rallied in London, Rome, and most recently Madrid. Large demonstrations have recently spread to Italy, and even to Sicily, where the cruise missiles are to be based. The successful campaign of the Socialists in Greece was in part based on that party's pledge to renegotiate US nuclear bases in Greece, and Greece's role in NATO. Support for the goals of the END movement — opposition to the missiles of both superpowers — has recently come from the president of Roumania, and there is renewed interest in a Balkan nuclear free zone.

The Reagan Administration has responded to this widespread European opposition by stressing the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union, and by misstating the issues involved in NATO's plans for new missiles. Reagan now has two reasons for stressing the Soviet threat: the budget crisis at home, and European opposition to the new missiles. The Pentagon's recently-issued 99-page color booklet on Soviet weaponry, for example, grew out of NATO planning, and was originally intended for a European audience. The US fears the growing wave of "neutralism" in Europe — the attempt to disengage Europe from *both* sides of the Cold War — and tries to portray it as a pro-Soviet movement. In fact, the Communist Parties of Europe were slow to

## EUROPEAN WAR DEATHS

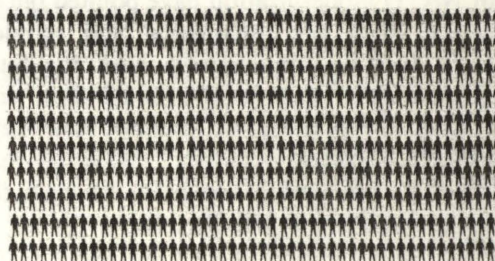
### WORLD WARS I & II

WW I  200,000 PEOPLE

WW II  200,000 PEOPLE

 = 200,000 PEOPLE

### NUCLEAR WAR: 100,000,000



Source: U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.  
Chart by Center for Defense Information.

*Testimony of Alain Enthoven, former US Assistant Secretary of Defense, March 1974.*



support the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, because END has stressed its opposition to the nuclear weapons of *both* superpowers. It has become a national liberation movement for Europe. Some support has even been gained in Eastern Europe, and END has aligned itself with Poland's Solidarity movement and East European dissidents generally. In the NATO countries END is very broad-based. The recent demonstration in West Germany, for example, was sponsored by more than 800 organizations; and the Dutch and West German Protestant churches are taking an active role in their countries' movements, as are the new, ecologically-based parties like the Green Party in West Germany and the Democracy '66 movement in Holland.

People in the United States are being deliberately misinformed about the real issues involved in NATO's missile decision. While Europeans are being told that accepting the new missiles and adopting much larger defense budgets are the price of continued US military support, we are told that the Europeans begged for the new missiles. In fact, the weapons were pushed onto a reluctant Europe. The NATO council which agreed to accept the new missiles for Europe is a bureaucratic body, and its decision was made without prior debate in any European parliament. As the missiles will be exclusively under the control of the US, and will be the targets of Soviet missiles in case of any European war, the Europeans find themselves involved in an escalating Cold War without any voice or democratic process to assert their own views.

Reagan also claims that the new missiles are necessary to counteract the SS-20 missile, and without the cruise and Pershing II missiles NATO would have no "long range theater weapons" to match it. In fact, NATO has hundreds of such nuclear weapons on its submarines and airplanes, and until recently deliberately chose not to build land-based missiles for Europe. Moreover, the SS-20 does not increase the number of Soviet warheads aimed at Europe, is not accurate enough to be a first-strike weapon, and is replacing two ancient, liquid-fueled missiles which have larger warheads. The main US reason to oppose the SS-20, in fact, is that it is mobile and thus far less vulnerable to a first strike than the fixed-site missiles it is replacing.

The outcome of these movements is very uncertain. In a recent interview Edward Thompson commented: "I'm very pessimistic. I don't think we have very much of a chance of succeeding. Until there is a significant reverse, everything is set for a terminal conclusion." "But," he concluded — and this is what makes the END so important to the American peace movement — "... to reverse this will involve so great a popular struggle that Europe and the world would be changed beyond recognition. We would succeed not only in reducing weapons, but in loosening up the two blocs, in promoting communication and exchange, in knitting together into a common strategy and understanding the western peace and labor movements and the eastern and Russian movements for democracy and civil rights. . . . So while it's very touch-and-go, there is an astonishing possibility of transforming the world we are now in."

## European Nuclear Disarmament

EDWARD THOMPSON

The movement for European Nuclear Disarmament commences from a recognition of this immensely dangerous condition: of superpower stalemate, accompanied by militarist self-reproduction and accumulation. It proposes that militarism can be de-stabilized, not at the top, but from below — at intermediate levels — and on the margins of the superpower conflict. It does not reject great power negotiations or arms control agreements; but it does refuse to wait, year after year, for disarmament agreements which never come.

European Nuclear Disarmament (or END) first became a public presence at the end of April 1980, when an Appeal was issued at press conferences in several European capitals over the names of influential signatories in a number of European countries. The Appeal called for a continent-wide movement to expel all nuclear weapons, bases, and manufacture from Europe, from Poland to Portugal; for a halt to the deployment of SS-20s and of cruise and Pershing II missiles; and — as the ultimate objective — for a nuclear-weapons-free zone, comprising the whole continent. The eventual aim would be a treaty which would ban all so-called European Theatre Nuclear Weapons (including those in Western Russia and on American submarines) together with a guarantee by the superpowers not to use nuclear weapons against the territory of Europe.

END is not a movement of diplomats and politicians (although some are showing interest in it). It is, first of all, an idea; and, next, a popular campaigning movement. As an idea, it confronts contingency plans for a European "theatre" war (as implied by Presidential Directive 59 and other statements by leading American strategists) by the assertion of an urgent consciousness that Europe must become a theatre of peace. This consciousness must extend to East as well as West, since in any theatre war both Eastern and Western Europe will burn together. The militarization of the continent can only be resisted by a commitment among citizens as profound as that of the Resistance in World War II; but this time the commitment must precede, and not follow upon, the war! END proposes nothing less than the creation of a spirit of popular anti-militarist internationalism, and is searching for the symbols, exchanges and forms which will develop this.



# WILL THERE ALWAYS BE AN ENGLAND?

FRANK BRODHEAD

Europeans are concerned that the "limited nuclear war" doctrine of the United States really means war limited to Europe. However limited such a war may be when viewed from the Pentagon, for the Europeans "limited nuclear war" means total destruction.

This conclusion is explicitly made in the war planning of NATO itself. In September, 1980, for example, NATO carried out its "Crusader" exercises. Great Britain's part in this was called "Operation Square Leg," and included pre-attack preparations, the attack itself, civil defense, and post-attack government. One of the most striking features of Operation Square Leg is what it reveals about the true function of civil defense in Britain. The publication of the Government's civil defense brochure, *Protect and Survive*, in 1979 added fuel to anti-war fires already stoked by opposition to the cruise missile and the decision to purchase the Trident missile system from the US. Critics make a convincing case that the real goal of the advice in *Protect and Survive* to whitewash ones windows, or lay in a good supply of water, or hide under a heavy table away from outside walls, is to convince the British population that nuclear war is (literally) not the end of the world.

A major difference between British and US civil defense planning is that US planning is based on evacuation, while British civil defense planners urge civilians to stay at home. Indeed, they are told that there will be no food for them unless they do so. Escape routes from major cities would be blocked off to all but the 30,000 or so civil servants and industrial leaders who will be evacuated to bunkers to sit out the war. These future leaders will escape — along with the nation's art treasures — to a series of (until recently) secret bunkers scattered throughout rural England. The discovery and exposure of an earlier version of this bunker system by the "Spies for Peace" in 1963 first brought the plans for wartime government to light. More recent discoveries have shown that plans for wartime and post-war government now anticipate an indefinite period of military — not civilian — rule.

Operation Square Leg anticipates that England and Scotland will be hit by 125 nuclear warheads, with a total explosive power of 200 megatons. Vast amounts of fallout will be swept across the country by the prevailing southwesterly winds, both from groundbursts and from nuclear strikes on Britain's nuclear power plants and its reprocessing plant at Windscale. The wargame planners assume that Britain will have only nine minute's warning before the first missiles strike Britain's military installations and industrial areas. Strikes on London's

Thames and Glasgow's Clyde rivers by five megaton bombs would flood both cities. While civilian casualties would be enormous, most of the weapons aimed at Britain would target military installations, command, control and communications centers, and particularly air bases.

Many of these military targets are US bases or weapons storage areas — totalling 103 bases in all — which until last year were largely kept secret from the British people. The British call their island America's largest aircraft carrier. US facilities include many airbases, the Poseidon base in Scotland, communications networks for both the Navy and Air Force, and a strategically important submarine tracking station on the coast of Wales. There are also a string of storage areas for reserve supplies of theater nuclear weapons, a secret reconnaissance air base using the U2 and other spy planes, 170 F-111 nuclear strike aircraft, and four special Boeing 707 "flying war room" command and control centers, which would carry the US European Command high above the battle in case of war. Fleets of tanker aircraft are also based in Britain, with the intention of refueling US bombers on their way from the US to Soviet or East European targets. A significant portion of the US's spy satellite headquarters, communications surveillance antennas, worldwide telephone switching network, weather analysis and other military-related intelligence gathering equipment is also based in Britain. All of these bases are under exclusive US control. Operation Square Leg assumed that many of them would be targets in a "limited" nuclear war.

Britain's population is now about 60 million. According to government estimates, only 15 million people would survive a nuclear war unless civil defense precautions were taken, in which case 30 million might survive. What kind of world would this remnant discover as it emerged from under its kitchen tables to face the bureaucrats who sat it out in the bunkers? According to "briefings" given during 1978 war games: "The overall situation within the UK is one of vast destruction, enormous casualties and widespread chaos. . . . Over most of the country normal services and public utilities are non-existent. . . . There has been a great exodus of refugees from all centers of population. . . . Most main roads are blocked by fleeing pedestrians and traffic. Considerable numbers of refugees are beginning to arrive on the south and east coast of England and from the Continent. . . . Evidence of widespread disorder, looting, murder, rape and other lawlessness. . . . Food suppliers quickly over run and emptied. No Regional Broadcast stations heard and public starved of information and guidance."

What guidance we would want from the architects of this official nightmare, the planners of Operation Square Leg, is hard to imagine. But these impresarios of nuclear war have done a valuable service in helping us to visualize what is this thing called "limited nuclear war" that the Europeans are making such a fuss about. They have underscored the point that a million demonstrating Europeans made in October, that the only effective civil defense is a successful peace movement.



# RETURN OF THE ABM

In October the Reagan Administration decided to proceed with the development of the MX missile, but to abandon at least temporarily the Carter proposal to deploy the missiles in a vast network of shelters in the deserts of Utah and Nevada. Instead, Reagan will place a limited number of the new missiles in already existing missile silos, abandoning the "shell game" strategy initially proposed to hide the true location of the missiles. Yet one justification for the MX missile was that existing ICBMs were vulnerable to a first strike by Soviet missiles. Only by moving the MX around in a network of shelters, leaving the Soviets guessing which shelter held the missile, would some security be provided. Having now abandoned the multiple shelter scheme, Reagan is accused of doing nothing to solve the problem of land-based missile vulnerability, a problem which he himself raised vigorously.

Largely unnoticed in Reagan's MX decision, however, was an accompanying one to develop and expand the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) program. Yet this decision could turn out to be more important and a greater threat to peace than the deployment of the MX itself. ABM systems were severely limited by the SALT Treaty of 1972, which is due for renewal next year. To build an ABM system capable of even token protection for the MX would require breaking this SALT Treaty, the most significant arms control agreement yet signed between the US and the USSR. Moreover, deployment of an ABM system would be enormously expensive and highly destabilizing, encouraging both the US and the USSR to launch a "first strike" against each other. Finally, the scrapping of the ABM Treaty would open a Pandora's Box of new technologies with applications in space warfare as well as missile defense.

In general, there are two kinds of Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) systems: those intended to defend an area, such as a city or an airbase, and those intended to defend points, such as an ICBM site. While proposals to defend US cities were advanced in the 1960s, even a "thin" ABM system designed to protect US cities from a hypothetical nuclear strike from China was considered far too difficult to develop. Those ABM systems that interest Pentagon planners today are primarily of three types: one that strikes an enemy missile shortly after takeoff; one that strikes the missile at the height of its orbit; and one that strikes the missile as it is approaching its target. This latter type — the Low Altitude Defense System (LoADS) — is the one currently favored by the Pentagon to protect the MX missile.

Ballistic missile defense requires that three tasks be done very quickly: *locating* the incoming missile; *discriminating* the missile from decoys and on-target missiles from misses; and *destroying* the incoming warhead. Current technology now envisions that a Soviet missile firing would be picked up by one of the US's spy satellites, which would in turn activate an

ABM radar system. As the missile re-enters the Earth's atmosphere, atmospheric drag separates the missile from decoys, and allows a radar-linked computer system to plot the missile's path. On-target missiles are then destroyed by a Sprint missile — a small, short range, extremely fast rocket carrying a nuclear warhead. Once the attacking missile re-enters the atmosphere, the ABM system has fifteen seconds to carry out all these operations. The LoADS concept has adapted the ABM system to the particular requirements of the MX missile. The LoADS units fit into the MX shelters. Thus both the radars and the attack missiles must be made quite small. LoADS also intercepts incoming missiles much closer to the ground; and if the MX is deployed in the "shell game," must discriminate between those attacking missiles aimed at full shelters from those aimed at empty ones. Thus the LoADS must perform additional operations of tracking and discrimination, and do it in only a few seconds. Many experts doubt that this is now or even soon will be possible, even with great advances in computer technology.

The basic arguments over the effectiveness and desirability of the LoADS or any other ABM system are pretty much the same as they were in the 1960s. Proponents claim that an effective ABM system would guard against a successful first strike, and/or that it would force the Soviets to greatly increase the number of missiles directed against US missiles. This would also have the effect of forcing the Soviets to spend an even larger proportion of its national income on armaments. Opponents of the ABM have several arguments. Today, as in the 1960s, many experts maintain that proposed ABM technology is just too complicated, and won't work: radars are vulnerable to nuclear strikes or deception, and necessary computation time is too short. But more important are the destabilizing effects of even an effective ABM system. We must assume that if the US deploys an ABM system that the Soviets will as well. When deployment begins, if one side sees the other with an ABM advantage, it might be tempted to make a pre-emptive strike before deployment is completed. Also, a completed ABM system would give an additional advantage to the side that struck first: while an ABM system might not be very effective against a large first strike, it might be relatively successful against a weakened second strike. Unfortunately, the response to this latter situation would be to target undefended areas such as large cities in a second strike. An ABM race between the US and the Soviets could not help but to stimulate an escalation of the arms race as well, as each side attempted to gain the capacity to overwhelm the other side's defenses. Finally, a Soviet ABM system would render the British, Chinese, or French nuclear forces relatively insignificant, forcing these countries into an arms race if they wish to remain nuclear powers.

The Carter and Reagan Administrations have stepped up the amount of funds going to ABM research. Defense contractors are pushing for the system. We must make a strenuous effort to stop the ABM in its tracks. The only real defense against nuclear war is the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Frank Brodhead



# GRANTS

## CHILDREN'S CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (Box 550, RD #1, Plainfield, VT 05667)

"We are children who fear for the future of the world. The United States and the Soviet Union are building more and more human-killing weapons, and every day the threat of nuclear war becomes greater. Our leaders are making decisions that affect us as children more than anyone else." These concerns prompted a small group of youngsters to organize the Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament last spring. They began by soliciting letters from children throughout the US, urging an end to the construction of nuclear weapons. Almost 3,000 letters were collected from children in 38 states, and on October 17th 40 girls delivered them to Washington. They waited outside the White House for word that their letters would be officially accepted. Their request was refused, they were told, because there were television cameras present. Then the White House lawn sprinklers were turned on, spraying the children and some of their letters. Undaunted, they stood along Pennsylvania Avenue and read the letters aloud until they were permitted to deliver them to the White House. One of the letters to President Reagan read, "How can you say you're for peace when most of our economy is going toward the military? The citizens of this country would appreciate the US much more if they all felt as if they could trust and respect their leaders. To get this trust and respect, you can't hold our lives in your hands. It would be foolish to waste millions of lives for their own personal satisfaction and feeling of power. It's funny that you — the president — know and care less about nuclear disarmament than a bunch of kids. Or maybe it isn't so funny. . . ." The letter writing campaign is being continued and the group may go on to produce a children's book on nuclear armament and disarmament. Resist helped support the children's trip to Washington.

## MIDWEST COMMITTEE FOR MILITARY COUNSELING (59 E. Van Buren St., Suite 809, Chicago, IL 60605)

According to sources in Washington the names of 180 alleged nonregistrants have been sent to the Justice Department for possible prosecution. MCMC, which has been a regional counseling office for six years, is preparing a legal defense program for draft registration resisters. While defense funds have been established throughout the country and many attorneys have been keeping up with the latest developments, MCMC wants to find out who is available for referral. They feel that while it is easier to find attorneys who have been properly trained in military law than counselors, there are still many gaps in their referral network; too many times people have had to travel long distances for

consultation or do much of the work over the phone. Their plan is to send a mailing to 400 attorneys in the midwest offering a refresher course in military and selective service law. The course will be led by attorneys and counselors on the Committee. Resist is helping with the initial mailing costs. The workshops are expected to generate enough funds to create a self-supporting program once the start-up funds are received. MCMC has also begun work with the American Friends Service Committee on training counselors in minority communities.

## NY-CARD (15 Rutherford Pl., New York, NY 10003)

NY-CARD was formed in May of 1979 to focus area opposition to the revival of the draft. The group puts out a newsletter called *Check It Out*, broadcasts a monthly radio show, and has organized several highly visible demonstrations. Draft Counselor training has become CARD's principal contribution to the Metropolitan New York area, along with their once-a-week counseling sessions. When the fourth course is soon completed, a total of 50-60 new counselors will have been trained. The courses teach counseling techniques, options including open resistance, deferments, exile and draft procedures, and law. Most recently CARD has taken part in the City-As-School program, an exciting and challenging educational alternative in the New York City public school system. The program allows city organizations to be used as classrooms. Volunteer students will get high school credit for learning draft counseling, research techniques, writing, public speaking, and fund-raising. Eight students began the first course in September. Resist is helping to pay for course materials.

## REGISTRATION DRAFT MEDIA PROJECT (300-C Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720)

This coalition of peace, anti-draft, and counseling groups is producing a slide show called "Choice or Chance." The show uses excerpts from interviews with veterans, recruiters, draft counselors, and Congressman Ronald V. Dellums to give a realistic picture of life in the military and personal rights and responsibilities in the face of registration and the draft. The audience is challenged to look behind the hard sell techniques of military advertising and to become informed decision makers. The project was originally created out of a shared concern for the lack of good instructional material on military service, and has now been recommended by the Berkeley school curriculum committee for use in their draft education program. A major effort is being made to take this slide show to working class, black, Latino, Chicano, and Asian-American young people.

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